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THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS.



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C. Edwards,

HISTORY OF THE JEWS,

FROM THE

EARLIEST PERIOD DOWN TO MODERN TIMES

BY

HENRY HART MILMAN, D. D.,

DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.

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HISTORY OF THE JEWS.



BOOK X.

THE ASMONEANS.

Mattathias — Judas the Maccabee — Jonathan — Simon — John Hyrcanus
— Aristobulus I. — Alexander Jannæus — Alexandra — Aristobulus
II. — Hyrcanus II.

AT this crisis Divine Providence interposed, not as formerly, with miraculous assistance, but by the instrumentality of human virtues: the lofty patriotism, adventurous valor, daring and sagacious soldiership, generous self-devotion, and inextinguishable zeal of heroic men in the cause of their country and their God. In Modin, a town on an eminence, commanding a view of the sea, the exact site of which is unknown,¹ lived Mattathias, a man of the priestly line of Joarib, himself advanced in years, but with five sons in the prime of life, Johanan, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan. When Apelles, the officer of Antiochus, arrived at Modin to enforce the execution of the edict against the Jewish religion, he made splendid offers to Mattathias as a man of great influence, to induce him to submit to the royal will. The old man not only rejected his advances, but publicly proclaimed his resolution to live

¹ It was on a height on the road from Jerusalem to Joppa: the Talmudists say not far from Lydda.

and die in the faith of his fathers ; and when an apostate Jew was about to offer sacrifice to the heathen deity, in a transport of indignant zeal Mattathias struck him dead upon the altar. Mattathias then fell on the king's commissioner, put him to death, and summoned all the citizens who were zealous for the Law to follow him to the mountains.¹ Their numbers rapidly increased ; but the Syrian troops having surprised 1000 in a cave, attacked them on the Sabbath day, and meeting with no resistance, slew them without mercy. From thenceforth Mattathias and his followers determined to break through this over-scrupulous observance of the Sabbath, and to assert the legality of defensive warfare on that day.²

The insurgents conducted their revolt with equal enterprise and discretion. For a time they lay hid in the mountain fastnesses : and, as opportunity occurred, poured down upon the towns ; destroyed the heathen altars ; enforced circumcision ; punished all apostates who fell into their hands ; recovered many copies of the Law, which their enemies had wantonly defaced ; and reëstablished the synagogues for public worship, — the Temple being defiled, and in the possession of the enemy. Their ranks were swelled with the zealots for the Law, who were then called the Chasidim. For, immediately after the return from Babylonia, two sects had divided the people : the Zadikim, the righteous, who observed the written Law of Moses ; and the more austere and abstemious Chasidim, or the holy, who added to the Law the traditions and observances of the fathers, and professed a holiness beyond the letter of the covenant. From the former sprang the Sadducees and Karaites of later times ; from the latter, the Phar-

¹ 1 Macc. ; 2 Macc. ; Joseph. Ant. xii. 6, 7.

² Summer, B. C. 166

isees. But the age of Mattathias was ill suited to this laborious and enterprising warfare: having bequeathed the command to Judas, the most valiant of his sons, he sank under the weight of years and toil. So great already was the terror of his name, that he was buried, without disturbance on the part of the enemy, in his native city of Modin.

If the youth of the new general added vigor and enterprise to the cause, it lost nothing in prudence and discretion. Judas unfolded the banner of the Maccabees, a name of which the derivation is uncertain. Some assert that it was formed from the concluding letters of a sentence in the eleventh verse of the fifteenth chapter of Exodus, "Mi Camo Ka Baalim Jehovah," signifying, *Who is like unto thee among the Gods, O Jehovah?* Some, that it was the banner of the tribe of Dan, which contained the three last letters of the three names of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: others, that it was the personal appellation of Judas, from a word signifying a hammer, like that of Charles Martel, the hero of the Franks. Having tried his soldiers by many gallant adventures, surprising many cities, which he garrisoned and fortified, Judas determined to meet the enemy in the field. Apollonius, the governor of Samaria, first advanced against him, and was totally defeated and slain. Judas took the sword of his enemy as a trophy, and ever after used it in battle. Seron, the deputy-governor of Cœlesyria, advanced to revenge the defeat of Apollonius, but encountering the enemy in the strong pass of Beth-horon, met with the same fate. The circumstances of the times favored the noble struggle of Judas and his followers for independence. By his prodigal magnificence, both in his pleasures and in his splendid donatives and offerings, Antiochus had

exhausted his finances. His eastern provinces, Armenia and Persia, refused their tribute. He therefore was constrained to divide his forces, marching himself into the East, and leaving Lysias, with a great army, to crush the insurrection in Judæa. The rapid progress of Judas had demanded immediate resistance. Philip, the Syrian governor in Jerusalem, sent urgent solicitations for relief. The vanguard of the Syrian army, amounting to 20,000, under the command of Nicanor and Gorgias, advanced rapidly into the province: it was followed by the general-in-chief, Ptolemy Macron, their united forces forming an army of 40,000 foot and 7000 horse. In their train came a multitude of slave-merchants; for Nicanor had suggested the policy of selling as many of the insurgents as they could take, to discharge the arrears of tribute due to the Romans.¹ Judas assembled 6000 men at Mizpeh: there they fasted and prayed; and the religious ceremony, performed in that unusual place, though of old one of the sanctuaries of God, sadly reminded them of the desolate state of the holy city, the profanation of the sanctuary, the discontinuance of the sacrifices.² But if sorrow subdued the tamer spirits, it infused loftier indignation and nobler self-devotion into the valiant.³ Judas knew that his only hope, save in his God, was in the enthusiastic zeal of his followers for the Law of Moses. In strict conformity to its injunctions, he issued out through his little army the appointed proclamation,

¹ 2 Macc. viii. 10. They were to have 90 slaves for a talent: 11.

² 1 Macc. iii. 46 *et seq.*

A characteristic circumstance is here noted, "and laid open the book of the Law, wherein the heathen had sought to paint the likeness of their images." 48.

³ "For it is better for us to die in battle, than to behold the calamities of our people and our sanctuary. Nevertheless as the will of God is in heaven, so let him do." 1 Macc. iii. 59, 60. Compare 2 Macc. c. viii.

that all who had married wives, built houses, or planted vineyards, or were fearful, should return to their homes. His force dwindled to 3000 ill-armed men.¹ Yet with this small band Judas advanced towards Emmaus, where the enemy lay encamped. Intelligence reached him, that Gorgias had been detached with 5000 chosen foot and 1000 horse to surprise him by night. He instantly formed the daring resolution of eluding the attack by falling on the camp of the enemy. It was morning before he arrived ; but, animating his men to the onset, they rushed down, all their trumpets clanging, upon the Syrians, who, after a feeble resistance, fled on all sides, unto Gazera, and unto the plains of Idumea, and Azotus, and Jamnia. Three thousand fell in battle.² Judas was as wary as bold ; his troops were as well-disciplined as enterprising. He restrained them from the plunder of the camp till the return of Gorgias with the flower of the army, who came back weary with seeking the Jewish insurgents among the mountains, where they had hoped to surprise them. To their astonishment they beheld their own camp a blaze of fire. The contest was short but decisive : the Syrians fled without striking a blow, and in their flight suffered immense loss. The rich booty of the camp fell into the hands of the Jews, “ much gold and silver, and blue silk and purple of the sea, and great riches.”³ The Jews, with just retribution, sold for slaves as many of the slave-merchants as they could find. A due share of the spoil was given to the maimed, the widows, and the orphans ; the rest divided among the conquerors.⁴ The next day was the Sabbath, a day indeed of

¹ “ Who nevertheless had neither armor nor swords to their minds.” 1 Macc. iv. 6.

² Verse 15.

³ Verse 23.

⁴ 2 Macc. viii. 28.

rest and rejoicing. But success only excited the honorable ambition of the Maccabee. Hearing that a great force was assembling beyond the Jordan under Timotheus and Bacchides, he crossed the river, and gained a great victory and a considerable supply of arms. Here two of the chief oppressors of the Jews, Philarches and Callisthenes, perished; one in battle; the other burnt to death in a house, where he had taken refuge. Nicanor fled in the disguise of a slave to Antioch. So closed the first triumphant campaign of the Maccabees.

The next year Lysias appeared in person, at the head of 60,000 foot and 5000 horse, at Bethsura, a little north of Hebron¹ towards the southern frontier of Judæa; having perhaps levied part of his men among the Idumeans. This tribe now inhabited a district to the west of their ancestors, the Edomites, having been dispossessed of their former territory by the Nabathæan Arabs. Judas met this formidable host with 10,000 men; gained a decisive victory, and slew 5000 of the enemy. Thus on all sides triumphant, Judas entered, with his valiant confederates, the ruined and desolate Jerusalem.² They found shrubs grown to some height, like the underwood of a forest, in the courts of the Temple; every part of the sacred edifice had been profaned; the chambers of the priests were thrown down. With wild lamentations and the sound of martial trumpets they mingled their prayers and praises to the God of their fathers. Judas took the precaution to keep a body of armed men on the watch against the Syrian garrison in the citadel; and then proceeded to install the most blameless of the priests in their office, to repair the sacred edifice, to purify every part from the

¹ 1 Macc. iv. 28-35

² 1 Macc. iv. 36-60.

profanation of the heathen, to construct a new altar, to replace out of the booty all the sacred vessels, and at length to celebrate the Feast of Dedication, — a period of eight days, — which ever after was held sacred in the Jewish calendar.¹ It was the festival of the regeneration of the people, which, but for the valor of the Maccabees, had almost lost its political existence.

The reëstablishment of a powerful State in Judæa was not beheld without jealousy by the neighboring tribes.² But Judas, having strongly fortified the Temple on the side of the citadel, anticipated a powerful confederacy which was forming against him, and carried his victorious arms into the territories of the Idumeans and Ammonites. Thus discomfited on every side, the Syrians and their allies began to revenge themselves on the Jews who were scattered in Galilee and the trans-Jordanic provinces. Judas revenged a cruel stratagem of the inhabitants of Joppa, who decoyed 200 Jews or families on board their ships and threw them into the sea. He made a descent and burned many houses on the harbor, and many of their ships. In Jamnia the same hostile measures were threatened. He fell on Jamnia, set the town on fire, the blaze of which was seen in Jerusalem.³ A great force from Tyre and Ptolemais advanced into the neighboring country. Timotheus, son of a former general of the same name, laid waste Gilead with great slaughter.⁴ Judas, by the general consent of the

¹ Herzfeld observes that they would use no profaned fire for the lamps and lights which were henceforth to burn in the Holy Place. According to 2 Macc. x. 3: "Striking stones, they took fire out of them." — Herzfeld, ii. p. 271.

² 1 Macc. v. 1. Compare 2 Macc. x. 1-8. Joseph. Ant. xii. 7. 6.

³ 2 Macc. xii. 3, 9.

⁴ 1 Macc. v. 3.

people, divided his army into three parts. 8000 men, under his own command, crossed the Jordan into Gilead; 3000, under his brother Simon, marched into Galilee; the rest, under Joseph the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, remained to defend the liberated provinces; but with strict injunctions to make no hostile movement. The Maccabees, as usual, were irresistible: city after city fell before Judas and Jonathan.¹ At length, having subdued the whole country, Judas found it prudent not to extend his kingdom to the bounds of that of David, and with that view removed all the Jews beyond the Jordan to the more defensible province of Judæa. Simon was equally successful in Galilee; he drove the enemy before him to the gates of Ptolemais. But the commanders who were left at home, in direct violation of orders, undertook an ill-concerted enterprise against Jamnia, a sea-port. They were opposed by Bacchides, the most skilful of the Syrian generals, and met with a signal defeat.² The defeat was before long revenged by the indefatigable Judas, but not without loss. When they proceeded, after observing the Sabbath in Adullam, to bury the dead, small idols were found in the clothes even of some of priestly race. A sin-offering was sent to Jerusalem, not only to atone for the guilt of these men, but for the dead, in whose resurrection the Maccabean Jews, no doubt the Chasidim, had full faith.³

In the mean time the great oppressor of the Jews,

¹ "Bosora (Bosra), and Bosor, and Alema, Casphor, Maked, and Carnaim, — all these cities are strong and great." — v. 26.

² 1 Macc. v. 55–61.

³ 2 Macc. xii. "For if he had not hoped that they that were slain should have risen again, it had been superfluous and vain to pray for the dead." v. 44. This is the earliest *distinct* assertion of the Jewish belief in the resurrection.

Antiochus, had died in Persia. That his end was miserable, both the Jewish and Roman historians agree. He had been repulsed in an assault on a rich and sumptuous temple in Persia, called by the Greeks that of Diana; perhaps the female Mithra or the moon. Whether he had been incited by the desire of plunder, or by his bigoted animosity against foreign religions, does not appear; but at the same time he received intelligence of the disastrous state of his affairs in Palestine. Hastening homeward, he was seized with an incurable disorder, in a small town among the mountains of Paretacene. There, consumed in body by a loathsome ulcer, afflicted in mind by horrible apparitions and remorse of conscience, for his outrage on the Persian temple, says Polybius, — for his horrible barbarities and sacrilege in Judæa, assert the Hebrew writers, — died the most magnificent of the Syro-Macedonian monarchs.¹

Lysias, who commanded in Syria, immediately set a son of the deceased king, Antiochus Eupator, upon the throne; Demetrius, the rightful heir, being a

¹ 1 Macc. vi. 1-16; 2 Macc. ix.; Joseph. Ant. xii. 9. 1; Polybius, xxxi. 11. Josephus is indignant with Polybius for ascribing the death of Antiochus to the violation of the Temple of Diana. The comparison of the simpler pathos in the account of his death in the first book of Maccabees with the passionate and relentless exaggeration of the account in the later second book is an instructive illustration of the growth of popular traditional history. The dying speech of Antiochus in his remorse (in the Second Maccabees) is very curious, "and as touching the Jews whom he had judged not worthy so much as to be buried, but to be cast out with their children to be devoured of the fowls and wild beasts, he would make them all equals to the citizens of Athens: and the holy Temple, which before he had spoiled, he would garnish with goodly gifts, and restore all the holy vessels, with many more, and out of his own revenue defray the charges belonging to the sacrifices: yea, and that also he would become a Jew himself, and go through all the world that was inhabited, and declare the power of God." The other account is strange enough, but more like the Greek, and utterly irreconcilable with the foregoing. It is simple and pathetic, and therefore seemingly truthful. 1 Macc. vi. 11, 13.

hostage in Rome. The first measure of Lysias was to attempt the subjugation of Judæa, where in Jerusalem itself the garrison of the unsundered fortress on Mount Sion, joined to a strong party of the apostate Jews, anxiously awaited his approach.¹ The royal army formed the siege of Bethsura, on the Idumean frontier, not far from Hebron, which Judas had strongly fortified. Their force consisted of 80,000 or 100,000 foot, 20,000 horse, and 32 elephants. Bethsura made a valiant defence, and Judas marched from Jerusalem to its relief. The elephants seem to have excited great terror and astonishment. According to the Jewish annalist each beast was escorted by 1000 foot, splendidly armed, and 500 horse; each bore a tower containing 32 men: and to provoke them to fight, *they showed them the blood of grapes and mulberries*. The whole army, in radiant armor, spread over the mountains and valleys, so that the *mountains glistened therewith, and seemed like lamps of fire*. Yet wherever Judas fought, the Israelites were successful; and his heroic brother, Eleazar, excited the admiration of his countrymen by rushing under an elephant, which he stabbed in the belly, and was crushed to death by its fall. Still Judas found himself obliged to retreat upon Jerusalem.² Bethsura, pressed by famine (it was the Sabbatic year, the land lay fallow, and supplies were scarce), capitulated on honorable terms; and the

¹ The narrative of the affairs after the accession of Antiochus Eupator in 1 Macc. vi. 18-63 is perfectly clear and distinct. That in 2 Macc., from x. 10, is a mass of inextricable confusion. In that account the same Timotheus is twice defeated and killed, x. 21, 38; xii. 15, 25. The whole is a series of repetitions, some of events before the death of Antiochus, some after. Josephus mainly follows 1 Macc. He however sets the king himself at the head of the army of Lysias.

² According to 2 Macc. xi., Lysias was totally defeated and fled; but afterwards proposed a treaty. Ch. xiii. repeats this invasion.

royal army joined the siege of that part of the capital which was in the possession of Judas. Jerusalem resisted all their assaults; the Syrians began to suffer from want of provisions; and intelligence arrived that affairs at Antioch demanded their immediate presence.¹ A treaty was concluded; full liberty of worship was guaranteed to the Jews; they were to be henceforth permitted to live according to their own laws.² Antiochus was admitted into the city; but, in direct violation of the terms, he threw down the walls and dismantled the fortifications.

Demetrius in the mean time, the lineal heir to the throne of Antioch, had escaped from Rome. After some struggle, he overpowered Lysias and Antiochus, put them to death, and became undisputed master of the kingdom. The new king adopted a more dangerous policy against the independence of Judæa than the invasion and vast armies of his predecessor. The looser and less patriotic Jews ill brooked the austere government of the Chasidim, who formed the party of Judas: many, perhaps, were weary of the constant warfare in which their valiant champion was engaged. Menelaus, the renegade High Priest, had accompanied the army of Lysias, and endeavored to form a faction in his favor; but, on some dissatisfaction, Lysias had sent him to Berea, where he was thrown into a tower of ashes, and suffocated, — a fit punishment, it was said, for one who had polluted the altar-fires and holy ashes of God's shrine.³ Onias, son of the Onias murdered

¹ Philip, who had been appointed guardian of his son by Antiochus Epiphanes, had reached Antioch and seized the government.

² 1 Macc. vi. 58-61.

³ 2 Macc. xiii. 3; Joseph. Ant. xii. 9-7. The tower *ὄργανον* ἔιχε περιφερὲς πάντοθεν ἀπόκρημνον ἐς τὸν σπῶδον. It must therefore have been different from that, according to Val. Maximus, built by King Ochus as a place of

by means of Menelaus, the heir of the priesthood, fled to Egypt, and Alcimus, or Jacimus, was raised to the High-Priesthood.¹ By reviving the title of the High Priest to the supreme authority, Demetrius hoped, if not to secure a dependent vassal in the government of Judæa, at least to sow discord among the insurgents. He sent Alcimus, supported by Bacchides, his most able general, to claim his sacerdotal dignity. The zealots for the Law could not resist the title of the High Priest.² Jerusalem submitted. But no sooner had Alcimus got the leaders into his power than he basely murdered sixty of them. Bacchides followed up the blow with great severities in other parts. Still, immediately that Bacchides had withdrawn his troops, Judas again took arms, and Alcimus was compelled to fly to Antioch. Demetrius despatched Nicanor, with a great army, to reinstate Alcimus. Jerusalem was still in the possession of the Syrians; and Nicanor attempted to get Judas into his power by stratagem, but the wary soldier was on his guard. A battle took place at Capharsalama.³ Nicanor retreated, with the loss of 5000 men, to Jerusalem, where he revenged himself by the greatest barbarities: one of the elders, named Raziz, rather than fall into his hands, stabbed himself with his own sword; but the wound not proving mortal, he ran forth and destroyed himself by other means, too horrible to describe.⁴ By these cruelties,

punishment. "*Ochus . . . septum altis parietibus locum cinere complevit, suppositoque tigno prominente benignè cibo et potione exceptos in eo collocabat, e quo somno sopiti decidebant.*" These were not burned, but smothered by the vapors. Val. Max. ix. 2-6. Compare Herod. ii. 100.

¹ 2 Macc. xiv. 3. "Alcimus, who had been high priest, and had defiled himself wilfully in the times of their mingling with the Gentiles."

² 1 Macc. vii. 14.

³ 1 Macc. vii. 31.

⁴ 2 Macc. xiv. 37. 41.

and by a threat of burning the Temple and consecrating the spot to Bacchus, Nicanor endeavored to force the people to surrender their champion. All these treacherous and cruel measures proving ineffectual, he was forced to revert to open war. A second battle took place, in which the superior forces of Nicanor were totally routed, and he himself slain.¹ His head and his right hand were cut off and hung in scorn and triumph, — the head over one of the towers, the hand over one of the gates of the Temple, called afterwards the Gate of Nicanor.² After this final victory Judas took a more decided step to secure the independence of his country; he entered into a formal treaty of alliance with Rome. The Jews had heard great things of Rome: that the Romans had subdued Gaul, were masters of the silver and gold mines of Spain; that kings from all parts of the world had trembled at their mandate; that Philip and Perseus and the great Antiochus had been defeated by, and paid tribute to this mighty people; that to their allies or vassal kings they granted empires — Lydia, Media, even India (such were the reports); yet none of them wore crown or purple, and every year they changed their captains (their consuls). One, the mightiest, had subdued Greece.³ The ambitious Roman senate — steadily pursuing their usual policy of weakening all the great

¹ 1 Macc. vii. 43.

² 1 Macc. vii. 37; 2 Macc. xv. 32, 33. The eastern gate of the inner court of the Temple retained the name of the Gate of Nicanor. "Nicanor was one of the captains of the Greeks, and every day he wagged his hand towards Judæa and Jerusalem, and said, 'Oh, when will be in my power to lay thee waste?'" But when the Asmonean family prevailed, they subdued him and slew him, and hung up his trunk and great toes upon the gates of Jerusalem. Hence Nicanor's Day in the Jewish calendar. — From Baba Taanith, fol. xviii. 2. Lightfoot, vol. x. p. 65.

³ 1 Macc. viii. The whole account of the prowess and victories of the Romans is very curious. See the offensive and defensive treaty.

monarchies of the world, by all means, whether honorable or treacherous; and ever, as Justin observes, ready to grant what did not belong to them¹ — eagerly ratified the independence of Judæa, and received under their protection these useful confederates.

Before, however, the treaty was made known, the glorious career of the Maccabee had terminated. Demetrius had sent Alcimus and Bacchides, with the whole force of his kingdom, into Palestine. Judas was abandoned by all his troops, all but 800 men, yet could not be prevailed on to retreat. Having discomfited one wing of the enemy's army, he fell nobly, as he had lived, the Martyr, as the champion of his country (B. C. 161). His body was rescued and buried in Modin. Among those lofty spirits who have asserted the liberty of their native land against wanton and cruel oppression, none have surpassed the most able of the Maccabees in accomplishing a great end with inadequate means; none ever united more generous valor with a better cause.

The faction of Alcimus now triumphed, the partisans of the Maccabees were oppressed, and the unrelenting Bacchides put to death the bravest of their adherents with the most cruel indignities. Jonathan, the brother of Judas, assembled a small force, and lay concealed in the wilderness of Tekoa, defended by the Jordan on one side, and by a morass on the other. A third of this gallant race, John, had fallen in an affray with an Arab tribe, who surprised him while escorting some of their effects to the friendly Nabathæans.² To revenge

1 "A Demetrio cum descivissent, amicitia Romanorum petita, primo omnium ex Orientalibus libertatem receperunt, facile tunc Romanis de alieno largientibus."—Justin, Hist. xxxvi. 3.

² 1 Macc. ix. 35.

his death was the first object. During a splendid marriage ceremony, the Jews fell on the bride and bridegroom, and put them and all their attendants to the sword. Soon after this they repelled an attack of Bacchides with great loss, but finding their numbers unequal to the contest, they swam the Jordan and escaped. Bacchides, to secure military possession of the country, fortified and garrisoned all the strong towns. In the mean time the unworthy High Priest, Alcimus, having begun to throw down one of the partition-walls in the Temple, was seized with a mortal disorder, and died. On his death, Bacchides retired to Antioch, and Jonathan immediately broke out of his hiding-place. On the reappearance of Bacchides at the head of a considerable army, the Maccabee again took refuge in the wilderness; where he kept up a desultory guerrilla warfare, he himself hovering about the camp of Bacchides, while his brother Simon defended the strong post of Bethhasi. At length Bacchides, wearied of this inglorious and harassing campaign, or perhaps by orders from his court which began to tremble at the danger of oppressing an ally of Rome, entered into honorable terms of peace.¹

Some years passed away in quiet. Jonathan thus became master of Judæa; though Jerusalem, and many of the stronger towns, occupied by garrisons, either of Syrians or apostate Jews, defied his authority.

A revolution in the kingdom of Syria gave Jonathan new strength and importance. An adventurer, Alexander Balas, announcing himself as the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, laid claim to the crown of the Seleucidæ.² The Romans admitted his title, and Jonathan found

¹ 1 Macc. ix. 70.

² 1 Macc. x

himself courted by the two competitors for the kingdom of Antioch. It was a strange reversal in the state of a people which seemed but a few years before to have been doomed to utter extinction ; their country overrun by vast, irresistible armies ; their city walls razed, and the city commanded by a strong garrisoned fortress ; their Temple defiled and dedicated to strange gods ; their few defenders, freebooters in caverns and in the clefts of their mountains. Now they are the arbiters, it might seem, of conflicting rivals for the magnificent throne of the Seleucidæ ; and all this by the valor, the military conduct, the prudence, the patriotism, the religious faith of one family. The offers of King Demetrius were lavish, even to desperation ; exemption from all tribute, *customs from salt, and crown taxes, the third part of the seed, and half of the fruit of the trees.* Not only the city of Jerusalem, even the commanding fortress is evacuated. The terms include the surrender of all prisoners and all captives who had been compelled to migrate with their cattle : not only perfect freedom of religion, but the full observance of all their feasts and Sabbaths ; the enrolment of 30,000 Jews to be paid by the king, but these troops are to occupy under their own officers the strongholds of the land ; certain districts of Samaria and the noble sea-port of Ptolemais are to be added to their territory ; munificent donatives promised for the repair and sustentation of the Temple, and the rebuilding the walls of the city.¹ Still, from mistrust of the promises of Demetrius, and larger advances from Alexander, or foreseeing his prevailing power, or perhaps knowing him to have the support of Rome, the Jews continued faithful to the alliance with Alexander ; and Jonathan, conscious of his own

¹ 1 Macc. x. 35

strength, with the common consent, tacit or avowed, of the contending kings, assumed the pontifical robes, and in his person commenced the reign of the Priest-Kings of the Asmonean line.

The impostor, Alexander Balas, met with the greatest success; defeated and slew Demetrius (B. C. 150); mounted the throne of Syria; and received the daughter of the king of Egypt in marriage. All this the Jews had foreseen. Jonathan, who appeared at the wedding, was received with the highest honors the court could bestow. These distinctions were not thrown away on a useless or ungrateful ally. Apollonius, the general of young Demetrius, who laid claim to his father's crown, was defeated by Jonathan; the victorious High Priest stormed Joppa, took Azotus, and there destroyed the famous temple of Dagon. The reign of Alexander Balas was short. He was overthrown by his father-in-law, Ptolemy, against whose life he had conspired. He fled into Arabia; the Arab chief, Zabdiel, with whom he had taken refuge, sent his head to the conqueror. But Ptolemy, who had won two crowns, those of Syria and Egypt, died, having been mortally wounded in the decisive battle which overthrew Balas; and Demetrius, surnamed Nicator, obtained the throne of Syria. Jonathan seized the opportunity of laying siege to the citadel of Jerusalem. The opposite faction endeavored to obtain the interference of Demetrius; but Jonathan, leaving his troops to press the siege, went in person to the court in Antioch. He was received with great honor, and a treaty was concluded, still more advantageous to his power than that with Alexander Balas. In return, a body-guard of 3000 Jews saved Demetrius from a dangerous conspiracy, and suppressed a turbulent se-

dition in Antioch.¹ The conspiracy took its rise from the claims of Antiochus, son of Alexander Balas, who was supported by Tryphon, an officer equally crafty and ambitious. But the good understanding between Demetrius and Jonathan did not last long: and no sooner was the support of his powerful vassal withdrawn, than the Syrian king was constrained to fly, and yield up the throne to his rival, young Antiochus. Jonathan was treated with great distinction by his new sovereign, Antiochus Theos; he was confirmed in his dignity as High Priest. Simon, his brother, was appointed captain-general of all the country from the ladder of Tyre to the river of Egypt. The activity of Jonathan mainly contributed to the security of Antiochus. He gained two signal victories over the armies in the service of Demetrius,² strengthened many of the fortresses in Judæa: he built a wall to separate the tower or fortress which the Syrians still held on Mount Sion, to insulate it from the city; and he renewed the treaty with Rome, as also with Lacedæmon.³ His prosperous career was suddenly cut short by treachery. Tryphon, the officer who had raised the young Antiochus to the throne, began to entertain ambitious views of supplanting his king. The great obstacles to his scheme were the power and integrity of Jonathan. With insidious offers of peace, he persuaded Jonathan to dismiss a large army which he had assembled to

¹ This part of the history is very obscure. The conspiracy was organized by Ammonius, the minister and favorite of Alexander. It is doubtful whether Antiochus was privy to it. — Joseph. Ant. xiii. 4. 6.

² 1 Macc. xi. 67; xii. 27.

³ The singular connection between Jerusalem and Lacedæmon is related with too much particularity. Yet it may perhaps be supposed to contain some truth. But I have seen no satisfactory explanation of it; and there are great difficulties in the documents as compared with the history of Sparta.

assist Antiochus, and allured him within the walls of Ptolemais, with a few followers, under pretence of surrendering to him the town. He then suddenly closed the gates, took Jonathan prisoner, and poured his troops over the great plain of Galilee. The Jews were struck, but not paralyzed, with consternation. Another of the noble race of Mattathias remained, and Simon was immediately invested with the command.

Simon, the last of the five brethren, was not the least glorious for the vigor and wisdom of his administration.¹ The crafty Tryphon began to negotiate: he offered to yield up Jonathan at the price of 100 talents of silver and two of his children, as hostages for his peaceful conduct. The money and the hostages were sent, but the perfidious Tryphon refused to surrender Jonathan. The two armies watched each other for some time. The Syrians being prevented by a heavy fall of snow from relieving their garrison in the fortress of Jerusalem, Tryphon, having first put to death the brave Jonathan,² hastened into Syria, where he treated the unhappy Antiochus with the same treachery and atrocity. Simon recovered the body of his brother, which was interred at Modin in great state. A sepulchre, with seven pillars, for the father, mother, and five Maccabean brethren, was raised on an eminence: a sea-mark to all the vessels which sailed along the coast.³

Simon openly espoused the party of Demetrius against Tryphon, and received from that monarch a full recognition of the independence of his country. In-

¹ It is remarkable that in the investiture of Simon with the supremacy we read these words, which show the full development of the expectation of a Messiah — a religious Messiah: — “the Jews and priests were well pleased that Simon should be their governor and High Priest forever, until there should arise a faithful prophet.” — 1 Macc. xiv. 41; compare iv. 46: ix. 27.

² 1 Macc. xiii. 23

³ 1 Macc. xiii. 27.

stead, therefore, of interfering in foreign affairs, he directed his whole attention to the consolidation and internal security of the Jewish kingdom. He sent an embassy, which was honorably received at Rome. He fortified Bethsura on the Idumean frontier, and Joppa, the great port of Judæa; reduced Gazara; and at length having made himself master of the fortress in Jerusalem, not merely dismantled it, but, with incredible labor, levelled the hill on which it stood, so that it no longer commanded the hill of the Temple. Simon executed the law with great impartiality and vigor; repaired the Temple, restored the sacred vessels. The wasted country began, under his prudent administration, to enjoy its ancient fertility. In the picturesque language of their older poets, the historian says, *The ancient men sat all in the streets, communing together of the wealth of the land, and the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel.*¹ To secure the alliance of the Romans, the great safeguard of the new State, he sent a golden shield, weighing 1000 pounds, to Rome. The Romans, in return, sent a proclamation to many of the kings of the East, to all the cities in the empire in which the Jews were settled, announcing their recognition of Simon as the Prince of Judæa; and while on the one hand the Jews at their command were to acknowledge Simon, on the other they haughtily intimated to the kings and cities under their dominion that the Jews were under their protection and in alliance with Rome. These imperious mandates were addressed to the kings of Syria, Pergamus, and Cappadocia, even to Parthia; to Sparta, Sicyon, Delos, Gortyna in Crete, to Samos, Cos, and Rhodes, to Myndus, Halicarnassus, and Cnidus; to the cities in

¹ 1 Macc. xiv. 9.

Lycia and Pamphylia, in Cyprus, the Island of Aradus, the Phœnician territory and Cyrene. This is a singular illustration of the wide-spread dispersion of the Jews even in those times, and of the all-commanding policy of Rome.¹ In the mean time, Demetrius, the rightful sovereign of Syria, had been taken prisoner in an expedition against the Parthians. Antiochus Sidetes, his brother, levied an army to dispossess the usurper and murderer, Tryphon. In a short time Antiochus gained the superiority in the field, and besieged Tryphon in Dora.² Simon openly espoused his party; but Antiochus considered Simon's assistance dearly purchased at the price of the independence of Palestine, and, above all, the possession of the important ports of Gazara and Joppa. Athenobius, his ambassador, sent to demand tribute and indemnification, was struck with astonishment at the riches and splendor of Simon's palace;³ and on the Jewish sovereign refusing all submission, and only offering a price for the possession of Joppa, Antiochus sent his general, Cendebeus, to invade the country. Simon, now grown old, intrusted the command of his forces to his sons, Judas and John Hyrcanus. They, having defeated Cendebeus, and taken Azotus, returned crowned with victory.

But the Maccabean race seemed destined to perish by violence (B. C. 134). Ptolemy, son of Abubus, the son-in-law of Simon, under a secret understanding with Antiochus, king of Syria, formed a conspiracy to usurp the sovereignty of Judæa. At a banquet in Jericho, he contrived basely to assassinate Simon and his elder son; and at the same time endeavored to sur-

¹ 1 Macc. xv. 22-24. The edict was issued in the name of the consul Lucius. Lucius Cæcilius Metellus, with Appius Claudius Pulcher, was consul A. U. 612, B. C. 141.

² 1 Macc. xv. 10 *et seq*

³ 1 Macc. xv. 32.

prise the younger, John Hyrcanus, in Gazara.¹ But John inherited the vigor and ability of his family; he eluded the danger, appeared in Jerusalem, and was unanimously proclaimed the High Priest and ruler of the country. His first measure was to march against Jericho to revenge the base murder of his father; but Ptolemy had in his power the mother and brethren of Hyrcanus. He shut himself up in a fortress, and exposed his captives on the walls, scourging them, and threatening to put them to death. The noble-minded woman exhorted her son, notwithstanding her own danger, to revenge his father's murder: but Hyrcanus hesitated; the siege was protracted; and, at length, according to the improbable reason assigned by Josephus, the year being a Sabbatic year, entirely raised the siege. Ptolemy fled to Philadelphia; of his subsequent fate we know nothing. The rapid movements of Hyrcanus had disconcerted the confederacy between the assassin and Antiochus. Still, however, the Syrian army overran the whole country. Hyrcanus was besieged in Jerusalem, where he was reduced to the last extremity by famine. He had been compelled to the hard measure of expelling from the city all those, the old and young, of both sexes, who were incapable of contributing to the defence. The besiegers refused to let them pass; many perished miserably in the ditches and on the outworks.² But Antiochus proved a moderate and generous enemy; on the Feast of Tabernacles, he conceded a week's truce, furnished the be-

¹ Rather Gezer, not to be confounded with Gaza.

² In this siege Jerusalem, for the only time it should seem, suffered for want of water. Probably the excellent system of wells, conduits, and tanks for the supply of water in the days of Solomon, restored in later times (and which did not fail in the last fatal siege), had been neglected or wilfully destroyed.

sieged with victims for sacrifice, bulls with golden horns, and gold and silver vessels for the Temple service. He was gratefully compared with his impious ancestor, Antiochus Epiphanes, and called Antiochus the Pious.¹ Finally he concluded a peace, of which the terms, though hard, were better than Hyrcanus, in the low condition to which he was reduced, could fairly expect. The country was to submit to vassalage under the kings of Syria; tribute was to be paid for Joppa and other towns held by grants from the predecessors of Antiochus; and Jerusalem was dismantled. But Hyrcanus, it is said, opened the sepulchre of king David, where he found three thousand talents of silver.

Four years after, John Hyrcanus was summoned to attend his liege lord on an expedition into Parthia, under the pretence of delivering Demetrius Nicator, brother of the king, formerly possessor of the crown, and long a captive in Parthia. Hyrcanus returned before the defeat, which lost Antiochus his throne and life. Demetrius escaped, and recovered the throne of Antioch. Hyrcanus seized the glorious opportunity of throwing off the yoke of Syria, and the Jewish kingdom reassumed its independence, which it maintained until it was compelled to acknowledge the Roman dominion — first under the Asmonean dynasty, then under the House of Herod.

The Syrian monarchy being distracted by rival competitors for the throne, the prudent and enterprising Hyrcanus lost no opportunity of extending his territory and increasing his power. He took Samœga and Medaba, in the trans-Jordanic region. But his greatest triumph, that which raised him the highest in the opinion of his zealous countrymen, was the capture of

¹ Joseph. Ant. xiii. 8. 2.

Sichem, and the total destruction of the rival temple on Gerizim.¹ It was levelled to the earth; not a vestige remained. For two hundred years this hated edifice had shocked the sight of the pious pilgrim to Jerusalem. Now the Temple of Jerusalem resumed its dignity as the only sanctuary where the God of their fathers was worshipped, at least within the region of Palestine. The Samaritan temple had always seemed a usurpation upon the peculiar property of the Jewish people in the universal Deity; now they were again undisputed possessors, as of the Divine Presence, so they conceived of the Divine protection.

Yet, at a more remote distance, another temple had arisen, which excited great jealousy in the more rigid. This was in Egypt, where, in fact, another nation of Jews had gradually grown up. On the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, a great number of Jews, under Gedaliah, fled to Egypt. Alexander is reported to have encouraged their settlement in his new city of Alexandria by privileges which put them on the same footing with the Macedonians. Ptolemy, founder of the Egypto-Grecian kingdom, transported from Judæa 30,000 families; some he settled in Cyrene, most in Alexandria. During the oppressions of the Syrian kings, many, envying the peaceful and prosperous state of their brethren in Egypt, abandoned Judæa, and took refuge under the protection of the Ptolemies, who, either as useful subjects, or never entirely abandoning their ambitious views on Palestine, generally endeavored to secure the attachment of the Jews.² They lived under their Ethnarch, and occu-

¹ Joseph. Ant. ix.

² Herzfeld has a full and valuable chapter on the rise and history of the Alexandrian-Jewish community. — iii. p. 436 *et seq.*

pied a separate portion of the vast city; not as in a Ghetto in later days in the cities of Europe, but in a quarter vying in extent, splendor, and wealth with the other quarters of prosperous Alexandria. Under the reign of Ptolemy Philometor, as has been stated, Onias, (son of that Onias who was murdered by Menelaus,) the rightful heir of the High-Priesthood, fled into Egypt. He rose high in favor with the king and his queen, Cleopatra; and, being deprived of his rightful inheritance, Onias conceived the design of building a temple for the use of the Egyptian Jews. The king entered into his views, whether to advance his popularity with his Jewish subjects, or to preserve the wealth, which, as tribute or offering to the Temple, flowed out of his dominions to Jerusalem. He granted to Onias a ruined temple in Leontopolis, in the Heliopolitan nome, and a tract of land for the maintenance of the worship. Both temple and domain remained unviolated till the reign of Vespasian. Onias reconciled his countrymen to this bold innovation by a text in Isaiah (xix. 18, 19). In this passage it is predicted that *there should be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt*. According to the interpretation of Onias, the very place was designated. That which in our translation appears as "the city of destruction," was interpreted, perhaps not inaccurately, the City of the Sun (Heliopolis). Thus then the Jews of Alexandria claimed divine authority for their temple, and had unquestionably the legitimate High Priest as their officiating minister. The Aramean Jews looked on their Egyptian brethren with assumed contempt, but inward jealousy: perhaps the distance

On the persecutions attributed to Ptolemy Philopator and Ptolemy Physcon, see below.

only prevented a feud, almost as deadly as that with the Samaritans.¹

Alexandria being the retreat of Grecian learning, the Jews turned their attention to literature, and even to philosophy. But in some respects they were in an unfortunate situation, with great temptations and great facilities to substitute fiction for truth. They were pressed on all sides, by Egyptians, by Greeks, and by the Aramean Jews. The former denied their antiquity as a nation, and reproached them with the servitude and base condition of their ancestors in Egypt, which they grossly exaggerated; the Greeks treated their national literature with contempt; the rigid Jews could not forgive their adoption of the Greek language and study of Greek letters. The strange legend about the origin of their version of the Scriptures, commonly called the Septuagint, evidently originated in their desire to gain a miraculous sanction for their sacred books, and thus to put them in some degree on the same footing with the original Hebrew Scriptures. This work, which probably was executed at different periods, by writers of various abilities and different styles, was reported by a certain Aristeas to have been the work of seventy-two translators, deputed by the grand Sanhedrin, at the desire of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who were shut up in separate cells, yet each rendered the whole work, word for word, in the same language.²

¹ The older Mischna says, "Priests who have officiated in the Temple of Onias cannot officiate in Jerusalem: they are to be looked on as priests who have infirmities (Gebrechen); they may participate and eat of the offerings, but cannot offer." It appears from this that the service in the Onias Temple was not considered idolatry, but as sacrifice in an unhallowed place. A man who has vowed an offering, if he offers in the Onias Temple has not fulfilled his vow. See the rest of the passage. Jost, i. 118.

² Philo distinctly asserts (and he is a trustworthy authority) that the translation of the *Law* was executed in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

The romantic history of the persecution of the Alexandrian Jews, sometimes called the third book of the Maccabees, was apparently compiled with a similar design, to show that they had been exposed, on account of their religion, to equal barbarities with their brethren, endured them with equal courage, and were delivered in a manner equally miraculous. Ptolemy Philopator (or Ptolemy Physcon, for it is not easy to fix a period for the legend) had determined on the extermination of the Jews, unless they would apostatize from their religion. Only 300 consented to this base compliance; the rest were shut up in the Hippodrome to be destroyed by elephants. The king being engaged in a drunken revel, the Jews remained a whole day expecting, yet boldly determined to endure, their miserable fate. When the elephants were let loose, they refused to assail the Jews, but turned all their fury on the spectators, on whom they committed frightful ravages.¹ We have mentioned these facts as illustrating the character of the Alexandrian Jews: we pass unwillingly over their controversies with the Egyptians and the Greeks, and the curious union of Grecian philosophy with the Jewish religion, which prevailed in their schools, as these subjects belong rather to the history of Jewish literature than to that of the Jewish

His account, though manifestly that of a Jew, giving the transaction the highest state and importance, has nothing incredible; and his assertion that an annual festival was kept in the Island of Pharos to commemorate the event can hardly be called in question. — De Mose, pp. 138 *et seq.*

¹ Herzfeld accepts this as history, stripping off, as is his wont, the marvellous or miraculous part. He assigns it to the reign of Philopator. He may be right. But the parallel story, the same in almost all its incidents, especially as to the elephants, is related by Josephus (*contra Apion*, ii. 5), and placed under Ptolemy Physcon.

Herzfeld dismisses the angels, said to have appeared, and supposes the elephants to have been frightened by the wild cry arising from thousands of Jews crowded together, and in terror of a most dreadful death.

people.¹ The Alexandrian Jews mingled in all the transactions and attained the highest honors of the state. Onias, who built the temple during the pontificate of Jonathan, filled the most eminent offices in the state and in the army; and at a later period we shall find Chelcias and Ananias, two Jews, commanding the armies of Cleopatra.

While Egypt and Syria were desolated by the crimes and the contentions of successive pretenders to their thrones, the state of Judæa enjoyed profound peace under the vigorous administration of Hyrcanus. Having destroyed Sichem, he next turned his forces against Idumea, subjugated the country, compelled the ancient rivals of his subjects to submit to circumcision, and to adopt the Jewish religion; and so completely incorporated the two nations that the name of Idumea appears no more in history as a separate kingdom. Hyrcanus maintained a strict alliance with the Romans, and renewed a treaty, offensive and defensive, against their common enemies.² In the twenty-sixth year of his reign he determined to reduce the province and city of Samaria to his authority. He intrusted the command of his army to his sons, Aristobulus and An-

¹ This subject would still require more ample space and wider investigation than this work can afford. Among the authors who have examined it with industry and success I would name Gfrorer, and especially Dahne, *Geschichtliche Darstellung der Jüdisch-Alexandrinischen Religions-Philosophie*. Halle, 1834.

² For the reign of Hyrcanus, Joseph. Ant. xiii. 10. Justin writes: "Quorum (Judæorum) vires tantæ fuere, ut post hunc (Antiochum) nullum Macedonium regem tulerunt, domesticisque imperiis usi Syriam magnis bellis infestaverunt." — Justin, xxxvi. 1.

Justin proceeds to give the view of the Jews and of their history popular among the Greeks: a singular confusion of the true and the erroneous. The expression of wonder at the union of the temporal with the religious law under the Priest-Kings (whom he carries up to Moses and Aaron) is striking. "Semperque exinde hic mos apud Judæos fuit, ut eosdem reges et sacerdotes haberent; quorum justitia religione permixta, incredibile quantum coaluere."

tigonus. The Samaritans implored the protection of Antiochus Cyzicenus, then king of Damascus, who marched to their relief, but suffered a total defeat by the brothers. In conjunction with 6000 Egyptian allies, Antiochus made a second attempt to rescue this province from the power of the Jews, but with no better success. Samaria fell after an obstinate resistance of a whole year; one of the Syrian generals betrayed Scythopolis and other towns to the Jews. Thus Hyrcanus became master of all Samaria and Galilee. The city of Samaria was razed, trenches dug (the hill on which it stood being full of springs), and the whole site of the detested city flooded and made a pool of water.

But though thus triumphant abroad, Hyrcanus, at the end of his reign, was troubled by serious dissensions at home. Two great religious and political factions divided the state — those of the Pharisees and Sadducees. No question in Jewish history is more obscure than the origin and growth of these two parties. The Maccabees had greatly owed their success to the Chasidim, or righteous. The zeal, and even the fanaticism of this party, had been admirable qualities in the hour of trial and exertion. Austerity is a good discipline for the privations and hardships of war. Undaunted courage, daring enterprise, contempt of death, fortitude in suffering, arose directly out of the leading religious principles of this party — the assurance of Divine protection, and the certainty of another life. Their faith, if it led them to believe too much, and induced them to receive the traditions of their fathers as of equal authority with the written law and authentic history, made them believe only with the stronger fervor and sincerity all the wonders

and glories of their early annals: wonders and glories which they trusted the same Power, in whose cause, and under whose sanction, they fought, would renew in their persons. Even their belief in angels, celestial, unseen beings, who ever environed them, to assist their arms, and discomfit their enemies, contributed to their confidence and resolution. In this great conflict the hero and the religious enthusiast were one and the same. But those qualities and principles which made them such valiant and active soldiers in war, when the pride of success and conscious possession of power were added, tended to make them turbulent, intractable, and domineering subjects in peace. Those who are most forward in asserting their liberty do not always know how to enjoy it, still less how to concede it to others. Their zeal turned into another channel — the maintenance and propagation of their religious opinions — and flowed as fiercely and violently as before. Themselves austere, they despised all who did not practise the same austerities; earnest in their belief, not only in the law, but in every traditional observance, they branded as freethinkers all whose creed was of greater latitude than their own; and considered it their duty to enforce the same rigid attention, not merely to every letter of the law, but likewise to all their own peculiar observances, which they themselves regarded as necessary, and most scrupulously performed. In everything, as they were the only faithful servants, so they were the delegates and interpreters of God. As God had conquered by them, so he ruled by them; and all their opponents were the enemies of the national constitution, the national religion, and the national Deity. Thus the generous and self-devoted Assideans, or Chasidim, degenerated

into the haughty, tyrannical, and censorious Pharisees, the Separatists of the Jewish religion, from *Pharez*, the Hebrew word for to “separate,” or stand aloof. The better order among the opponents of the Pharisees were the Karaites, strict adherents to the letter of the law, but decidedly rejecting all traditions. The great strength of the party consisted, however, of the Sadducees.¹ The religious doctrines of the Sadducees, it is well known, were directly opposite to those of the Pharisees. The Pharisees were moderate Predestinarians: the Sadducees asserted Free Will. The Pharisees believed in the immortality of the soul, and the existence of angels, though their creed on both these subjects was strongly tinged with Orientalism: the Sadducees denied **both**. The Pharisees received

¹ “Daraus ergab sich für alle diejenigen welche nach dieser Richtung hin ihre Ansicht vom Judenthum darlegten, indem sie jede Berührung des Unreinen sorgfältig mieden, und schon dadurch vom Volke und von geselligem Verkehr sich sonderten, die Benennung *Parusch*, Abgesonderte, sie mögen solche selbst angenommen oder von Andern erhalten haben.” Jost, Jud. i. 200.

There is a very remarkable chapter on the origin of the Sadducees and Pharisees in Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, p. 101 *et seq.* He derives the name Sadducee from Zadok. The hierarchical families, the descendants of the High Priest Zadok, were obliged to cede the High-Priesthood first to the Asmoneans, the Maccabees, then to the High Priests appointed by Herod and his successors and by the Romans. But they remained as a priestly aristocracy, proud of their descent, and administering many priestly functions; but gradually shrunk into a sect. “Die Zadokiter hatten somit aufgehört die Regenten zu sein; sie waren nicht mehr die Melchisedek, ‘die Könige der Gerechtigkeit,’ nicht mehr die Zaddikim, ‘die Gerechten,’ sie standen nicht mehr über dem Volke; die Sadducæer, in welchen die Zadokiten den Kern bildeten, waren nun eine Partei im Volke, eine abgeschlossene aristokratische, welche in ihrer Exklusivität den Zudrang der Masse von sich abwehrte, aber durch als adlige, durch Alter des Geschlechts, durch Priesterheiligkeit oder durch neu erworbene Ansehn den bedeutendsten Einfluss hatte, eine kleine aber mächtige Partei.” The Pharisees, though separatists, were the popular, the democratic faction. Geiger adds with characteristic Germanism: — “Sie sind um eine Analogie aus neuerer Zeit anzuwenden, die Independenten gegenüber den Episcopalen.” Geiger refers, as an illustration of his views, to the remarkable passage, Acts iv 1-4

not merely the Prophets, but the traditional Law likewise, as of equal authority with the Book of Moses. The Sadducees, if they did not reject, considered the Prophets greatly inferior to the Law. The Sadducees are commonly said to have derived their doctrine from Sadoc, the successor of Antigonus Socho in the presidency of the great Sanhedrin.¹ Antigonus taught the lofty doctrine of pure and disinterested love and obedience to God, without regard to punishment or reward. Sadoc is said to have denied the latter, without maintaining the higher doctrine on which it was founded. Still the Sadducees were far from what they are sometimes represented, the teachers of a loose and indulgent Epicureanism; they inculcated the belief in Divine Providence, and the just and certain administration of temporal rewards and punishments. The Pharisees had the multitude, ever led away by extravagant religious pretensions, entirely at their disposal: Sadduceeism spread chiefly among the higher orders.²

¹ They were by most accounts two kindred, but to a certain degree conflicting sects, the Sadducees and Boethusians, derived from Sadoc and Boethus. The latter, however, are but dimly traced, and either died away or melted into the cognate Sadducees. Jost asserts that the earliest distinct account of the origin of the Sadducees is in a late Rabbinical work, the *Aboth* of R. Nathan: but both names are found in the older *Mischna*; and *Josephus* is full concerning them.

² I have no doubt that in one of the noblest books among those called the Apocryphal we have the work of a Sadducee, or rather, for it is a manifest fusion of several books, a full declaration of the views of the higher Sadducaic anti-traditional party. In the Book of Ecclesiasticus there are magnificent descriptions of God's creative power, of His all-comprehending providence, of His chastisement of unrighteousness, of His rewards of godliness; the most beautiful precepts of moral and social virtue, of worldly wisdom and sagacity, of chastity, temperance, justice, beneficence — *but of a life after death not one word*. Not only this (and silence on such a subject is conclusive), but there is what amounts to a direct abnegation of such doctrine. "For all things cannot be in men, because the son of man is not immortal," (xvii. 30.) In sorrow for the dead, too, there is no word of consolation from the hope of another life xxii. 11; xxxviii. 17; xl. (and xli.) So as to angels: in the whole book there is no word recognizing any intermediate

It would be unjust to the Sadducees to confound them with that unpatriotic and Hellenized party, which, during the whole of the noble struggles of the Maccabees, sided with the Syrian oppressors, for these are denounced as avowed apostates from Judaism; yet probably, after the establishment of the independent government, the latter might make common cause, and become gradually mingled up with the Sadducean party, as exposed alike to the severities of the Pharisaic administration.¹ During the rest of the Jewish history we shall find these parties as violently opposed to each other, and sometimes causing as fierce and dangerous dissensions, as those which rent the commonwealths of Greece and Rome, or the republican states of modern Italy.

It was at the close of his reign that Hyrcanus broke with the Pharisaic party, and openly joined the opposite faction, — a measure of which the disastrous consequences were not entirely felt till the reign of his son Alexander. The cause of this rupture is singularly characteristic of Jewish manners. During a banquet, at which the chiefs of the ruling sect were present, Hyrcanus demanded their judgment on his general conduct and administration of affairs, which he professed to have regulated by the great principles of justice, and by strict adherence to the tenets of their sect. The Pharisees, with general acclamation, testified their approval of all his proceedings; — one voice alone, that of Eleazar, interrupted the general harmony.

beings between God and man. I can find no passage which might not have been written by a highly religious Sadducee; and that such Sadducees there were, there can be no doubt.

¹ Jost has a curious chapter on the differences between the Pharisees and Sadducees in their interpretation of the Law, as to some points of the daily or other sacrifices, and as to some of the ordinary usages of life, even of inheritance; c ix. p. 216

“ If you are a just man, abandon the High-Priesthood, for which you are disqualified by the illegitimacy of your birth.” The mother of Hyrcanus had formerly, it was said, though, according to Josephus, falsely, been taken captive, and thus exposed to the polluting embraces of a heathen master. The indignant Hyrcanus demanded the trial of Eleazar for defamation. By the influence of the Pharisees he was shielded, and escaped with scourging and imprisonment. Hyrcanus, enraged at this unexpected hostility, listened to the representations of Jonathan, a Sadducee, who accused the rival faction of a conspiracy to overawe the sovereign power; and from that time he entirely alienated himself from the Pharisaic councils. This able prince reigned for twenty-nine years; he built the castle of Baris on a rock within the fortifications which surrounded the hill of the Temple, on the northwest corner of which it stood. It afterwards became the Antonia of Herod.

Aristobulus, the son of Hyrcanus, succeeded: his reign, though brief, was long enough for much crime and much misery. His mother, by the will of Hyrcanus, claimed the sovereignty; he threw her into a dungeon, and starved her to death. The fate of his brother Antigonus (the one of his brothers whom he loved) will immediately appear: the other three of his brethren were kept in close imprisonment. Soon after he had assumed the diadem, the new king made a successful expedition and subdued Iturea, a district at the foot of Anti-Libanus, afterwards called Auranitis. He returned, suffering under a dangerous malady. His brother Antigonus, a short time after, having completed the conquest, as he entered Jerusalem, hastened, all armed as he was, with his soldiers, to pay his devo-

tions in the Temple ; to utter his thanksgiving prayers, it is added, for his brother's recovery.¹ This innocent act was misrepresented by the queen and the harem of Aristobulus as covering a treacherous design. Aristobulus sent to summon his brother to attend him unarmed. The treacherous enemies of Antigonus, instead of this message, delivered one commanding him to come with some very splendid armor, which his brother wished to see. The guards were posted ; and Antigonus, appearing in arms, was assassinated in the subterranean gallery which led from the Temple to the palace of Baris. Aristobulus, seized with agonizing compunction for his crime, vomited blood. The slave who bore the vessel away happened to stumble on the very spot where Antigonus had been slain, and the blood of the two brothers mingled on the pavement. A cry of horror ran through the Palace. The king, having extorted from the reluctant attendants the dreadful cause, was seized with such an agony of remorse and horror that he expired.²

Alexander Jannæus, the next in succession, assumed the throne ; a feeble attempt was made by his younger brother to usurp his place, but the rebel was seized and put to death.³ Alexander was an enterprising rather than a successful prince ; and it was perhaps fortunate for the kingdom of Judæa that the adjacent states were weakened by dissension and mutual hostility. Egypt was governed by Cleopatra, widow of Ptolemy Physcon ; Cyprus by Ptolemy Lathyrus, her eldest son, and most deadly enemy. The Syrian monarchy

¹ Joseph. Ant. xiii. 11.

² All this was said to have been foreshown by an Essenian prophet. Perhaps the life of Aristobulus was darkened by religious animosity : he was called by the unpopular name *φιλελλήν*

³ Joseph. Ant. xiii. 12.

was shared by Antiochus Grypus and Antiochus Cyzicenus: one held his court at Antioch, the other at Damascus. The Jews possessed the whole region of Palestine, except the noble port of Ptolemais; Dora and the Tower of Straton were in the hands of Zoilus, who owned a sort of allegiance to Syria. Gaza was likewise independent of the Jewish government. The first object of Alexander was to reduce all these cities. He formed the siege of Ptolemais. The inhabitants sent to demand relief from Ptolemy Lathyrus, but after the Cyprian king had levied an army of 30,000 men, dreading the loss of their independence, the Ptolemaites refused to admit him into their gates. Ptolemy turned on the dominions of Zoilus, and on Gaza. Alexander entered into negotiations with Ptolemy for the friendly surrender of those places, and at the same time with Cleopatra for a large force to expel the king of Cyprus from Palestine. Ptolemy, detecting the double intrigue, marched into Judæa, took Asochis near the Jordan on the Sabbath, ravaged the country, and (by the assistance of an expert tactician, Philostephanus) totally defeated Alexander, with the loss of 30,000 men, pursued his ravages, and, to spread the terror of his name, is said to have practised most abominable cruelties.¹ Having surprised a village full of women and children, he ordered them to be hewn in pieces, and cast into caldrons, as if to be boiled; so that the horror of this invasion of cannibals spread throughout the whole country. The kingdom of Judæa was lost but for a great army of Egyptians under the command of Chelcias and Ananias, two Alexandrian Jews.² Lathyrus retreated into Cœlesyria: part of Cleopatra's army pursued him, part formed the

¹ Joseph. Ant. xiii. 12. 5, 6.

² Joseph. Ant. xiii. 13. 1.

siege of Ptolemais. Lathyrus determined on the bold measure of marching into Egypt: he was repelled, and retreated to Gaza. Ptolemais fell; and Alexander came to congratulate the Queen of Egypt on her victory. Cleopatra was strongly urged to seize the prince, and thus make herself mistress of Judæa: the remonstrances of Ananias, the Jew, dissuaded her from this breach of faith.

The Cypriot and Egyptian armies being withdrawn, Alexander resumed his sovereignty; but his restless disposition involved him in new wars, with no better success. He invaded the country east of the Jordan, took Gadara, but was totally defeated before Amathus, which he had plundered of the treasures of Theodorus, prince of Philadelphia. The indefatigable Prince-Priest next fell upon the territory of Gaza, took Raphia and Anthedon, and, although constrained to raise the siege of Gaza by a descent of Lathyrus, he formed it again the next year. Gaza made an obstinate resistance. At one time the besieger had nearly lost his whole army by a desperate sally of the besieged; at length, however, the commander of the garrison, Apollodotus, having been slain by treachery, Gaza surrendered. Alexander at first seemed inclined to mercy, but, before long, let loose his troops to revenge themselves on the town. The inhabitants took up arms; yet, after a considerable loss, the conqueror succeeded in totally dismantling and destroying this ancient city, and left it a heap of ruins.

But the most dangerous enemies of Alexander were at home. The Pharisaic faction had the populace at their command; and at the Feast of Tabernacles, while he was officiating as king and High Priest, a mutiny broke out. The mob pelted him with citrons, re-

proached him with the baseness of his descent, and denied his right to the priesthood. Alexander commanded his troops to fall on the unarmed multitude, and slew 6000. To prevent these insults in future, Alexander raised a wooden partition between the court of the priests and that of the people ; and, to awe the insurgents, enrolled a body-guard of foreign mercenaries, chiefly Pisidians and Cilicians. He then, a second time, invaded the country east of Jordan, reduced it to pay tribute, took Amathus, but again suffered a total defeat by Orodes, king of Arabia. The Jews seized the opportunity to rise in rebellion, and for six years the country suffered all the horrors of civil war. Alexander at first met with great success ; but when he endeavored to bring the mutineers to terms, they cried out with one voice, that they would yield only on one condition, that he would put himself to death. At length, pressed on all sides, the insurgents demanded the assistance of Demetrius Euchærus, one of the kings of Syria. Alexander, always unfortunate in battle, was routed, with the loss of all his 6000 mercenaries and many other of his troops. He fled to the mountains ; but a sudden revulsion of popular feeling took place in his favor, and he found himself at the head of 60,000 men. Demetrius retreated, and Alexander, master of the whole country, besieged his enemies in Bethome, took the city, and marched to Jerusalem in triumph. His vengeance was signal and terrible. During a banquet, in the midst of his concubines, he publicly crucified 800 men, and slew their wives and children before their faces. From this atrocity he was named the Thracian. Of the disaffected, 8000 abandoned the city ; but, under his iron sway, the whole country remained in awed submission,

though not unharassed with wars against the Syrians and Arabians, during the rest of his reign. His foreign policy at this period was equally vigorous. The kingdom of the Jews at his death comprehended the coast from the Tower of Straton to Rhinocorura, Idumea, Samaria, and considerable provinces to the east of the Jordan. In the fourth year after his triumph over the insurgents, Alexander Jannæus was seized with a mortal malady. A disturbed and rebellious kingdom, and newly conquered provinces, were not likely to submit to the feeble authority of women and children.¹ The dying king summoned his wife Alexandra, and strongly urged, as the only means of preserving the kingdom, that on his death she should throw herself into the arms of the Pharisaic party, powerful on account of their numbers and turbulence, and still more from having the people entirely under their direction. Thus, after an unquiet and eventful reign of twenty-seven years, Alexander Jannæus died.² His widow Alexandra immediately adopted the policy which he had suggested, and threw the administration

¹ Ptolemy Lathyrus had established Demetrius on the throne of Damascus. His brother Philip reigned in Antioch. Joseph. Ant. xiii. 14.

It is to all this period of Jewish history that Tacitus appears vaguely to allude: — “Dum Assyrios penes Medosque et Persas Oriens fuit despectissima pars servientium: postquam Macedones præpotuere rex Antiochus demere superstitionem et mores Græcorum dare adnixus, quominus teterimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthorum bello prohibitus est: nam eâ tempestate Arsaces desciverat. Tum Judæi, Macedonibus invalidis, Parthis nondum adultis (et Romani procul erant), sibi ipsi reges imposuere, qui mobilitate vulgi expulsi, resumpta per arma dominatione, fugas civium, urbium everisiones, fratrum, conjugum, parentum, neces, aliaque solita regibus ausi, superstitionem fovebant: quia honor sacerdotii firuamentum potentiae adsumebatur.” Hist. v. 8. Strabo, after a strange, loose account of Moses and the earlier history of the Jews, jumps to this period — Ἡ δὲ δυνάμεις τῆς τυραννουμένης τῆς Ἰουδαίας, πρῶτος ἀντ’ ἑρέως ἀνεδείξεν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ἀλέξανδρος. Lib. xvi. p. 762.

² Joseph. Ant. xii. 16.

into the hands of the Pharisees. The change was instant; the greatest honors were paid to the remains of the unpopular Jannæus, and the High-Priesthood was conferred on his eldest son, Hyrcanus II.

During the whole reign of Alexandra, the wisdom, or rather the imperious necessity of her husband's dying admonition became more manifest; the throne stood secure, the whole land, says Josephus, was at rest, except the Pharisees, who began to execute dreadful reprisals upon their former adversaries. Having strengthened their party by a general release of prisoners and recall of exiles, they began their attack on Diogenes, a favorite of the late king. They next demanded public justice on all who had been accessory to the execution of the 800 who were crucified.¹

¹ According to Rabbinical authorities (Jost, i. 241), the administration of justice rested during the reign of Alexandra with Simon Ben Schetach and Judah Ben Tabbai, both Pharisees. One of the great points in dispute between the two sects was as to the punishment to be inflicted on false witnesses in capital cases. The Sadducees maintained that the false witnesses were not to be executed unless the accused had suffered death through their perjury. Ben Tabbai put to death certain false witnesses where the accused had not lost his life. "As I hope for comfort," he said, "to confute the lying doctrine of the Sadducees." "As I hope for comfort," said Ben Schetach, "you have done wrong: false witnesses incur neither death nor stripes, unless they are all convicted of false witness." Ben Tabbai declared that he would never again deliver a judgment without consulting Ben Schetach. Every day he prostrated himself on the grave of them whom he had executed, and implored pardon. But Ben Schetach hung up eighty women, near Ascalon, for witches, having himself been the only witness of their dark proceedings in a cave. In revenge for this, his son was accused of a capital crime. The son was condemned to death. As he was carried to execution, the witnesses declared that they had sworn falsely. Ben Schetach ordered his son to be released. "Father, if thou wishest for the welfare of Israel, let me die." Some suppose that the cool-blooded youth wished to ensure the death of his perjured enemies. But whether he was actually put to death does not appear. Jost, *Jud.* 244. This is a curious illustration of the hatred of the two parties, both zealous for the written law, but sacrificing their own lives and those of others for their own interpretation of it.

Simon Ben Schetach, says Jost, was the soul of the new Pharisaic legislation.

Alexandra, unable to resist, was compelled to submit ; but her second son, Aristobulus, a man of daring ambition and intrigue, seized the opportunity of placing himself at the head of the party, which, though now oppressed, was still powerful. They appealed to the justice as well as to the mercy of the queen, and remonstrated on the ingratitude of abandoning the faithful adherents of her husband to the vengeance of their enemies. She adopted a measure intended to secure them, without offending the Pharisees : they were allowed to leave Jerusalem, and were enrolled as the garrisons of the frontier cities. To employ the restless mind of her son Aristobulus, she sent him, with a considerable army, under the pretence of checking the depredations of Ptolemy, who ruled a small independent kingdom at Chalcis, but with the secret design of seizing Damascus. Aristobulus succeeded both in the object contemplated by his mother and in his own ; he got possession of Damascus, and strongly attached the army to his person. After a prosperous reign of nine years, Alexandra fell sick and died ; a woman of masculine understanding and energy of character. Before her decease, Aristobulus secretly fled from Jerusalem, put himself at the head of the army, summoned all the frontier garrisons, which were composed of his own party, to his assistance, and immediately, upon the death of his mother, advanced rapidly towards Jerusalem. The Pharisaic party, with Hyrcanus at their head, seized as hostages the wife and children of Aristobulus, and hastily raising their forces, met the invader at Jericho. But the affections of the army were centred in the bold and enterprising Aristobulus ; a great part deserted, the rest were discomfited ; the younger brother entered Jerusalem, the elder was be-

sieged in the palace of Baris ; till at length the mild and indolent Hyrcanus consented to yield up the sovereignty, and retire perhaps to the happier station of a private man. The blow was fatal to the Pharisaic party.

But an enemy remained, whose descendants were to be more dangerous opponents to the Asmonean house even than the Pharisees. Antipater, the father of Herod, an Idumean of noble birth, was the son of Antipas, who had been governor of that province under Alexander Jannæus. Antipater had acquired great influence over the feeble mind of Hyrcanus as his chief minister. He had every prospect of enjoying all but the name of a sovereign. He ill brooked the annihilation of his ambitious hopes by the conquest of Aristobulus. At length, after long working on the fears of Hyrcanus, as if his life were in danger, Antipater persuaded him to fly to Aretas, the King of Arabia. This kingdom had silently grown up to considerable power. Petra, its capital, had become the great emporium of the commerce through the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. Aretas marched an host of 50,000 men against Aristobulus. The capricious army of the Jews wavered. Aristobulus suffered a defeat, and fled to Jerusalem. There abandoned likewise by the people, he shut himself up in the Temple, where the priests prepared for defence. He was vigorously pressed by Aretas, Antipater, and Hyrcanus. During this siege two characteristic circumstances took place. An old man, named Onias, had the fame of having prayed for rain during a drought, and rain had immediately fallen. The party of Hyrcanus brought him out to employ his powerful prayers against Aristobulus. The patriotic old man knelt down, and uttered these words : — “ O God, the King

of the Universe, since on one side are thy people, on the other thy priests, I beseech thee hear not the prayers of either to the detriment of the other." The cruel and infatuated populace stoned him to death. The second occurrence was as follows:— The Pass-over drew near, and there were no victims in the Temple for sacrifice. The besieged entered into an agreement that, on payment of a certain price, lambs should be furnished for the great national offering. They let baskets down the walls, but the perfidious besiegers took the money and sent up the baskets empty, or, as the Rabbins relate with the deepest horror, loaded with swine.

An unexpected deliverer at length appeared; a military officer of that haughty republic which had been steadily pursuing its way to universal dominion; and now, having trampled underfoot the pride and strength of the great Asiatic monarchies, assumed a right of interfering in the affairs of every independent kingdom. Rome, who had up to this time been content to awe Asia and the East with the remote thunders of menace and admonition, to establish alliances, and to hold herself up as the protector of those weak states who implored her aid, and whom it was politic (of justice she thought not) to support against powerful oppressors, now appeared in the persons of her consuls and their subordinate officers. Scaurus, the lieutenant of Pompey, had seized Damascus; the competitors for the Jewish throne endeavored to outbid each other for his protection.¹ Aristobulus offered 400 talents— Hyrcanus the same. The rapacious Roman hesitated; but Aristobulus was in possession of the public treasures of

¹ Joseph. Ant. xiv. 2. In the account, B. J. 1. 6, the bribes were offered **only by** Aristobulus.

the Temple, and therefore most likely to make good his terms. Scaurus sent an order to Aretas to break up the siege; the Arabian complied. The enterprising Aristobulus, hastily collecting troops, fell unexpectedly on his rear, and gave him a signal defeat.

In a short time, Pompey himself arrived at Damascus. Kings crowded from all sides to pay homage and to conciliate, with splendid presents, the greatest subject of the republic. The present of the king of Egypt was a gold crown, worth 4000 pieces of gold; that of Aristobulus a golden vine, worth 500 talents.¹ After a short absence in Pontus and Armenia, Pompey returned to Syria, and the ambassadors of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus appeared before the tribunal of their master; the wily Antipater on the part of Hyrcanus, — on that of Aristobulus a certain Nicodemus, who had so little address as to complain of the extortions of the Roman commanders, Scaurus and Gabinius. Pompey appointed a solemn hearing of the cause for the next spring at Damascus; and accordingly, at that time, the ambassadors of Hyrcanus, of Aristobulus, and of the Jewish people stood before the tribunal of the Roman. The people began the charge against both the brothers. they had usurped (it was urged) an authority which belonged solely to the High Priests, introduced a kingly despotism, and reduced a free people to servitude. The ambassador of Hyrcanus pleaded his superior title as the elder-born; accused Aristobulus not

¹ Strabo, according to Josephus, had seen this precious and beautiful piece of workmanship: it was called the Delight (*τερπώλη*). Joseph. Ant. xiv. 3. 1. Tacitus suggests a strange conclusion from this vine, found, as he says, in the Temple — that the Jews were worshippers of Bacchus. "It was not true," says he; "for the worship of Bacchus is glad and gay, that of the Jews absurd and sordid." Was this vine of Greek workmanship? Tac. Hist. v. 5.

merely of usurping the throne of his brother, and degrading him to a private station, but of committing wanton depredations by land and piracies by sea, on all the neighboring states. The cause of Hyrcanus was supported by more than a thousand of the most illustrious of the Jews, suborned by Antipater. On the part of Aristobulus, the total incapacity of Hyrcanus was strongly pressed; his own pretensions to power were limited to that enjoyed by his father Alexander. On his behalf appeared a troop of insolent youths, splendidly arrayed in purple, with flowing hair and rich armor, who carried themselves as if they were the true nobles of the land. But Pompey had a greater object in view than the settlement of Judæa, — the subjugation of Arabia, with the seizure of Petra and its trade. He dismissed both parties with great civility, particularly Aristobulus, who had the power of impeding his designs. Aristobulus, suspecting the goodness of his own cause, endeavored to put the country in a state of defence; but Pompey, on his return from Arabia, began to assume a higher tone. He collected his forces, and marched directly into Judæa. He found Aristobulus shut up in a strong citadel on a rock, called Alexandrion. Aristobulus attempted to negotiate; twice he descended from his place of security to hold a conference with Pompey; the third time Pompey forced him to sign written orders for the surrender of all his fortresses. The bold and enterprising spirit of Aristobulus could not brook the disgrace of submission, too high-minded to yield, too weak to resist, his conduct shows a degree of irresolution and vacillation which it is more just to attribute to the difficulty of his situation than to want of vigor in his character. He fled to Jerusalem, and prepared for resistance.

Pompey advanced to Jericho, where the Romans were struck with admiration at the beautiful palm-groves and gardens of balsam-shrubs, which, originally the growth of Arabia, flourished in that district with great luxuriance: their produce had become an important article of trade.¹ As he approached Jerusalem, Aristobulus, who found the city too much divided to make effectual resistance, met him, and offered a large sum of money, and the surrender of the capital. Gabinius was sent forward to take possession of the city, but the bolder party, meantime, had gained the ascendancy, and he found the gates closed and the walls manned. Indignant at this apparent treachery, Pompey threw the king into chains, and advanced in person on Jerusalem.² The party of Hyrcanus were superior in the city, and immediately received the invader with open arms. The soldiery of Aristobulus took possession of the Temple, and, with the priesthood, cut off all the bridges and causeways which communicated with the town, and prepared for an obstinate defence. The hill of the Temple, precipitous on three sides, was impregnable, except from the north. On that side Pompey made his approaches, where, nevertheless, there was a rapid descent, flanked by lofty towers. Notwithstanding the arrival of military engines from Tyre, this holy citadel held out for three months, and was only lost

¹ "Opes genti ex vectigalibus opobalsami crevere, quod in his tantum regionibus gignitur." Justin, xxxv. 3. Florus uses these remarkable expressions:—"Damascumque transgressus per nemora alta odorata, per thuris et balsami sylvas, Romana circumtulit signa." Hist. vi. 2.

² This view of the proceedings reconciles the somewhat conflicting accounts in Josephus and in Dion Cassius, lib. xxxvii. 15. According to the latter, Aristobulus was a prisoner in chains in the camp of Pompey on his advance.

Dion Cassius writes of the Jews — καὶ ἔστι παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὸ γένος τοῦτο, κολουσθὲν μὲν πολλάκις, ἀνζηθὲν δὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ὥστε καὶ ἐς παρρησίαν τῆς νομίσεως ἐκνικῆσαι.

through the superstitious observance of the Sabbath. The Maccabean relaxation of this law only provided for actual self-defence; the Romans soon perceived that they might carry on their works without disturbance on that day. They regularly, therefore, suspended their assault, but employed the time in drawing the engines near the walls, filling up the trenches, and in other labors, which they carried on without the least impediment. At the end of the three months, one of the battering engines threw down the largest of the towers. Cornelius Faustus, a son of Sylla, mounted the breach, and, after an obstinate resistance and great loss of life, the Romans remained masters of the Temple.¹ During the assault, the priests had been employed in the daily sacrifice: unmoved by the terror and confusion and carnage around, they calmly continued their office. Many of them were slain, many of the more zealous defenders of the Temple threw themselves headlong down the precipices. The conduct

¹ Josephus quotes as his Roman authorities for the taking of Jerusalem by Pompey, Strabo, Nicolaus of Damascus, and Titus Livius. Cicero pro Flacco writes thus: — "At Cn. Pompeius, captis Hierosolymis, victor ex illo fano nihil attigit. In primis hoc, ut multa alia, sapienter, quod in tam suspiciosa ac maledica civitate locum sermoni obtreptatorum non reliquit, non enim, credo, religionem et Judæorum et hostium impedimento præstantissimo imperatori, sed pudorem fuisse." c. 28. Compare Tac. Hist. v. 5. The account in Dion Cassius is so singularly coincident with that of Josephus, that it may have been taken from it. Compare Strabo, xvi.; Appian, Syriac. l.; Mithridat. cvi., cxvii. In the inscription relating the names of the captive kings subdued by Pompey appears the King of the Nabathæans, not the King of the Jews. See the quotation above from Dion Cassius; he proceeds: — καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων θεῶν οὐδένα τιμῶσιν, ἓνα δὲ τὰν ἰσχυρῶς σέβουσι. 'Οὐδ' ἀγάλμα οὐδὲν ἐν αὐτοῖς ποτε τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἔσχον ἄρρητον δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀειδῇ αὐτὸν νομίζοντες εἶναι, περισσότατα ἀνθρώπων θρησκέουντ. Dion goes on to admire the splendor of the Temple.

Cicero in one place writes of Pompey as "noster Hierosolymarius" — thus seeming to attach great importance to the occupation of Jerusalem even among the splendid services of Pompey. The passage is in the oration pro Flacco.

of the Roman general excited at once the horror and the admiration of the Jews. He entered the Temple, surveyed every part, and even penetrated and profaned with his heathen presence the Holy of Holies, into which the High Priest entered only once a year. Great was his astonishment to find this mysterious sanctuary entirely empty, with no statue, or form or symbol of the Deity to whom it was consecrated. In the other parts he found immense riches — the golden table and candlesticks, a great store of precious frankincense, and two thousand talents in the treasury. All these, with generosity not less noble because it was politic, he left untouched — commanded the Temple to be purified from the carnage of his soldiers — nominated Hyrcanus to the priesthood, though without the royal diadem. Then — having appointed the stipulated tribute which the country was to pay, demolished the walls of the city, and limited the dominions of Hyrcanus to Judæa — he departed, carrying with him Aristobulus, his two sons and two daughters, as prisoners to Rome. Alexander, the elder son, on the journey, made his escape ; but the Jewish king and his second son adorned the splendid triumph of the conqueror. The magnanimity of Pompey, in respecting the treasures of the Temple, could not obliterate the deeper impression of hatred excited by his profanation of the sacred precincts. The Jews beheld with satisfaction the decline of Pompey's fortune, which commenced from this period, and attributed it entirely to his sacrilegious impiety. Throughout the world they embraced the party of Cæsar, fortunate, inasmuch as the course they followed from blind passion conduced eventually to their real interests, and obtained for them important privileges and protection from the imperial house.

Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, inherited the daring and active courage of his father; he soon gathered a considerable force, and garrisoned Machærus, Hyrcania, and the strong fort of Alexandrion. Hyrcanus hastily summoned the Romans to his assistance. Gabinius entered Judæa, and, having defeated Alexander, for the Jews could make no great stand in the open field, besieged him in Alexandrion. While the siege lasted, to secure the affections of the provinces, Gabinius commanded many of the cities which the Asmoneans had destroyed, to be rebuilt, — Samaria, Dora, Scythopolis, Gaza, and other towns. In the mean time, the mother of Alexander, who had always espoused the Roman party, by her interest with Gabinius brought about a treaty, in which Alexander received an amnesty for his insurrection, on condition of surrendering his fortresses. No sooner was he subdued, than Aristobulus himself and his younger son, having escaped from Rome, raised again the standard of revolt, but with worse fortune; for, though many of the Jews deserted to his banner, and he had time to refortify Alexandrion, he was taken, after being severely wounded, and sent back in chains to Rome. The interest of the mother procured the intercession of Gabinius for the release of her son Antigonus, which was granted by the Senate. Aristobulus remained a prisoner. Gabinius, in the interval between these insurrections, reorganized the whole government of the country; he deprived the High Priest of the royal authority, and established five independent senates or sanhedrins, according to the form of the great Sanhedrin of seventy-one, which perhaps had existed from the Captivity. The places where the sanhedrins sat were Jerusalem, Jericho, Gadara, Amathus, and

Sepphoris. This form of government lasted till Julius Cæsar reinvested Hyrcanus with the supreme dignity. Gabinius, with Mark Antony, who had signalized his valor during three campaigns, as his master of the horse,¹ now determined on the conquest of Egypt; but scarcely had he drawn off his troops from Syria, when the restless Alexander appeared again in arms, and drove the few remaining Romans into a strong position on Mount Gerizim, where he besieged them. On the return of Gabinius, Alexander had the courage to meet him, at the head of 80,000 men, in the open field, near Mount Tabor; but the irresistible Roman discipline bore all before it, and the Jewish prince was obliged to take flight.

It was singular, and the fact strongly tended to confirm the Jews in their conviction that they were under the especial protection of the Almighty, that the worst enemies of their nation seemed marked for disaster and disgrace. Gabinius no sooner returned to Rome, than he was ignominiously banished for his rapacity and malversations. The fate of Crassus in Parthia followed almost immediately on his sacrilegious plunder of the Jewish Temple. When the rapacious triumvir entered Jerusalem on his way to that fatal expedition, the High Priest, Eleazar, attempted to appease his avarice by the surrender of a bar of gold of immense value, concealed within a hollow beam of wood, known to none but himself. This offering only whetted the appetite of Crassus; he pillaged without remorse all that Pompey had spared, even the sacred treasures, and all that had since accumulated;—for the Jews, now spread throughout almost all the world, made it a part of religion to send an annual contribution for the ser-

¹ Plutarch, Vit. Antonii.

vice of the Temple. This sum was so large, even in Italy, that Cicero, in his oration in defence of Flaccus, seems to urge the wisdom of a similar measure to that adopted by his client in Asia Minor, a prohibition of the practice, as draining the Roman provinces of their wealth.¹ Hence the plunder of Crassus from the Temple of Jerusalem, estimated at ten thousand talents, according to Prideaux, near two millions of money, though perhaps exaggerated, may not be so remote from truth.

During the great civil war, the fate of Judæa, like that of the world, hung in trembling suspense. Cæsar, master of Rome, sent Aristobulus an order to create a diversion in the province of Palestine. The partisans of Pompey contrived to poison the ill-fated monarch; and Scipio publicly executed his gallant son Alexander at Antioch. Thus Hyrcanus, or rather Antipater under his name, retained the sovereignty.² After the

¹ "Cum aurum, Judæorum nomine, quotannis ex Italiâ, et ex omnibus provinciis, Hierosolyma exportari soleret, Flaccus sanxit edicto, ne ex Asiâ exportari liceret. Quis est Judices, qui hoc non verè laudare possit? Exportari aurum non oportere, cum sæpe antea senatus, tum, me consule, gravissimè judicavit. Huic autem barbaræ superstitioni resistere, severitatis; multitudinem Judæorum, flagrantem nonnunquam in concionibus, pro republicâ contemnere, gravitatis summæ fuit." This very remarkable passage (see the conclusion above) shows, curiously enough, the Jews as already exporters of gold, though but religious offerings, yet affecting the markets of the world; their great numbers, and clamor in the public assemblies in the cities of Asia Minor; the astonishment that Pompey had the moderation, for which Cicero is perplexed to account, not to plunder the Temple, and was unwilling to expose himself to the reproaches of a people so likely to be heard as the Jews.

According to Appian there were Jewish as well as Syrian and Phœnician troops in the army of Pompey at Pharsalia (B. C. ii. 71). They were probably forced levies.

² Joseph. Ant. xiv. 8. 1. Josephus had quoted a passage in Strabo in which the geographer asserts that a large part of Alexandria was assigned to the Jews, and that they formed a fourth part, or class, of the inhabitants of the Cyrenaica (xiv. 7. 3).

death of Pompey, in that romantic war which Cæsar, delaying to assume the empire of the universe, waged in Egypt in favor of Cleopatra, the prudent Antipater rendered him essential service. He facilitated the march of Mithridates, king of Pergamus, Cæsar's ally, to his relief, and contributed to the reduction of Pelusium; conciliated the Egyptian Jews, who had espoused the opposite party, and greatly distinguished himself in an important battle. His reward was the full reëstablishment of Hyrcanus in the High-Priesthood; for himself, the rights of Roman citizenship, and the appointment of Procurator over the whole of Judæa.¹ The first care of the new government was to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, prostrate since the siege by Pompey; but before long, Antipater, still further presuming on the incapacity of Hyrcanus and the protection of the Romans, appointed his elder son, Phasaël, to the government of Jerusalem, and the younger, Herod, to that of Galilee. Herod, though but fifteen years old, according to Josephus,² began immediately to develop his natural decision and severity of character. He seized a notorious captain of banditti, Hezekiah, who had been the terror of all the country, and put him to death, with almost the whole of his band. The leading Jews, jealous of the Idumean influence, persuaded the feeble Hyrcanus that the execution of these robbers without trial was an infringement of the law. Herod was summoned to Jerusalem, to answer for his offence. He appeared in

¹ Josephus inserts the treaty of peace decreed by the Senate with a decree of the Athenians highly favorable to the Jews. *Ant.* xiv. 8.

² Josephus says that Herod at this time was only 15, but in the year 47 B. C. he must have been at least from 20 to 25. He lived 70 years according to Josephus, reigned 34, reckoning from the siege by Agrippa and Gallus, B. C. 37 to A. C. 4.

arms before the affrighted Sanhedrin; not a voice was raised against him, till at last Sameas,¹ a man of high integrity, rose and rebuked him for appearing, not in the humble garb of a criminal, but thus clad in purple and armor. To the honor of Herod, when subsequently he slew the whole Sanhedrin, he spared the life of Sameas. The timid Hyrcanus adjourned the trial, and sent secret intimation to Herod to escape. He took refuge at Damascus with Sextus Cæsar,² in whose favor he rose with great rapidity, and obtained, by means of a bribe, the military command of Cœlesyria. He then advanced against Jerusalem, but on the intervention of his father, Antipater, withdrew his forces.

After the death of Cæsar, the great protector of Hyrcanus and of the Jews,³ Cassius assumed the administration of Syria. Judæa was heavily oppressed by his rapacity. Though Antipater and his sons undertook, with Malichus, a powerful Jew, the collection of the tribute, so severe were the exactions (the Roman exacted the enormous sum of 700 talents) that the whole population of some towns were sold as slaves, and Malichus himself would not have escaped the resentment of Cassius, had not Hyrcanus defrayed the deficiency in his accounts. The dexterous

¹ This is the Shammai of the Rabbins, who, with Pollion (Abtaleon), were the great Rabbins of this period. See below, p. 69.

According to Salvador, this Sameas and Pollio, also mentioned about this time, were Schammai and Hillel. Salvador, *Domination Romaine en Judée*, i. 281.

² It seems that he was in correspondence with Sextus Cæsar, and had insured his powerful protection:—Σέξτος μέντοι, ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμὼν, γράφει παρακαλῶν Ὑρκανὸν ὑπολῦσαι τὸν Ἡρώδην. Joseph. Ant. xiv. 9. 4.

³ Josephus inserts a number of edicts of Cæsar and the Senate in favor of the Jews, granting to Hyrcanus and to them, among various immunities, the city of Joppa, and the privilege of observing the Sabbath and the Sabbath Year (xiv. 10).

Herod had contrived to insinuate himself into the favor of Cassius by prompt and profuse payments; but Malichus, head of the Jewish faction, seized the opportunity to undermine the Idumean influence in Jerusalem. He contrived to poison Antipater, who is said to have saved his life by his intercession with Cæsar, and at the same time to exculpate himself from all participation in the crime.¹ By the advice of his cautious brother, Phasaël, Herod dissembled his vengeance; till, at length, after much subtle intrigue on both sides, he got Malichus into his power, and caused him to be murdered. The feeble Hyrcanus witnessed the bloody deed, and fainted away: but when Herod asserted that the assassination was by the order of Cassius, he humbly acquiesced, and declared Malichus a wicked enemy of his country. Cassius had protected Herod; but no sooner had he left Syria, than the adverse faction rallied, Felix, the Roman commander in Jerusalem, taking their side. They were suppressed by the vigor of Phasaël. A new enemy arose in the person of Antigonus, the surviving son of Aristobulus, who, with his brother-in-law, the king of Chalcis, advanced into Galilee. They were repulsed and defeated by Herod.

In the mean time the fate of the world was decided at Philippi.² Herod, ever a dexterous worshipper of the rising sun, hastened to render his allegiance to the conqueror, and, knowing the character of the man, made acceptable offerings, in the shape of large sums of money, to the victorious Mark Antony. Hence-

¹ Joseph. Ant. xiv. 11. 4.

² See in Josephus the proclamation which alludes to the battle of Philippi. the defeat of the enemies of gods and men. The sun refused to behold the murder of Cæsar. *οὐ γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἀπεστράφηται δοκοῦμεν, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιδῶς ἐπέϊδε τὸ ἐπὶ Καίσαρι μῦθος.* (xiv. 12. 3.)

forth the Roman was deaf to the complaints of Herod's enemies. He issued several edicts favorable to Hyrcanus and the nation in general, particularly commanding the liberation of those Jews whom Cassius had sold for slaves, but appointed Phasaël and Herod tetrarchs of the province.

An unexpected power advanced upon the scene. Judæa was again to be the prize and the victim of the strife for empire between the East and the West; as of old between Babylon and Egypt, between the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies, so now between Rome and Parthia. Two years after, the Parthians under Pacorus, the king's son, entered Syria and Asia Minor, and overran the whole region. A part of their army, under Barzapharnes, took possession of Cœlesyria. Antigonus, the last remaining branch of the Asmonean race, determined to risk his fortune on the desperate hazard of Parthian protection; he offered 1000 talents and 500 Jewish women of the noblest families—a strange Oriental compact—as the price of his restoration to the Jewish kingdom. Antigonus himself raised a considerable native force, and entered Judæa, followed by Pacorus, the cup-bearer of the king, who had the same name with the king's son. Antigonus fought his way to Jerusalem, and by means of his party entered the city. Of the ambassadors of the adverse party, some he allowed Herod, some his own soldiers, to massacre. Herod being received with mutiny in Jerusalem, he put to death those whom he had imprisoned. Jerusalem was torn asunder by the contending factions; and the multitudes who came up at the Feast of Pentecost, adopting different parties, added to the fierce hostility and mutual slaughter. The Antigonians held the Temple, the Hyrcanians the

palace; and, daily contests taking place, the streets ran with blood. Antigonus at length invidiously proposed to submit their mutual differences to the arbitration of Pacorus, the Parthian general. Phasaël weakly consented, and Pacorus, admitted within the town, prevailed on the infatuated Phasaël to undertake a journey with Hyrcanus, and to submit the cause to Barzapharnes, the commander-in-chief. He set forth on this ill-fated expedition, and was at first received with courtesy: the plan of the Parthians being to abstain from violence till they had seized Herod, who, having vainly remonstrated with his brother on his imprudence, remained in the city. But the crafty Herod, receiving warning from his brother, whose suspicions had been too late awakened, fled towards Masada. He took with him the female part of the family, his mother, his sister, and his betrothed wife Mariamne, of the Asmonean house, and her mother, the daughter of Hyrcanus. The journey was extremely dangerous, and at one time Herod in despair had almost attempted his own life. At Masada, a strong fortress on the western shore of the Dead Sea, he received succors brought by his brother Joseph from Idumea. Him he left in command at Masada, and retired himself into Arabia; from thence to Egypt, and at length to Rome. In the mean time Hyrcanus and Phasaël had been made prisoners; the former, Antigonus not wishing to put him to death, was incapacitated forever from the office of High Priest by the mutilation of his ears. Phasaël anticipated the executioner by beating his brains out against the wall of his prison.¹

¹ It was reported, no doubt to make the Parthians more odious, and the report was naturally adopted by the historians in the party of Herod, that the wound inflicted on himself by Phasaël was not mortal, but that physicians were sent who poisoned the wound. Jos. Ant. xiv. 13. 10.

Notwithstanding their alliance with Antigonus, who assumed the sovereignty, the Parthians plundered the city, and ravaged the country. Herod, however, prospered in Rome beyond his most ambitious hopes; his design had been to set up the claim of Aristobulus, the brother of the beautiful Mariamne, to whom he was betrothed. This youth united the titles both of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, being the son of Alexander, the elder son of Aristobulus by the daughter of Hyrcanus.¹ But Augustus and Antony united in conferring the crown of Judæa on Herod himself. Herod was not a man to decline, or not to make the most of the favors of fortune; he wasted no time in the courtly circle, or in the luxuries of Rome. In seven days he despatched all his business, returned to his ships at Brundisium, and after an absence of scarcely three months, landed at Ptolemais. The fortress of Masada,² in which his brother and his beautiful bride were shut up, was his first object; the Parthians had broken up on the advance of the Roman general Ventidius, and left Antigonus to defend himself as well as he could. Antigonus had almost reduced Masada, which, but for a timely rain which filled the water-tanks, was reduced to the greatest extremity from drought. Herod speedily raised a force, united with some Roman auxiliaries under Silo, took Joppa, overran Galilee, relieved Masada, and sat down before Jerusalem. Silo was a man equally perfidious and rapacious; by assisting both parties, he enriched him-

¹ Ewald, not without ground, doubts Josephus's account of this. "Dann hätte er eben kein Herodes gewesen sein müssen." That Herod was in earnest in this proposal, or did it from any motives of loyalty, or from any other motive but policy, may assuredly be doubted. Ewald, p. 466, note.

² Masada will assume still further importance as the history proceeds.

self. Hitherto he had befriended Herod : now, under pretext of a mutiny among his soldiers for want of provisions, he broke up the siege of Jerusalem, pillaged Jericho, where Herod had laid up ample stores for both armies, and retired into winter-quarters.¹ Herod, unable with his own forces to undertake the invasion of Judæa, fixed his headquarters at Samaria, and employed his time in reducing Galilee, then infested by bands of daring robbers, who dwelt in caves among the wild and craggy mountainous districts of Upper Galilee. A great number he drove beyond Jordan, the rest he surprised in their dens. Chests full of armed men were let down by windlasses from the precipices above the caves ; when they were thus landed at the mouths of the caves, the soldiers transfixed those they could reach with harpoons, and finally set fire to the caves. One desperate old man slew his wife and children, threw them down the precipice, and dashed himself after them.

The next year the campaign against Antigonus was renewed. The Roman auxiliaries, two legions and 1000 horse, were under the command of Machæras. Silo had been called away by Ventidius to aid him in putting an end to the Parthian war, and Machæras, on the defeat and death of Pacorus, sent to support the cause of Herod.² Machæras, being repulsed from the walls of Jerusalem, revenged the affront on the Jewish followers of Herod, who retreated to Samaria, and from thence departed to Samosata, to pay his homage and lodge his complaints before Antony, who was engaged in the siege of that city. Antony commanded Sosius to march to the aid of Herod ; two legions were sent forward, Sosius followed with a much larger army.

¹ Joseph. Ant. xiv. 15. 3.

² Joseph. Ant. xiv. 15.

Joseph, his brother, was left in command in Judæa, with strict injunctions not to risk a battle; he disobeyed, was routed and slain. Herod, on his return, revenged his death by the total discomfiture of Pappus, the general of Antigonus. Antigonus had ordered the head of Joseph to be cut off; Herod sent the head of Pappus to his brother Pheroras.¹ In the spring of the next year Herod formed the regular siege of Jerusalem; during the siege he returned to Samaria to consummate his marriage with Mariamne, and having thus formed an intimate connection with the line of the Asmonean princes, he hastened to secure his throne by the conquest of the capital. Jerusalem held out for about half a year; it was a Sabbatical year, and they were hard pressed by famine. The Romans under Sosius, furious at the obstinate resistance, after the capture gave loose to all their revengeful cruelty and rapaciousness. It was only through the interference of Herod, who bitterly expostulated on the indignity of leaving him king not of a noble city, but of a desert, that the whole town escaped destruction.² Herod exerted himself with no less energy and success in preventing the heathen soldiers from penetrating into the Holy places; with his characteristic sagacity, never overlooking an opportunity of working either on the popular feeling, or on that of his Roman confederates, for his own advantage. Antigonus craved his life in a mean and abject manner from Sosius, to whom he had

¹ Joseph. Ant. xiv. 16.

² Dion Cassius (xlviii. 22) writes of this siege:—πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοὺς Ρωμαίους ἔδρασαν (τὸ γὰρ γένος αὐτῶν θυμωθὲν, πικρότατόν ἐστι) πολλῶ δὲ δὴ πλείω αὐτοὶ ἔπαθον. He adds that Jerusalem was taken on the Sabbath: ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κρῶνου καὶ τότε ἡμέρᾳ ὀνομασμένη; and that the prisoners taken by Sosius entreated permission to go up to the Temple to be present at the accustomed rites.

surrendered. The stern Roman treated his unmanly weakness with contempt, called him by the feminine name Antigone, not Antigonus, and sent him in chains to Antony. There, at the solicitation of Herod, he was put to death by the barbarous and insulting stroke of the common lictor.¹

¹ Let us hear another, a modern Jewish view of this: — “ Mais en admettant ces larmes pour vraies, toute la conduite précédente d'Antigone et ces combats attestent qu'à cette heure solennelle il n'était pas ému du seul danger de sa propre vie. Il pleurait la nationalité si chère à ses aïeux, qui venait d'être frappée dans sa racine; il pleurait l'héroïque race des Maccabées, qui tombait définitivement devant l'audace et l'intrigue d'un homme que l'indignation du prince qualifiait depuis longtemps de misérable Idu-méen.” Salvador, i. p. 300.

Plutarch (Vit. Antonii) and Dion Cassius observe that this was the first king thus put to death by the Roman lictor. Dion adds that he was first scourged — the usual preliminary of Roman decapitation. I agree with Salvador in indignation at the want of indignation in Josephus, who represents the death of Antigonus as the just reward of his pusillanimity

BOOK XI.

HEROD.

Accession — Battle of Actium — Death of Mariamne — Magnificence of Herod — Sebaste built — Rebuilding of the Temple — Cæsarea — Sons of Mariamne — Death of Antipater — Death of Herod.

THUS Herod the Great, the last independent sovereign of Palestine, became master of his dominions. So far his career had been marked with uncommon ability; nor had it been disgraced by unusual atrocity. With signal penetration he had eluded the arts, by the rapidity and decision of his measures triumphed over the open hostilities, of his antagonists: by his knowledge of the Roman character, and that of the successive extraordinary men who had held the destiny of the world at their command, he had secured not merely their protection, but their friendship.¹ Still his situation was difficult and precarious; it demanded his utmost dexterity and vigor, and unhappily gave him the tyrant's plea of necessity for the most relentless cruelties. The mass of the people were still ardently attached to the great Asmonean family; the faction of Antigonus was strong in Jerusalem. Against the latter he proceeded without scruple, put to death forty-five of the chiefs, and confiscated all their property. The whole Sanhedrin fell victims to his vengeance, excepting Simeas (Schemajah) and Pollio (Abtaleon).² The two

¹ Joseph. Ant. xv. 1, 2.

² These two great Rabbins were sons of proselytes.

latter, during the siege, had endeavored to persuade the city to capitulate. The rest had raised the popular cry — “The Temple of the Lord! the Temple of the Lord!” and excited a strong enthusiasm against the alien from the blood of Israel.¹ The appointment to the office of High Priest caused the greatest embarrassment. The nation would never have endured the usurpation of that dignity by an Idumean stranger. Hyrcanus, the old patron of the Herodian family, returned from his honorable captivity in Parthia; he was received with every mark of outward respect by Herod, but the mutilation of his ears by Antigonus disqualified him for reinstatement in his function. Herod invited Ananel, an obscure man, of the lineage of the High Priest, from Babylon.² Alexandra, the widow of that gallant Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, who was executed by Scipio, beheld this choice with secret indignation. She was a high-minded and ambitious woman: the marriage of her daughter, Mariamne, to Herod, aggravated, rather than palliated, the indignity of excluding her son, the rightful heir of both the Asmonean families, from the priesthood. Unscrupulous as to her means of vengeance, she sent the pictures of her two children, a son and her daughter the wife of Herod, both of exquisite beauty, to Antony, in order, by this unnatural and odious scheme, to work on the passions of the voluptuous Triumvir.³ Herod was seized with apprehen-

¹ Compare Jost, *Jud.* i. 253.

Jost distinguishes between Shemajah (so he renders Sameas) and Schammai, the colleague and rival of the famous Hillel. These two schools began five or six years after the accession of Herod.

² It is well to observe that Josephus takes the opportunity of saying that many myriads of Jews were settled in Babylonia. *Ant.* xv. 3. 1.

³ I must leave in Greek as much as I may of the repulsive part of this transaction, too characteristic of the Romans, and especially of Antony, and too striking an illustration of the insolence of the Romans, and of the

sion, changed at once his policy, displaced Ananel, and instead of sending him, as desired, to Antony, installed the young Aristobulus in the pontificate. But mistrust and hatred had taken too deep root. Alexandra was detected in a secret correspondence with Cleopatra; and a plan which she had formed to fly with her son to the court of Egypt was only disconcerted by the excessive vigilance of Herod.¹ Worse than all this, when the lovely boy of seventeen, the heir of their rightful princes, appeared before the assembled nation at the Feast of Tabernacles, in the splendid costume of the High Priest, and performing his solemn office with the most perfect grace, the popular feeling was too evident to be mistaken. Herod saw that his own suspicions were sadly verified; he had raised up a dangerous rival to his power in the young Asmonean. He dissembled his jealousy, and joined in the general admiration; but, contriving shortly after to remove the youth to Jericho, he caused him to be drowned by his companions while bathing in a tank.² He assumed great grief on the melancholy event, and attempted to divert the popular indignation by a splendid funeral. But the people were not deceived, still less the heart

fanaticism of Jewish faction, and, alas! of their profound corruption by Greek manners. ἐπέστελλε δὲ πέμπειν τὸν παῖδα σὺν ἐνπρεπεῖα, προστιθεὶς, ἐν μὴ βαρὺ δοκοίη· τούτων ἀπενεχθέντων πρὸς Ἡρώδην, οὐκ ἂν σφ α-λὲς ἐκρινεν, ὥρα τε καλλιστον ὄντα, ἐκκαϊδεκαέτης γὰρ ὢν ἐτυγχανε Ant. xv. 6. Herod's only fear was the influence which the youth might obtain over the Triumvir, and that the throne of Judæa might be the reward of his shame. Dellius, the agent of Antony in this foul intrigue, is the "moriture Delli" in the beautiful ode of Horace (Lib. ii. 3). Antony would not send for Mariamne, because she was the *wife of Herod*, and because he was afraid of exciting the *jealousy of Cleopatra*.

¹ The plot was betrayed by one Sabbia, who was eager to obtain forgiveness from Herod for his suspected complicity in the poisoning of Herod's father, Antipater.

² Ant. xv. 3. 3

of the bereaved and wretched parent. Alexandra sent intelligence of the murder to Cleopatra, who espoused her cause with the warmest interest of a woman and a mother; not without some secret suggestion from her ambition, which already began to look towards Judæa as a valuable province of Egypt. Antony was at the height of his devotion to the luxurious queen: the ruin of Herod seemed inevitable. With his characteristic boldness he determined to try the effect of his personal presence, which might awaken early friendship and give weight to those more powerful arguments, the immense bribes, with which he hoped to secure his cause. He obeyed the summons of Antony to appear before him at Laodicea. He left Jerusalem under the government of his uncle Joseph; he intrusted to his care not merely his interests, but his incomparable Mariamne. He went, certainly, to danger, perhaps to death; and, with a strange jealousy, he could not endure that any one should possess his wife, even after his death, least of all the licentious Antony. He left a secret charge with Joseph, that, if he should fail in his mission, Mariamne was to be immediately put to death. During his absence, the incautious Joseph betrayed this secret order to Mariamne. Her mother excited her to revenge. A sudden rumor spread abroad that Herod had been slain by Antony. Alexandra and Mariamne began to take immediate measures for securing the royal authority,¹ but intelligence of an opposite nature frustrated their plans. Not merely had Antony contemptuously, notwithstanding the adverse influence of Cleopatra, dismissed the charges against Herod; he had seated the Jewish king beside

¹ Alexandra had hopes that if Antony saw Mariamne, their cause was safe. No one, least of all the Triumvir, could resist her irresistible beauty.

his throne, invited him to his luxurious banquets, added the province of Cœlesyria to his dominions. On the return of Herod, his sister, Salome, wounded at the haughtiness with which she had ever been treated by the proud Asmonean princess, endeavored to poison his mind with suspicions of his wife. She accused her of too intimate correspondence with Joseph, the governor, her own husband. Yet the beauty of Mariamne, once seen, overpowered every emotion but that of unbounded love. Unhappily, in the transport of tender reconciliation, Mariamne asked, whether, if he had really loved her, he would have given that fatal order for her death. Herod sprang from her arms in fury. The betrayal of this secret warranted his worst suspicions; it could not have been yielded up but at the price of her honor. He would have slain her on the spot, but her loveliness, even then, disarmed him; his whole vengeance fell on Joseph and Alexandra. The first he executed, the second he imprisoned with every mark of insult. Cleopatra, in the mean time, having been unable to extort the gift of Judæa from her paramour, was obliged to content herself with the balsam gardens near Jericho. On her return from accompanying Antony in his campaign to the Euphrates, she entered Jerusalem, and Herod was in as great danger from her love as from her hate. Whether from prudence or dislike, he repelled the advances of Cleopatra, and even entertained some thoughts of delivering himself from a dangerous neighbor, and Antony from a fatal and imperious mistress, by her assassination. His friends dissuaded him from the hazardous measure. A short time after, he found himself engaged in a war, which he entered into with the ostensible design of enforcing Cleopatra's right of tribute over Malchus,

king of Arabia. By complying with the wishes of Antony on this point, the dexterous politician escaped taking any prominent part in the great war between the Eastern and Western world, which was to award the empire to Antony or to Octavius. In his first invasion of Arabia, Herod was successful ; but afterwards, through the treachery of Athenion, who commanded the troops of Cleopatra, met with so signal a defeat, that he was constrained to change the war into one of sudden irruptions into the border of the enemy, without risking a battle. A more tremendous blow fell on Judæa — an earthquake, which threw down many cities, and destroyed 30,000 lives. Though the army of Herod, encamped in the open air, escaped the frightful effects of the earthquake, the Arabs seized the opportunity of this disaster, and put the Jewish ambassadors to death. But this conduct enabled Herod to rouse the national spirit, and the Arabians, defeated with the loss of 5000 men, were besieged in their camp. Many surrendered from want of water ; the rest made a desperate but fatal sally, in which 7000 more perished.

Still, though not personally engaged in the battle of Actium, Herod had reason to apprehend the triumph of Octavius Cæsar. Having secured everything at home, he determined to meet the youthful conqueror at Rhodes.¹ While one remnant of the Asmonean race survived, his throne was less secure ; and the old Hircanus, now eighty years of age, at length paid the last penalty for having unhappily been born to a lofty station for which he was unfit. The documents in the

¹ Josephus is here seized with an unhappy ambition of rivalling Thucydides and the great Greek historians, and inserts a long oration of Herod (xv. 5. 4)

royal archives of Herod accused the poor old man of having been persuaded, by his intriguing daughter, Alexandra, into a treasonable correspondence with the Arabian king ; other accounts ascribe the invention of the plot to Herod. At all events, it was fatal to Hyrcanus, who thus closed a life of extraordinary vicissitude, borne with constitutional indolence, by a violent death. This done, Herod committed the government to his brother, Pheroras ; sent his mother, sister, and children to Masada ; and committed Mariamne and her mother to the charge of his own faithful partisans, Soëmus (the Iturean) and Joseph (his steward), in the fortress of Alexandrion. They had the same extraordinary injunctions which he had before left, that, in case of his death, Mariamne should be despatched. He then set sail for Rhodes. He appeared before the conqueror, without the diadem, but with all the dignity of an independent sovereign. He addressed Octavius in a speech, which, disdaining apology, enlarged on his obligations, and avowed his attachment to Antony. He declared that, as a friend, he had given him the best advice ; such advice as might have made him again formidable to Cæsar ; he had begged him to put Cleopatra to death, and vigorously resume the war. "Antony," he pursued, "adopted a counsel more fatal to himself, more advantageous to you. If, then, attachment to Antony be a crime, I plead guilty ; but if, having thus seen how steady and faithful I am in my friendships, you determine to bind me to your fortunes by gratitude, depend on the same firmness and fidelity." This lofty tone and generous sentiment won the kindred heart of the arbiter of the world's destinies. Cæsar commanded the dignified suppliant to resume the diadem, treated him with great distinction, and Herod

returned to Judæa, to the admiration of his partisans, and the terror of his enemies, thus constantly breaking forth with greater splendor from every transient cloud of danger. Cæsar passed from Rhodes to Asia Minor; thence through Syria to Egypt. Herod met him at Ptolemais, made him a present of eight hundred talents, and, by the splendor of his entertainment, and the provisions with which he furnished his army, still further conciliated his favor. After the conquest of Egypt, Octavius restored to him the part of his own territory formerly bestowed on Cleopatra, with Gadara, Hippos, Samaria, and the maritime towns of Joppa, Anthedon, Gaza, and the Tower of Straton.

Thus, abroad, success seemed to wait on all the designs of Herod: the neighboring kings might admire and envy the good-fortune, or rather the consummate ability, with which he extricated himself from all his difficulties, and continued advancing in the career of prosperity and power; but at home, the most miserable peasant might compassionate the wretchedness which filled his palace with dissension, crime, and bloodshed. The magnificence of Herod's public life is strangely contrasted with the dark tragedy of his domestic history. Mariamne had again extorted the fatal charge intrusted to Soëmus; and indignant at the jealous determination of her husband that she should not survive him, she met him on his return with repulsive indifference, and even with undissembled dislike; she listened without joy to the recital of his perilous escape and his wonderful success; she hardly disguised her grief. Herod struggled between his love and his indignation; till one day, instead of submitting to his caresses, in the height of her passion she reproached him, in terms of the utmost bitterness, with his barbarous conduct to

her relations. The envious Salome watched every opportunity of inflaming the resentment of her brother; and suborned his cup-bearer to accuse Mariamne of having bribed him to administer a poisonous philtre, or love-potion, to his master. Herod commanded her favorite eunuch, to whom all her secrets were intrusted, to be put to the rack. The tortured man denied all knowledge of the poison, but exclaimed that the conduct of his mistress was entirely owing to the information she had received from Soëmus. Furious at this new proof of her infidelity, he ordered Soëmus to be despatched at once, and summoned Mariamne before a tribunal of judges who were too much in dread of his power not to pass the sentence of death. Still Herod hesitated; he had no immediate intention of proceeding further than imprisonment; but his mother and sister so worked on his moody and violent temper, that he at length issued the fatal orders for her execution. To the horror of the spectators, her mother Alexandra assailed the wretched Mariamne, as she went to death, with a violent invective against her ingratitude to so gentle and affectionate a husband, loudly declaring that she deserved the fate she was about to suffer. The queen passed on in silence with the dignity of conscious virtue. Though deeply wounded at this disgraceful and hypocritical conduct of her mother, who thus sought to avert the suspicions of Herod from herself, and to save her own life at the sacrifice of her daughter's honor, she would not condescend to betray her emotion. She met her death with the calm intrepidity of innocence, and died worthy of the noble house of which the last blood flowed in her veins.¹ She was a woman of unrivalled beauty and a haughty spirit:

¹ Joseph. Ant. xv. 7. 5.

unhappy in being the object of passionate attachment, which bordered on frenzy, to a man who had more or less concern in the murder of her grandfather, father, brother, and uncle, and who had twice commanded her death in case of his own. Strange conflict of duties ! who shall decide what ought to have been her feelings and her conduct ?

All the passions which filled the stormy mind of Herod were alike without bound ; from violent love, and violent resentment, he sank into as violent remorse and despair. Everywhere, by day and night, he was haunted by the image of the murdered Mariamne ; he called upon her name ; he perpetually burst into passionate tears ; he ordered his servants to bring Mariamne to him as though she were yet alive. In vain he tried every diversion, — banquets, revels, the excitement of society. A sudden pestilence broke out, to which many of the noblest of his court and of his own personal friends fell a sacrifice ; he recognized and trembled beneath the hand of the avenging Deity. On pretence of hunting, he sought out the most melancholy solitude, till the disorder of his mind brought on disorder of body, and he was seized with violent inflammation and pains in the back of his head, which led to temporary derangement. In this state he lay at Samaria. The restless Alexandra immediately began to renew her intrigues ; but Herod's partisans sent intelligence to him, and she was at length consigned to execution.

Herod slowly recovered from his malady, but it left an indelible gloom upon his mind ; and his stern temper, instead of being softened by calamity, seemed to have acquired a fierce and insatiable propensity to cruelty and bloodshed. His next victim was Costo-

baras, an Idumean, the husband of his sister Salome, whom she, in defiance of the law, had divorced;¹ and, through her machinations, the unfortunate man was involved in the guilt of a pretended conspiracy, and convicted of the concealment of some of the Asmonean partisans. He was put to death with many other men of rank and distinction.

From these horrible scenes we may turn with satisfaction to the peace and happiness of the country, and the liberality and magnificence of Herod's public administration. Yet Herod either did not understand, or more probably suspected as adverse to his interests, the strong and distinctive principles of the national character. Outwardly professing the utmost respect for the religion of his subjects, he introduced public exhibitions and spectacles of every kind, as if to reconcile the people by degrees to foreign usages, and so break down the wall of partition which separated them from other nations. He built a theatre within the walls of Jerusalem, an amphitheatre of immense size without. He celebrated quinquennial games on a scale of unrivalled splendor; invited the most distinguished proficients in every kind of gymnastic exercise, in chariot-racing, boxing, and every kind of musical and poetic art; offered the most costly prizes; and even introduced the barbarous spectacles of the Romans, fights of wild beasts, and combats of wild beasts with gladiators. The zealous Jews looked on in amazement and with praiseworthy though silent abhorrence at these sanguinary exhibitions, so contrary to the mild genius of their great lawgiver's institutions. But when Herod proceeded to adorn his theatre with representa-

¹ A man could serve a bill of divorce on his wife, not the wife on her husband.

tions of the victories of Cæsar, and set up, as trophies around it, complete suits of armor which had been taken in his wars, the people broke out into a violent tumult, supposing that images were concealed within these panoplies. To appease the general dissatisfaction, Herod commanded one of them to be taken to pieces in the sight of all the people ; and when a bare peg of wood appeared within, their discontent and anger turned to laughter and ridicule.

But still a stern and dangerous enthusiasm prevailed among all who were zealously attached to the institutions of their ancestors. Ten men bound themselves by a solemn vow to assassinate the innovator in the scene of his delinquency : one of them was blind, yet, though he could not assist in the execution, he was determined to share in the peril of the enterprise. They entered the theatre with daggers under their cloaks ; but the vigilant police of Herod were on their guard : he received intimation, and returned into the palace. The men were apprehended, and instead of denying, boldly avowed and justified their design. They endured the most ignominious torture, but died firm and undaunted to the last. The informer, being discovered, was torn to pieces by the populace ; and though Herod with incredible pains detected and punished the ringleaders in this affray, he felt the insecurity of his government, and even of his life, particularly in Jerusalem. Actuated by his fears as well as the magnificence of his disposition, he built a strong and splendid palace on the hill of Sion, rebuilt as a fortress the palace of Baris, which commanded the Temple, and called it Antonia. Still further to secure himself against the turbulent disposition of the capital, he determined to found other cities which might be more at his devotion.

They would serve the double purpose of controlling the country as strong military posts, and affording him a retreat, on an emergency, from the disaffected metropolis. With this view he built citadels, at Gaba in Galilee, and Heshbon in Peræa. The strongest measure was the rebuilding of Samaria, which he did on a scale of great magnificence and strength, and peopled it partly with his soldiers, partly with the descendants of the old Samaritans, who hoped to see their temple likewise restored. But Herod did not neglect more noble and kingly means of regaining the lost affections of his subjects. A long drought, followed by unproductive seasons, involved not merely Judæa but the neighboring countries likewise in all the horrors of famine, and its usual consequence — a dreadful epidemic pestilence. The little corn that remained, rotted, so that there was not enough seed to crop the ground. Herod instantly opened his treasures, secured a vast importation of grain from Egypt, and made constant distributions, both of food and of clothing. 50,000 persons are said to have been maintained at his sole expense, and he even furnished corn for seed to the neighboring inhabitants of Syria; so that the fame of his munificence not merely caused a strong reaction in his favor among his own subjects, but secured him a high degree of popularity with all the bordering states. This great expenditure seems by no means to have exhausted the revenues of Herod. He still indulged in his sumptuous passion for building. Having married a second Mariamne, the daughter of Simon, an obscure person of priestly lineage, whom he appointed High Priest, he chose the spot on which he had defeated Antigonus, about seven miles from Jerusalem, as the site of a new fortified palace in his usual style of architecture. It

stood on the gentle slope of a mound raised by human industry. The ascent was by a hundred steps to an enclosure of circular towers, within which were courts, ascending to the palace, which stood like a citadel above the rest. A town rapidly grew around the base of the hill. Water was brought by costly aqueducts from a great distance.

Thus, terrible to his adversaries, generally courteous, affable and bounteous to his countrymen and to strangers, securing his interests with Rome and its rulers by the most costly adulation, Herod steadily pursued his policy of counterbalancing, by a strong Grecian party, the turbulent and exclusive spirit of his Jewish subjects. More completely to secure this object, he determined to found a powerful city, chiefly colonized with Grecians, and dedicated to the name of his great Roman protector. Samaria he had already called Sebaste (the August); the new city was to take the name of Cæsarea. He chose a maritime situation, for the advantage of commerce, and may have thought of uniting in his new city the wealth of ancient Tyre with the greatness of Jerusalem. There was a small town called the Tower of Straton, midway between Joppa and Dora. It possessed a haven, like all the rest on that coast, dangerous on account of the violent south-western winds, against which they had no protection. He first formed a strong mole or break-water, by sinking stones fifty feet long, eighteen wide, and nine deep. On this arose a pier two hundred feet wide, defended by a wall and towers. The entrance to this great artificial haven was from the north, and a vast fleet could thus ride in perfect safety in a sort of double harbor. All round ran a noble quay or esplanade, and, probably, under this were arched buildings for the entertain-

ment and residence of mariners. Above, the city rose like an amphitheatre in a uniform line of sumptuous palaces. The subterranean arches, for drainage and other purposes, were on so great a scale, that Josephus says there was as much building below-ground as above. In the centre stood a great temple dedicated to Cæsar, with two colossal statues, one of Rome, the other of Cæsar. A theatre and amphitheatre, the customary ornaments of a Grecian city, were not forgotten. Cæsarea was twelve years before it was completed.

Thus Judæa was fast sinking into a province of the Roman empire; and Herod, instead of head of the Hebrew religious republic, became more and more on a level with the other vassal kings of Rome. His elder sons by Mariamne, Alexander and Aristobulus, were not brought up in Jewish tenets or customs, but sent to Rome for their education, where they were received into the palace of Augustus, and treated with great care and distinction. Nothing could exceed the estimation in which Herod stood, both with the Emperor and with his favorite, Agrippa. Cæsar was said to assign to Herod the next place in his favor to Agrippa; Agrippa to esteem Herod higher than any of his friends, except Augustus. Whenever either visited the eastern provinces, Herod was the first to pay his homage. To see Agrippa he sailed to Mitylene, and afterwards entertained Augustus himself in Syria. On one occasion, when Agrippa was engaged in war near the Bosphorus, Herod suddenly appeared with a large fleet, and through all the campaign assisted him with his personal support and advice. Herod took advantage of this alliance to enlarge his dominions. A district to the east of the sea of Gennesaret was farmed

by a certain Zenodorus. This man maintained a suspicious connection with the freebooters who dwelt in the mountain caves of Trachonitis. The whole province was made over to Herod, who, with his customary rigor and severity, suppressed and hunted down the robbers. Zenodorus, and some of the Gadarenes, who complained of oppression, laid their grievances first before Agrippa, afterwards before Augustus himself, but found their ears closed against all representations to the disadvantage of Herod. Part of this district was created into a Tetrarchate for his brother Pheroras. At Paneas, near the fountains of the Jordan, where Cæsarea Philippi afterwards stood, was built a temple of white marble to the honor of Cæsar.

But the higher Herod advanced in the good graces of the Romans by these costly and enduring marks of his adulation, the lower he sank in the good-will of his jealous Jewish subjects. They suspected him, not without reason, of a fixed design to heathenize their nation and country.¹ Neither his munificence in diminishing their annual tax one third, nor his severities, could suppress their deep though secret murmurs. He exercised a stern and vigilant police, interdicted all fraternities and assemblies, occasionally surprised the most disaffected and hurried them to the Hyrcania (his Bastile), whence they never returned. He was even said to walk the streets in disguise, so to detect secret conspiracies, and form a judgment of the popular feeling. At one time he had determined to exact a gen-

¹ There is a curious instance of the jealous religious feeling of the people. Herod issued an edict that burglars (τελέωνοι) might be sold as slaves beyond the borders of the Holy Land to strangers. It was objected that the religion of these ruffians might be endangered by their being compelled to follow heathen usages. The Law, it was said, permitted their sale, but not to Gentiles. Ant. xvi. 1. 1.

eral oath of allegiance, but the stricter and more powerful of the Pharisees and the Essenes, an ascetic fraternity, openly refusing compliance, he thought it better to urge the matter no further.

At length he determined on a measure which he hoped would at the same time employ the people and ingratiate himself with all classes, — the rebuilding the Temple in its former pride and magnificence. The lapse of five hundred years, and the sieges which it had undergone, as it was the great military post of the nation, had much dilapidated the structure of Zorobabel. But the suspicious Jews beheld the work of demolition commence with the utmost jealousy and apprehension, lest, under pretence of repairing, the king should destroy entirely the sanctuary of their God. The prudence of Herod calmed their fears; he made immense preparations before he threw down the old building: the work proceeded with the greatest regularity, and the nation saw, with the utmost pride, a new fabric of more regular and stately architecture crowning the brow of Moriah with its glittering masses of white marble and pinnacles of gold.¹ Yet even while the Temple was proceeding, Herod maintained his double character; he presided at the Olympic games, made magnificent donations for their support, and the Jewish monarch was nominated perpetual president of this solemn festival of Greece. On the

¹ According to Josephus (Ant. xv. 11. 3) he destroyed the ancient foundations and enlarged the building to the length of a hundred cubits: *ἀνελὼν δὲ τοὺς ἀρχαίους θεμελίους καὶ καταβαλόμενος ἑτέρους, ἐπ' αὐτῶν τὸν ναὸν ἤγειρε, μῆκει μὲν ἑκατὸν ὄντα πηχῶν.* These foundations I take to be those of Zorobabel's Temple; and that the vast substructions of Solomon still remained, and subsist to the present day. The height, Josephus says, was 120 cubits, but from a subsidence or settlement in the time of Nero they were reduced to 100. This reads very strangely: τὸ δ' ὕψος ἑικοσι περιτταῖς, οὓς τῷ χρόνῳ συνῆσαντων τῶν θεμελίων ὑπέβη.

other hand, Agrippa, on an excursion into Judæa, during which Herod showed him all his great works, offered one hundred oxen in the Temple and feasted the whole people.

But the declining days of Herod were to be darkened with a domestic tragedy as melancholy and awful as those of his earlier life. His sumptuous palaces were again to resound with strife, mourning, and murder. Never was an instance in which the heathen might recognize so distinctly their avenging Nemesis ; or those of purer faith the providence of a just and holy God, making cruelty its own avenger, and leaving crime to work its late, though natural consequences, horror, ruin, and desolation. It might have seemed that the spirit of the injured Mariamne hovered over the devoted house, and, involving the innocent as well as the guilty in the common ruin, designated the dwelling of her murderous husband as the perpetual scene of misery and bloodshed. On the return of Alexander and Aristobulus, the two sons of Mariamne, to Jerusalem, whom, after a visit to Rome, Herod brought back from the court of Cæsar, they were received, notwithstanding their Roman education, with general enthusiasm. The grace and beauty of their persons, their affable manners, above all, the blood of the ancient Asmonean princes which flowed in their veins, rendered them objects of the deepest interest to the whole Hebrew nation. Herod married them, Alexander to Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia ; Aristobulus to Mariamne, the daughter of Salome. Notwithstanding this, the envious mind of Salome, the sister of Herod, sickened at their praises. Her own conscience, and that of her brother Pheroras, reproached them with their share in the murder of Ma-

riamne ; they apprehended condign vengeance on the accession of the young princes. The youths themselves, perhaps, spoke without much discretion or reserve about their mother's fate ; and rumors, aggravated by Salome and her party, began to spread abroad that they announced themselves as her future avengers. For three years these insinuations made no deep impression on the mind of Herod, who was justly proud of the popularity of his sons ; but while he was absent with Agrippa, in his war near the Bosphorus, during which period he obtained for the Jews of Asia Minor a ratification of all their privileges, which the Greeks had endeavored to wrest from them,¹ these sinister reports began to obtain much strength and consistency, and consequently more credit with the suspicious father. Herod resorted to a most dangerous measure in order to subdue the pride of his sons, and make them more entirely subservient to his will. He sent for his elder son, Antipater, borne to him by Doris, the wife whom he divorced to marry Mariamne, and set him up as a sort of counterpoise to the popularity and hopes of Alexander and Aristobulus. The dark, designing, and unscrupulously ambitious Antipater entered into all the plots of Salome and Pheroras ; and, as Herod had permission from Rome to bequeath his crown to whichever of his sons he chose, Antipater lost no opportunity of alienating his father's affections from the sons of Mariamne. Herod, to place him more on a level with his rivals, introduced him to Agrippa, and sent him in the suite of his pow-

¹ The long oration of Nicolaus, appointed by Herod to plead the cause of the Jews of Asia Minor before the tribunal of Agrippa, furnishes curious evidence of the numbers, wealth, and importance of the Jewish communities in those regions. Ant. xvi. 4. This was the celebrated historian Nicolaus of Damascus. Compare also the edicts xvi. 6.

erful friend to Rome. From Rome the artful youth steadfastly pursued, by means of letters, his insidious designs, till the mind of Herod was so inflamed that he determined to accuse his sons before the tribunal of Augustus. The king of Judæa and the two royal youths appeared before the Emperor at Aquileia. Herod opened the charge by accusing them of unnatural obstinacy and disobedience, and of entering into criminal practices against his life. Shocked at this dreadful charge, the youths stood silent, unable to exculpate themselves without criminating their jealous and cruel father. Their situation, and still more their silence, and the modest defence upon which they at length entered,¹ excited the deepest interest in their favor; and Augustus, with that temperance and moderation which distinguished all his actions after he became Emperor, succeeded in reconciling the father to his children. Herod returned with them to Jerusalem. Still, however, infatuated in favor of Antipater, he declared him heir to the throne; in default of Antipater's issue, the succession was to pass to the sons of Mariamne. A short and deceitful peace ensued, during which Herod, having finished his splendid city of Cæsarea, solemnly dedicated it, at a great festival, to the Emperor, and instituted quinquennial games to his honor. He founded at the same time the towns of Antipatris, Cypron, and Phasaelis; and built a lofty tower in Jerusalem, called likewise after the name of

¹ Josephus has taxed his eloquence, or rather his rhetoric, in the composition of a speech which he attributes to Alexander, the eldest of the sons. Ant. xvi. 4. 3.

It is perhaps right to state that Nicolaus of Damascus took the part of Herod, asserted the guilt of Mariamne, and the wicked intrigues of her sons against their father. But Nicolaus, according to Josephus, and there is no reason to doubt his judgment, was an unscrupulous partisan of Herod. Ant. xvi. 7. 1.

his elder brother Phasael. Before long, the domestic dissension broke out anew with greater violence. Antipater, sometimes insidiously exculpating, sometimes artfully accusing his brothers, kept the mind of Herod in a continued fever of suspicious excitement. The king's own favorite brother, Pheroras, increased his wretchedness. Pheroras had become so infatuated with the love of a female slave as to refuse the hand of one of Herod's daughters. Not long after, on the offer of another daughter, Pheroras consented to break off his connection with the slave. But before the espousals, he again changed his mind, and refused to conclude the marriage. Pheroras was a still worse enemy to the peace of Herod. He instilled into the mind of Alexander that his father secretly cherished a guilty passion for his wife Glaphyra.¹ Alexander boldly questioned Herod about this scandalous imputation. Pheroras, to avoid the fury of his justly offended brother, laid the plot to the instigation of Salome, who vindicated herself with great energy. Yet these two dangerous inmates for some time lost their influence in the court. But the wily Antipater still remained; the sons of Mariamne were every day accused of new plots; sometimes with perverting the eunuchs who held the chief offices about the royal person, from whom they were said to have discovered the secret and feminine artifices which Herod used to disguise the advance of old age; sometimes with designing the death of their father; or with a design of flying to Rome, or as accusing their father at Rome of entering into treasonable correspondence with the Parthians. Night and day

¹ There was jealousy, as it were, wheel within wheel. Glaphyra hated Berenice, the daughter of Salome, married to her husband's brother Aristobulus, and who therefore affected equality if not superiority over her, a king's daughter (xvi. 7. 2)

these charges were repeated ; the whole court became a scene of gloom, suspicion, and distrust. Friend shrank from friend ; every society swarmed with spies ; men accused each other, from personal and private grounds of animosity. Sometimes their evil practices recoiled on their own heads ; when the evidence was insufficient, Herod, disappointed of his victims, wreaked his vengeance on the accusers. Those who frequented the presence of the sovereign were suspected of sinister designs ; those who stood aloof were self-convicted of disloyalty. Whoever had at any time shown marks of favor or attachment to the suspected sons of Mariamne, though his own most firm and steadfast friends, fell into disgrace. At length, all the confidential slaves of Alexander having been put to the rack, some kind of evidence was wrung from their extorted confessions, and the unhappy youth committed to prison and loaded with chains. Here he adopted a strange and desperate measure ; he sent four papers to his father, filled with the most extravagant and improbable treasons, in all of which he avowed his participation, but implicated Salome, Pheroras, and all the most influential and faithful ministers of the king. Herod was worked up to a pitch of frenzy, persons of all ranks were daily seized, and either put to the torture, or executed at once.¹

At length Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, the father-in-law of Alexander, arrived at the court of Jerusalem. By first dexterously humoring the frenzy of Herod, and pretending to enter into his suspicions ; afterwards by arguing dispassionately the improbability of the accusations, he succeeded in reconciling the father and son, and Alexander was reinstated in freedom and favor.

¹ Joseph. Ant. xvi. 8. 5.

At this period Herod was not without anxiety arising from foreign disturbances. With all his vigor and severity he had never entirely suppressed the banditti of the Trachonitis. Encouraged by the secret protection of the Arabs, this lawless race commenced new depredations. Obodes was at that time king of Arabia Petrea, but all the authority was in the hands of Syllæus. This Syllæus had formerly proposed to marry Salome, the sister of Herod ; but the abjuration of his religion being demanded as the price of the connection, he broke off the match, declaring that he should be stoned by the Arabians for such a compliance. The troops of Herod pursued the banditti into the dominions of Obodes, destroyed Repta, their stronghold, and discomfited an Arabian force which espoused their party. This was represented by Syllæus, at Rome, as a wanton and unprovoked aggression upon the kingdom of Arabia. The credit of Herod began to waver ; but he immediately despatched the eloquent Nicolaus of Damascus (the historian whose contemporary biography of Herod is unfortunately lost) to the Roman Court, and through his address the cause assumed a better aspect, and was finally settled not only to the exculpation of Herod, but to his honor. Augustus had even determined to confer on Herod the kingdom of the Nabathæan Arabians : but the dreadful dissensions in his family, which had again broken out with greater fury than ever, induced the cautious Emperor at least to delay his munificent intention. It is difficult to trace, it were interminable to relate, the dark intrigues, the briberies, the extortions, the calumnies, which filled the miserable court in which figure eunuchs (for to this Oriental pomp and luxury had Herod attained), now in high favor, now on the rack ; and strangers, espe-

cially one Eurycles, a Spartan by birth, with nothing of the Spartan in character. Antipater, Salome, and Pheroras had again obtained the ear of Herod; hating each other with the bitterest cordiality, as seemed to be the doom of the family of Herod, they hated Alexander and Aristobulus with a more deadly hatred.

Herod wrote to Rome the most dreadful charges against the sons of Mariamne; and Augustus, after endeavoring to soothe the maddened spirit of the father, consented that the sons should be brought to trial at Berytus. Saturninus and Volumnius, the governors of Syria, presided in the court. The only fact which was clearly proved against them was a design of flying beyond the power of their suspicious father; but so heavy were the charges, and so vehement the exertions of Herod, who acted as his own advocate, examining witnesses, and reading documents with the strongest and most violent emphasis, that a verdict of condemnation was at length extorted from a majority of the council. The unhappy youths, who had not been permitted to make their defence, nor produced before the court, in which 150 persons sat as assessors, but were kept in custody in the neighborhood, awaited their doom in silence. Still Herod wanted courage to execute his own barbarous design. He had dared to appeal to the law of Moses, according to which the son who should curse his father or mother was to be put to death by stoning; but he shrank from carrying this terrible statute into effect. The whole people, particularly the army, looked on in deep but suppressed interest, till one Teron, a gallant soldier, openly expressed the general feeling in the presence of the monarch. His interference turned out, eventually, fatal to himself and to the sons of Mariamne. Teron

was accused of having tampered with the barber of Herod against his life ; and Alexander was implicated as privy to the crime. The son of Teron, a youth, an intimate associate of Alexander, to save his father's life, confirmed the accusation. Teron was put to death on the spot, and the final order issued that Alexander and his brother should be strangled at Sebaste. Either on this or on some similar occasion, his imperial protector, Augustus, uttered this bitter sarcasm — that he had rather be one of Herod's swine than one of his sons.

The crime did not remain long unavenged ; it recoiled with dreadful force against almost all who were implicated. The low-born wife of Pheroras had connected herself with the Pharisaic party ; and when, on the refusal of 7000 of that faction to take an oath of allegiance to Augustus and to Herod, they were heavily fined, she discharged the whole of the mulct. Rumors began to spread abroad of prophecies, which declared that God intended to transfer the government of his people from the line of Herod to that of Pheroras. Pheroras was commanded to separate himself from his wife, to whom all these intrigues were attributed. He refused, and lost all the favor with which he had been once regarded by his brother and benefactor. Yet, when a short time after Pheroras fell ill, and lay on his death-bed, the kindly feelings of Herod revived, and he visited his brother with fraternal tenderness. On the death of Pheroras suspicions began to arise that his malady was not in the course of nature : two of his freedmen openly charged his wife with having poisoned him. Herod ordered a strict investigation of the transaction : in the process a darker and more horrible secret came to light. Antipater, the beloved

son, for whom he had imbrued his hands in the blood of his own children, — Antipater, the heir of his kingdom, was clearly proved to have conspired with Pheroras to poison his old and doting father, and thus to secure and accelerate his own succession. The wife of Pheroras acknowledged the whole plot, and declared that the affectionate conduct of Herod to Pheroras on his death-bed had melted the heart of the fratricide, who had commanded her to throw into the fire the subtle poison which had already been prepared. Herod's wife, Mariamne, daughter of Simon the High Priest, was implicated in the conspiracy: Herod repudiated her immediately, deposed her father, and appointed Mattathias to the High-Priesthood. Antipater was at Rome; and the horror-stricken Herod dissembled his detection of the conspiracy: yet still obscure intimations spread abroad, which, however, did not reach the ears of Antipater. Josephus accounts for the extraordinary fact, that of these events which spread over seven months not a rumor transpired in Rome, by the care and vigilance with which all the roads were watched, and the universal hatred of Antipater. Triumphant in the success of his intrigues, and the unbounded promises of support which he had purchased at Rome, — confident in his speedy, if not immediate, inheritance of the throne, — in all the pride of successful guilt, and the malignant assurance that his rivals were entirely removed by death, Antipater landed at Cæsarea.¹ The once-crowded port seemed a solitude; no acclamations rose around him, no deputations waited upon him at his landing: the few people who met turned aloof, or

¹ At Celenderis, in Cilicia, he heard of his mother's repudiation, and began to have some misgivings, which were overruled. Ant. xvii. 5. 1.

looked on as if they now dared to hate him undisguisedly; every one seemed in possession of some fearful secret, of which he alone was ignorant. It was too late to fly: he was constrained to dissemble his terrors, and proceed to Jerusalem. There he was immediately summoned before the tribunal of Herod, who sat with Varus, the Roman governor of Syria, for his assessor. The proofs of his guilt were full and conclusive: an artful defence, which told with some effect on the judges, was refuted by the eloquent Nicolaus of Damascus. The poison was produced; a criminal condemned to death made to swallow it; he fell dead before the judges. Antipater was then condemned without the least hesitation. Herod, already afflicted by his last mortal malady, delayed the execution, but in the mean time made his final alterations in his will. He bequeathed the kingdom to Antipas, passing over Archelaus and Philip, who were supposed to be implicated in the conspiracy of Antipater. He left splendid bequests to Cæsar, to Cæsar's wife Julia, to her sons, to his friends, and even to his freedman. Thus the great and magnificent Herod lay, afflicted in body by the most painful and loathsome malady, tormented in mind by the ingratitude of his favorite son — perhaps with remorse for the murder of those of Mariamne. His last hours were still further embittered by the turbulence and disaffection of his subjects.¹

Among the innovations of Herod nothing offended the eyes of the zealous Jews more than a large golden eagle, which he had placed over the great gate of the

¹ Antipater had accomplices and influence at Rome; and in the Palace of Cæsar, a certain Acme, a Jewish slave, in high favor with the Empress Julia, was concerned in the plot against Herod. On the conviction of Antipater, and the ratification of that conviction at Rome, Acme was put to death. Ant. xvii. 7. 1.

Temple. Some daring and enthusiastic youths, instigated by two celebrated teachers, named Judas and Matthias, conspired to tear down the offensive emblem. On a rumor of Herod's death, they put their design in execution. Being apprehended, they boldly justified their conduct. Herod at first assumed something like moderation : he assembled the chiefs of the people, reproached them with the ungrateful return which they made for his munificence in rebuilding the Temple, which the Asmonean princes had left in decay ; and only displaced Mattathias, the High Priest, who was suspected of having encouraged the enterprise. The most criminal of the actual assailants and their teachers were burnt alive.

But now the disorder of the king made sensible progress ; a slow fire seemed creeping through all his vital parts : he had a rabid appetite, which he dared not gratify on account of internal ulcers and dreadful pains, particularly in the colon. Dropsical symptoms appeared in his feet, which were swollen, and exuded. Ulcers, which bred worms, preyed on the lower region of his belly and the adjacent parts. His breathing was difficult ; and violent spasms, which seemed to give him unnatural strength, convulsed his frame. He sought relief from the warm bituminous baths of Callirhoe, but returned to Jericho without improvement. There the frenzy of his malady working on the natural sternness of his disposition, he is said to have imagined a kind of testamentary cruelty, almost too horrible to be believed : he determined to extort a universal mourning for his death from the reluctant people. He commanded some of all the chief families in Judæa to be seized, shut up in the Hippodrome, and strictly enjoined his sister Salome that, immediately he expired,

the guards should be let loose, and an unsparing massacre commence. Thus a wide, and general, and heartfelt wailing would spread throughout all the land with the news of his death. But the dying requests of kings proverbially fail of their accomplishment, and, happily for human nature, this sanguinary injunction was disregarded.

Among these atrocities of the latter days of Herod, what is called the Massacre of the Innocents (which took place late in the year before, or early in the same year with, the death of Herod, four years before the vulgar era of Christ) passed away unnoticed. The murder of a few children, in a small village near Jerusalem, would excite little sensation among such a succession of dreadful events, except among the immediate sufferers. The jealousy of Herod against any one who should be born as *a King in Judæa*, — the dread that the high religious spirit of the people might be reëxcited by the hope of a real Messiah, as well as the summary manner in which he endeavored to rid himself of the object of his fears, — are strictly in accordance with the relentlessness and decision of his character.

At length, just before his death, the ratification of the sentence against Antipater arrived from Rome. It found Herod in a paroxysm of torment so great that he had attempted to lay violent hands on himself. The rumor of his death induced Antipater to make a desperate attempt to bribe the keeper of his prison. This last offence was fatal. Herod just raised himself up in his bed to give the mandate for his execution, and then fell back — had only time once more to remodel his will; and thus, dispensing death on one hand, and kingdoms on the other, expired!

ANTIPAS,
Governor of Idumæa.

ANTIPATER.

PHASAEL,
imprisoned by
the Parthians,
killed himself

HEROD the Great,
married

PHEROBAS,
married
a low-born
woman.

SALOME,
married
1. Joseph.
2. Costabar.
3. Alexas.

1. DORIS. 2. MARIANNE. 3. Niece,
brother's daughter, sister's daughter,
name unknown.

4. Niece,
name unknown.

5. MARIANNE,
daughter of Simon,
the High Priest.

6. MALTHACE,
a Samaritan.

7. CLEOPATRA, 8. PHEDRA. 9. PELLAS. 10. ELPIS.

ANTIPATER,
executed
just before
Herod's
death.

ARISTOBULUS, married
Berenice,
daughter of
Salome :
executed.

ALEXANDER, married
Glaphyra,
daughter of
Archelaus,
King of
Cappadocia :
executed.

SALAMPISIO, CYPROS,
married
Phasaël, Antipater,
her son of
divorced
cousin. Salome.

HEROD PHILIP, ARCHELAUS, ANTIPAS,
married
Herodias,
divorced
by her.

OLYMPIAS. PHILIP, ROXANA. PHASAELIS. SALOME.
Tetrarch
of
Ituræa.

Ethnarch
of Judæa,
married
Galilee,
1. Mariamne, married
2. Glaphyra, Herodias,
widow of
Alexander. Herod
Philip.

HEROD AGRIPPA,
King,
married
Cypros.

1. Herod Philip.
2. Antipas.

HERODIAS,
married

ARISTOBULUS.

HEROD,
King of
Chalcis.

ALEXANDER. TIGRANES,
King of Armenia :
executed at Rome.

K. AGRIPPA.

MARIANNE.

BERENICE,
married

1. Herod, King of Chalcis.
2. Polemo, King of Pontus ;
beloved by Titus, accused of incest
with K. Agrippa. — (Juv. Satir. 6.)

DRUSILLA,
married
1. Aziz, King of Emesa.
2. Felix.

DRUSUS,
died young.

TIGRANES.

ALEXANDER.
King of Cilicia.

BOOK XII.

THE HERODIAN FAMILY.

Archelaus — Roman Governors — Pontius Pilate — Herod Antipas — Philip — Accession of Caligula — Agrippa — Persecutions in Alexandria — Philo — Babylonian Jews — Agrippa King.

THE history of the Jews after the death of Herod, not rightly named the Great,¹ and the birth of Jesus, separates itself into two streams: one narrow at first, and hardly to be traced in its secret windings into the world, but with the light of heaven upon it, and gradually widening till it embraces a large part of Asia, part of Africa, the whole of Europe, and becomes a mighty, irresistible river—a river with many branches—gladdening and fertilizing mankind, and bearing civilization, as well as holiness and happiness, in its course; the other at first as expansive, but gradually shrinking into obscurity, lost in deep, almost impenetrable ravines: sullen apparently and lonely, yet not without its peculiar majesty in its continuous, inexhaustible, irrepressible flow, and not without its own peculiar influence as an under-current on the general life and progress of mankind. The broader and brighter stream I have attempted to trace in its early course, and in one of its branches,² so strong, so broad.

¹ Ewald observes that Herod is not called the Great in any contemporary document. There are inscriptions which call him the Great King, as the *ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς*, and the Maha-Rajah in India; but this is an epithet of the office or a title, not an appellation of the man.

² The History of Latin Christianity.

as to appear the one all-permeating tide. I return to the humbler and more obscure and less noble stream, too often attempted to be cruelly dried up by violent means, or turned into blood, yet still emerging when seeming almost lost, and flowing on as it still flows, and seems destined to flow. Though the Jewish and Christian history have much in common, they may be kept (as it is my design for obvious reasons to keep them) almost entirely distinct. As in Jewish history I shall touch but rarely and occasionally on that of Christianity, so in Christianity the history of the Jews sometimes forces itself upon the attention.

The executioner had made frightful ravages in the family of Herod; but still a powerful, if united, race survived. Ten wives of Herod are mentioned in history.¹ The *first*, Doris, the mother of Antipater, the last and the only unpitied victim of his vengeance.² The *second*, Mariamne, the Asmonean princess, the mother of the unfortunate Aristobulus and Alexander, and of two daughters, Salampsio and Cypros. Aristobulus, by Berenice, his cousin, left four children: 1. Herod Agrippa, who became distinguished at a later period; 2. Herodias, infamous for her divorce of her first husband, her uncle Philip, and her incestuous marriage with Herod Antipas; 3. Aristobulus; 4. Herod. The *third* wife of Herod the Great was Mariamne, daughter of Simon the High Priest, the mother of Herod Philip. The name of Herod Philip was effaced from the will of his father, on account of

¹ Josephus observes on the polygamy of Herod: *πάτριον γὰρ ἐν ταυτῷ πλείοσιν ἡμῖν συνοικεῖν*. Ant. xvii. 1, 2. I suspect that it was rather an Oriental than a modern Jewish privilege in which Herod indulged.

² Doris was alive at the time of the detection of Antipater's conspiracy, and as a suspected accomplice despoiled of her wealth, which amounted to many talents. Ant. xvii. 4. 2.

his mother's supposed connection with the conspiracy against his life. The *fourth*, a niece by the brother's side; the *fifth*, a niece by the sister's side, whose names do not appear, and who had no issue. The *sixth*, Malthace, a Samaritan, the mother of: 1. Archelaus; 2. Herod Antipas; 3. Olympias. It was among this family that his dominions were chiefly divided. The *seventh*, Cleopatra, of Jerusalem, mother of: 1. Herod; 2. Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis. The *eighth*, Pellas, the mother of Phasaelis. The *ninth*, Phædra, mother of Roxana. The *tenth*, Elpis, the mother of Salome.

The will of Herod had designated the sons of Malthace as his successors. To Herod Antipas were assigned Galilee and Peræa; to Archelaus, Idumæa, Samaria, and Judæa. Though the will of Herod could not be held valid until ratified at Rome, yet Archelaus, amid the acclamations of the army, at once assumed the direction of affairs in Jerusalem. The funeral of his father was the first object of his care. The lifeless remains of Herod seemed to retain his characteristic magnificence. The body was borne aloft on a bier, which was adorned with costly precious stones. The linen was of the richest dye; the winding-sheet of purple. It still wore the diadem, and, above that, the golden crown of royalty: the sceptre was in its hand. The sons and relatives of Herod attended the bier. All the military force followed, distributed according to their nations. First, his body-guard; then his foreign mercenaries, — Thracians, Germans, Gauls; then the rest of the army, in war-array. Last came five hundred of his court-officers, bearing sweet spices, with which the Jews embalmed the dead. In this pomp the procession passed on, by slow stages, to the Hero-

dium, a fortified palace, about twenty-five miles from Jericho.¹

Archelaus, according to Jewish usage, mourned for seven days; but rumors were industriously propagated by his enemies, that, while he wore the decent garb of sorrow during the daytime, his nights were abandoned to revelry, and to the most undisguised rejoicing among his own private friends. At the end of this time he gave a splendid funeral banquet to the whole people, and then entered the Temple in great pomp, amid general acclamations; and, taking his seat on a golden throne, delivered an address to the multitude. His speech was conciliatory and temperate. He alluded to his father's oppressions, — thanked the people for their loyal reception, — promised to reward their good conduct, but declined to assume the royal diadem till his father's testament should be ratified at Rome.² The people vied with each other in the vehemence of their applause; but their acclamations were mingled with demands by no means so acceptable to the royal ear. Some called for a diminution of the public burden; others for the release of the prisoners, with whom Herod had crowded the dungeons; some more specifically for the entire abandonment of the taxes on the sale of commodities in the markets, which had been levied with the utmost rigor. Archelaus listened with great affability, promised largely, and, having performed sacrifice, retired.

While he was preparing for his voyage, the zealous party which had been concerned in the demolition of

¹ The Antiquities state, *ἦσαν δὲ ἐπὶ Ἡρωδίου στάδια ὀκτώ*. This must have been the first stage, as according to the B. J. the Herodium (near Masada) was 200 stadia distant from Jericho. Compare Aldrich's note on the B. J. i., last page in Cardwell's Josephus.

² B. J. ii. i. 1.

the Eagle, collected their strength. They bewailed, with frantic outcries, the death of Matthias, the teacher, and his seditious pupils, who had even been deprived of the rites of burial by the unrelenting rigor of Herod : and no unintelligible execrations against the deceased monarch were mingled with their lamentations. They demanded the summary punishment of all who had been employed in the recent executions, the expulsion of the High Priest, and the substitution of one more legally appointed. Archelaus attempted to allay the tumult by conciliatory measures. He sent officer after officer to soothe, to expostulate, to admonish, to threaten. Argument and menace were alike unavailing. The clamorous multitude would listen to nothing, and the sedition grew every day more alarming. The danger was more urgent on account of the approaching Pass-over, which assembled the Jews from all quarters of the country, and even strangers from the most remote parts of the world. If it was difficult at any time to keep the fanatical multitude of Jerusalem in check, it was still more so when this formidable addition was made to their numbers. The leaders of the faction held their meetings in the Temple itself, where they were abundantly supplied with provisions by their friends, who did not scruple to beg in their behalf. It was high time to interfere, and Archelaus sent a centurion with a band of soldiers to disperse the multitude, to apprehend the ringleaders, and bring them before his tribunal. They arrived while the sacrifice was offering. The zealots inflamed the multitude, who attacked the soldiers, many of whom were stoned ; the rest, with the centurion, made their escape, but with great difficulty, and dreadfully maimed. This done, the sacrifice quietly proceeded. Archelaus found it necessary.

if he would not at once throw up all his authority, to act with greater vigor. He gave orders for a large body of troops to advance. The cavalry cut off the strangers from the provinces who were encamped without the city, from the zealots who occupied the Temple. The multitude fled on all sides; those of Jerusalem dispersed; the strangers retreated to the mountains; 3000 were slain. Archelaus issued a proclamation, commanding all the strangers to return to their homes; they obeyed with reluctance, and, to the universal horror, the great national festival, thus interrupted, was not concluded.

Archelaus set out for Rome, accompanied by Nicolaus of Damascus, and many of his relatives, all with the ostensible purpose of supporting his claim to the throne, some with the secret design of thwarting his advancement. Among the latter was Salome, the false and intriguing sister of Herod. At Cæsarea he met Sabinus, the procurator of Syria, who was hastening to Judæa, in order to make himself master of the treasures left by Herod, and to obtain military possession of the country by seizing the fortresses which the king had built. Through the interference of Varus, the prefect of Syria, Sabinus agreed to suspend his march, to leave Archelaus in possession of the treasures, and to undertake no measure till the arrival of an edict from Rome. But no sooner had Archelaus set sail and Varus returned to Antioch, than Sabinus marched to Jerusalem, seized the palace, summoned the keepers of the treasures to render up their accounts, and the military officers to cede the fortresses. All, however, remained faithful to their charge, and refused to comply without direct orders from Rome.

Archelaus had to encounter a formidable opposition

to his attainment of the royal dignity, not merely from the caprice or pride of the Emperor, but from intrigues set on foot in his own family. His younger brother, Herod Antipas, arrived in Rome to maintain his own pretensions to the crown, grounded on a former will of Herod, made, as his party asserted, when his father was in a saner state of mind than at his decease, and in which Antipas was named first. His mother Malthace, Salome his aunt, Ptolemy the brother of Nicolaus of Damascus, who had been a great favorite with his father, and Irenæus, a man of remarkable eloquence and ability, espoused the party of Antipas. Augustus appointed a solemn hearing of the cause, and in that haughty spirit which delighted in displaying kings publicly pleading for their thrones before the footstool of Roman subjects, appointed Caius the son of Agrippa, and his own daughter Julia, afterwards noted for her profligacy, to preside on the occasion. Antipater, the son of Salome, conducted the cause of Herod Antipas. He insisted on the former will of Herod — accused Archelaus of assuming the crown without the sanction of the Emperor — of unseemly rejoicings at the death of his father — and of wanton acts of tyranny against the people — urging and aggravating the dreadful slaughter during the tumult of the Passover. The eloquent Nicolaus of Damascus maintained the cause of Archelaus with his accustomed ability. The Emperor took time to deliberate on his judgment.

While these affairs were pending at Rome, intelligence arrived that Judæa was in a state of insurrection. The rapacity and insolence of Sabinus had exasperated the people, already in a state of tumultuary excitement. Varus advanced to Jerusalem, seized the ringleaders, and reëstablished order — but unfortu-

nately left Sabinus behind him to maintain the peace. The sole object of this unscrupulous commander was to find an opportunity and excuse for seizing the tempting treasures of this opulent city, as well those left by Herod, as the more inestimable riches contained in the Temple. All his acts tended to goad the people to insurrection.

The Pentecost drew on, and the Jews gathered together from all quarters with the deliberate intention of wreaking their vengeance on Sabinus. From both the Galilees, from Idumæa, from Jericho, and from the provinces beyond Jordan, vast multitudes came crowding into the city. One party encamped in the circus to the south, one occupied a position to the north, another to the west of the Temple; and thus shut up the single legion of Varus in the palace. Sabinus sent pressing messages to Varus for relief. In the mean time he himself, — for with more than Roman rapacity he does not seem to have possessed Roman valor, — ascending the lofty tower of Phasaelis, gave orders to his troops to make a desperate sally, and force their way to the Temple. The Jews, though repelled by the disciplined valor of the legionaries, fought with courage, and, mounting on the roofs of the cloisters or porticos which surrounded the outer court of the Temple, annoyed the assailants with stones, javelins, and other missiles. The Romans at length set fire to the cloisters, the roofs of which were made of wood, cemented with pitch and wax; and the whole magnificent range became one immense conflagration; the gilding melted, the columns fell, and all the Jews upon the roof were either crushed to death among the blazing ruins, or lay victims to the unrelenting fury of the enemy; some of the more desperate fell on their own

swords; not one escaped. But the flames could not repress the daring rapacity of the Roman soldiery; they broke into the Temple, plundered on all sides, and even seized the sacred treasures, from which Sabinus secured the greater part of 400 talents; the rest was secreted by the pillagers. Maddened with this outrage, the bravest of the Jews assembled from all quarters, besieged the palace, but offered Sabinus his life if he and his legion would evacuate the city. Many of Herod's soldiers deserted to the Jews; but, on the other hand, two distinguished officers, Rufus, the commander of Herod's cavalry, and Gratus, the captain of his infantry, with 3000 Samaritan troops, joined Sabinus. The Jews pressed the siege with vigor, and began to mine the palace; at the same time urging Sabinus to quit the city, and leave them to their own government; but Sabinus would not trust their faith.

The whole country was in the same dreadful state of anarchy. The severe military police of Herod was now withdrawn or suspended, on account of the uncertainty of the succession. The Romans exercised all the oppression without affording the protection of despotic sovereignty; and at the period when the nation was in the highest state of excitement,—some looking forward, with sober patriotism, to the restoration of their national independence,—others, of more ardent zeal, to the fulfilment of their national prophecies in the person of some mighty conqueror, the fame of whose destined birth at this period prevailed, according to the expression of the Roman historian, throughout all the East,—the whole country was without any regular government. Adventurer after adventurer sprang up in every quarter, not one of whom was too base or too

desperate not to assemble a number, either of daring robbers or deluded fanatics, around his standard. Two thousand of Herod's troops having been dismissed, spread over Judæa, subsisted on plunder, and besieged Achiab, a cousin of Herod, who took refuge in the mountains.¹ One Judas, son of Hezekias, a noted captain of banditti, surprised Sepphoris, seized the treasures, and plundered the armory, from which he supplied his followers, who became the terror of the district. Simon, a slave of Herod, a man of great personal strength and beauty, had the audacity to assume the diadem. He plundered the palace in Jericho, and several other of the royal residences; his followers burnt that of Betharamptha, near the Jordan. He was at length attacked by Gratus, taken in a ravine, and beheaded. Another adventurer, Athronges, a common shepherd, with his four brothers, men of extraordinary personal strength and courage, collected a predatory band, and waged open war both against the Romans and the royal party. Athronges also assumed the diadem. He had the boldness to attack a Roman cohort, which was escorting a convoy of provisions and arms, near Emmaus. One centurion and 400 men were killed; the rest escaped with difficulty, leaving the dead on the field of battle. Nothing could exceed the rapacity and cruelty of this band. They were not subdued till long after, when one brother having been slain in battle by Gratus, the other in a conflict against Ptolemy, and the eldest taken, the youngest, who survived, broken in spirit, and finding his troops dispersed, surrendered to Archelaus.

In consequence of urgent entreaties from Sabinus, and dreading the peril in which his legion was placed,

¹ Ant. xvii. 10.

Varus, the prefect of Syria, assembled at Ptolemais the two legions remaining in Syria, and four troops of horse, with some allies from Berytus, and some Arabian bands. Part he sent forward into Galilee; they recovered and burnt Sepphoris, and subdued the whole district. With the rest he advanced in person to Samaria, which he spared as having taken no part in the late insurrections. His Arabian allies committed dreadful depredations, burning and ravaging on all sides; he himself gave orders for the burning of Emmaus, in revenge for the loss of the cohort defeated by Athronges. On his approach to Jerusalem, the forces from the country broke up their siege of Sabinus and dispersed; the inhabitants submitted, and laid the whole blame of the insurrection on the strangers. Sabinus, ashamed of meeting Varus, stole away to the coast, and took ship for Rome. Varus spread his troops over the country, and seized the notorious ringleaders in the recent tumults; 2000 were crucified, the rest pardoned. Finding, however, that the rapacity of his soldiers, particularly his Arabian allies, from their hatred of Herod, increased the mischief, he dismissed the latter, and advanced only with his own force on a body of 10,000 men, which appeared in arms on the borders of Idumæa. These insurgents were persuaded by Achiab to surrender: the leaders were sent to Rome for trial; a general amnesty was granted to the rest. Augustus treated the criminals with lenity, excepting those who were related to the house of Herod, whom he ordered to be put to death for their unnatural hostility to the head of their own family.

In the mean time the great decision which was to award the dominions of Herod remained in suspense. A deputation of 500 Jews arrived at Rome, to petition

for the reëstablishment of their ancient constitution, and the total suppression of the kingly government. They were joined by 8000 of their countrymen resident in Rome. An audience was granted, in which they enlarged on the oppressions, cruelties, debaucheries, summary executions, and enormous taxations of the elder Herod.¹ The whole Herodian family now found it expedient to give up their dissensions, and to unite their common interest. Herod Philip arrived at the same time to support his own claims.

At length the imperial edict appeared : it confirmed for the most part the will of Herod. Archelaus was appointed to the sovereignty of Judæa, Idumæa, and Samaria, under the title of Ethnarch ; that of King was reserved as a reward for future good conduct. Herod Antipas obtained Galilee and Peræa ; Philip — Auranitis, Trachonitis, Paneas, and Batanea. The Samaritans were rewarded for their peaceable behavior by the reduction of one quarter of their tribute. The chief cities of Archelaus were Jerusalem, Sebaste (Samaria), Cæsarea, and Joppa. Gaza, Gadara, and Hippo, as Greek towns, were added to the prefecture of Syria. The annual revenue of Archelaus was 600 talents. The bequests of Herod to Salome were confirmed ; and in addition she obtained the towns of Jamnia, Azotus, and Phasaelis, and a palace in Ascalon : her yearly revenue was sixty talents. The wealth left to Augustus, he distributed, chiefly as a dower to two unmarried daughters of Herod, whom he united to two sons of Pheroras. He retained nothing except some magnificent plate, as a memorial of his friend.

¹ Παρθένων μέντοι φθορὰς, καὶ γυναικῶν ἀσχύνας, ὁπόσας ἐπὶ παροίνοισι καὶ ἀπανθρωπίᾳ δρωμένας σιγᾶν διὰ τὸ ἡδονὴν εἶναι τοῖς πεπονθόσι τὸν μὴ γεγόνεναι, τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀνέκπυστα αὐτὰ εἶναι. Ant. xvii. 11. 2.

At this juncture an impostor made his appearance, who assumed the name of Alexander, the murdered son of Mariamne.¹ So like was he in person to that ill-fated youth, and so well had he been tutored by an unprincipled adventurer, who was intimately acquainted with the court of Herod, that wherever he went, in Crete and Melos, where a number of Jews resided, he was received with all the attachment which the nation felt to the race of their Asmonean princes: he was liberally furnished with money, and boldly set out for Rome to demand his inheritance. The Jews crowded forth to meet him, and escorted him into the city with loud acclamations. Celadus, one of the Emperor's freedmen, who had been familiarly acquainted with the sons of Mariamne, was sent to investigate the case; he was imposed upon like the rest. Not so Augustus, who, on sending for the false Alexander, observed that his hands were hard and horny, and that his whole person wanted the delicacy and softness of the royal youth. Still both he and his tutor supported a strict cross-examination, till at length Augustus himself led the youth aside, and promised to him a free pardon if he would confess the imposture. The youth, either supposing himself detected, or awed by the imperial presence, acknowledged the deception; and Cæsar, seeing that he was of a strong and muscular make, ordered him as a rower to his galleys. His instructor was put to death.

Archelaus (B. C. 3²) assumed the dominion of Judæa, and governed with great injustice and cruelty. Such is the unanimous report of all historians, confirmed by his

¹ Ant. xvii. 12.

² Before the Vulgar Æra, now generally acknowledged to be erroneous by about four years.

condemnation, after a solemn hearing before Augustus. Yet few facts have transpired by which posterity may judge of the equity of the sentence. He displaced Joazar from the pontificate, and substituted his brother Eleazar. Eleazar in his turn was supplanted by Jesus, son of Siva. The unlawful marriage of the Ethnarch with Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, the widow of his brother Alexander, and his divorce of his own wife, Mariamne, gave great offence to his zealous subjects.¹ He repaired the palace of Jericho with great magnificence, and paid much attention to the cultivation of the palm-trees in the neighborhood. Such are the barren incidents of a reign of nine years ; at the end of which Archelaus, while sitting at a banquet, was hastily summoned to Rome. His cause was formally heard, his brothers as well as his subjects being his accusers. He was banished to Vienne, in Gaul ; his estates were confiscated, and Judæa reduced to a Roman province. Thus the sceptre finally departed from Judah ; the kingdom of David and Solomon, of the Asmonean princes and of Herod, sank into a district, dependent on the prefecture of Syria, though administered by its own governor, a man usually of the equestrian order.

At this period of the Jewish history, when the last semblance of independence passed away, and Judæa became part of a Roman province, it may be well to cast a rapid view over the state of the people, and their more important existing institutions.

The supreme judicial authority was exercised by the Sanhedrin, the great ecclesiastical and civil council.

¹ The history of Glaphyra is curious. Between her two marriages with the two Jewish princes, she was married to an African prince of Libya, as Josephus calls him — Juba. On the death of Juba, she had returned to her father's court in Cappadocia. Ant. xvii. 13. 4.

The origin of this famous court is involved in much obscurity. The Jews, it has been observed, took pride in deducing its lineal descent from that established by Moses in the wilderness. The silence of the whole intervening history to the Captivity has been considered fatal to these lofty pretensions. Others date its origin from the Captivity; others again from the reorganization of the Jewish polity by the Maccabees.¹ The Sanhedrin consisted of seventy-one persons, partly priests, partly Levites, partly elders. The High Priest, whether of right or not is much disputed, usually sat as president; he was entitled Nasi, or prince. At his right hand sat the Ab-beth-Din, the father of the council, or vice-president; on his left, the Wise Man, perhaps the most learned among the doctors of the law. The constitution of the rest of the council, and their mode of election, remain in the same obscurity. The qualifications for members of this court, as stated by the Jewish writers, are curious. They must be religious, and learned in arts and languages. Some added, in their fanciful attachment to the number seventy, that they must understand seventy languages! They must have some skill in physic, arithmetic, astronomy, astrology, and be acquainted with what belonged to magic, sorcery, and idolatry, that they may know how to judge of them. They must be without maim or blemish of body; men of years, but not extremely old, because such are commonly of too great severity; and *they must be fathers of children, that they might be acquainted with tenderness and compassion.*

¹ Ewald inclines to the opinion that it was founded by Ezra (p. 193), but for once Ewald is not positive. Jost would date it from the time of Simon the Maccabee. I think this the most probable date. The number was very likely taken from the assembly of Moses. Jost adds: "Von deren Wahl und Geschäftskreis ist nichts bekannt geworden, weil beides sich jedenfalls nur nach dem Herkommen verhielt." I. p. 124.

The council sat in the form of a semicircle round the president, whose place was between the Ab-beth-Din and the Wise Man. At each end was a secretary; one registered the votes of acquittal—the other of condemnation.

At first the Sanhedrin sat in a room in the cloister of the court of the Israelites, called Gazith. They afterwards removed successively to other places. The proper period of sitting was the whole time between the morning and evening service. The Sanhedrin was the great court of judicature; it judged of all capital offences against the law; it had the power of inflicting punishment by scourging and by death. Criminals capitally condemned were executed in four different ways: by strangling, burning, slaying with the sword, and by stoning.

The Great Sanhedrin was a court of appeal from the inferior Sanhedrins of twenty-three judges, established in the other towns.

The Sanhedrin was probably confined to its judicial duties—it was a plenary court of justice, and no more—during the reigns of the later Asmonean princes, and during those of Herod the Great and his son Archelaus.¹ To the despotism of the two latter there was no check, except an appeal to Rome. When

¹ This is confirmed by Jost, p. 273, note. "Alles was Mischnah und Thalmud von Synedrion sagen, bezieht sich nur auf *Gerichtbarkeit*, nicht aufs Lehramt wie Maim. will. Nirgends wird gesagt, dass das Synedrion sich mit der Lehre beschäftigt. Es entscheidet nur über Anfragen, oder richtet selbst wo ihm Klagen vorgebracht werden."

According to Jost the full Sanhedrin determined on great affairs, such as false prophets, charges against the High Priest, the extension of the hallowed limits of Jerusalem, some say the election of a king or a chief priest. Minor courts or committees of 31 had the power of passing capital sentences for certain offences. For smaller crimes, theft, robbery, injury, unchastity, which were punished with stripes, a court of three gave judgment.

Judæa became a Roman province, the Sanhedrin either, as is more likely, assumed for the first time, or recovered its station as a kind of senate or representative body of the nation; possessed itself of such of the subordinate functions of the government as were not actually administered by the Roman procurator; and probably, on account of the frequent changes in the person of the High Priest, usurped, in some degree, upon his authority. At all events, they seem to have been the channel of intercourse between the Roman rulers and the body of the people. It is the Sanhedrin, under the name of the chief priests, scribes, and elders of the people, who take the lead in all the transactions recorded in the Gospels. Jesus Christ was led before the Sanhedrin, and by them denounced before the tribunal of Pilate.¹ Whether they had lost or retained the power of inflicting capital punishment, has been debated with the utmost erudition; and, like similar questions, is still in a high degree uncertain.²

¹ This is denied distinctly by Jost, who asserts this assembly to have been a tumultuary and irregular meeting of the enemies of Jesus. I fear that the historian must pronounce against Jost, though the Christian would allow him and his modern brethren the full benefit of the disclaimer. I fear that this too has influenced Jost's notion as to the discontinuance of the regular Sanhedrin for the century from the time of Simon ben Schetach till the establishment of Christianity. P. 279.

² This question mainly depends on the true meaning of the sentence in St. John's Gospel, xviii. 31: *It is not lawful for us to put any man to death.* The Jewish Tract Sanhedrin, 7, 1, lays down the law. "Quatuor supplicia capitalia senatui tradita sunt, lapidatio, ustio, interemptio quæ fit gladio, strangulatio." Ibid. 7, 4: "Lapidantur autem, profanator Sabbati, qui ad apostasiam impellit magus," &c. The stoning of St. Stephen, in the Acts, seems to have been a judicial, not a tumultuary proceeding. The older Christian writers were perplexed with this difficulty. Theophylact thinks its meaning to be that they had no power to put to death by crucifixion; others, that they had no power to put to death for treason; and the crime of which Jesus was accused was treason against the Roman authority. Augustine and Chrysostom, that it was not lawful to put a man to death on a holy day, as the Preparation for the Passover. I am inclined to adhere to the opinion adopted in the History of Christianity, vol. i. p. 342, that at

The body of the people, at least all above the lowest order, seem to have addicted themselves to one or other of the two great prevailing sects — the Pharisees and the Sadducees. The multitude, though not actually enrolled among the former, were entirely under their sway, and zealously adhered to their faction. In all places of public resort the Pharisees were always seen with their phylacteries, or broad slips of parchment, inscribed with sentences of the Law, displayed on their foreheads and the hems of their garments: even in the corners of the public streets they would kneel to pray; and in the Temple or synagogues they chose the most conspicuous stations, that their long devotions might excite the admiration of their followers. They fasted rigorously, observed the Sabbath with the most scrupulous punctuality, and paid tithes even upon the cheapest herbs.¹ In private societies they assumed the superiority to which their religious distinction seemed to entitle them; they always took the highest places. But their morals,² according to the unerring authority of Jesus Christ, were far below their pretensions: they violated the main principles of the Law, the justice and

this time, during the transition from the national government under the Herodian family to the direct government of the Romans, the authority of the Sanhedrin was altogether undefined; that they did not know whether the Romans would permit them to execute capital punishment, especially on a criminal accused of rebellion. There were terrible and recent reminiscences how Herod, and even Archelaus, had possessed and executed the power of life and death. Had the Romans appropriated to themselves that power, or would they permit the Law to be put in force by its ancient and ordinary administrators?

¹ Read the curious passage about the subtle distinctions as to the payment of tithes in Jost, *Jud.*, i. 201, — a remarkable comment on the sentence in the Gospel about tithing mint, anise, and cummin.

² Josephus, himself a Pharisee, displays the brighter side of the Pharisaic character. He denies that they were absolute fatalists: *πρίσσεσθαι τι ἐμαρμένῃ τὰ πάντα ἀξιοῦντες, ὅνδὲ τοῦ ἀνθρωπέιου τὸ βουλόμενον τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὁρμῆς ἀφαιροῦνται*. *Ant.* xviii. 1, 2.

humanity of the Mosaic institutions, while they rigidly adhered to the most minute particulars, not merely of the Law itself, but of tradition likewise. Still they were the idols of the people, who revered them as the great teachers and models of virtue and holiness. The Sadducees were less numerous and less influential;¹ for, besides the want of this popular display of religion, they were notoriously severe in the execution of the national statutes. Denying all punishment for crime in a future life, their only way to discourage delinquency was by the immediate terrors of the law; and this they put in force, perhaps with the greater rigor, because their disbelief of future rewards and punishments was represented by their enemies as leading necessarily to the utmost laxity of morals. This effect it would probably have on many of the weak or licentious; but the doctrine of the Sadducees, which fully recognized the certain punishment of guilt in this world by Divine Providence, is not justly chargeable with these consequences. It is singular that this notorious severity in the administration of the law is strongly exemplified in the Christian history. The first persecution of the Apostles took place when the Sadducees were in possession of the High-Priesthood, and probably formed a majority of the Sanhedrin;² and the High Priest who put Saint James to death, was, in all probability, of that sect.

Besides these two great sects, there was a considerable party attached to the persons of the Herodian

¹ *ἐἰς ὀλίγους τε ἄνδρας οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἀφίκετο, τοὺς μέντοι πρῶτους τοῖς ἀξιωμασι.* This accounts for the comparative silence about them in the Gospels. There were probably few or none of them in the villages of Galilee; in Jerusalem they would hardly fall in the way of a popular teacher. They dwelt aloof in their palaces, and were less frequently in places of common resort.

² Acts v. 17.

family; who probably thought it the best interest of the country to remain quietly under the government of native princes and the protection of the Roman emperors. This faction most likely comprehended what may be called the Grecian party; rather inclined to Grecian habits and customs, than strongly attached to the national institutes and usages.

At a considerable distance from the metropolis, in some highly cultivated oases amid the wilderness on the shores of the Dead Sea, were situated the chief of the large agricultural villages of the Essenes.¹ According to Josephus, their number was about 4000.² Almost in every respect, both in their rules and in the patient industry with which they introduced the richest cultivation into the barren waste, the Essenes were the monastic order of the Jews. Among groves of palm-trees, of which, according to the picturesque expression of Pliny, they were the companions, and amid fertile fields won from the barren wilderness, they passed their rigid and ascetic lives. They avoided populous cities, not from hatred of mankind, but from dread of their vices. In general, no woman was admitted within

¹ There is no certain derivation for the word Essene. It is used by Philo and Josephus, but occurs neither in the Apocryphal books nor in the New Testament, nor, according to Jost, in the Rabbinical writings. This is to me a convincing proof that they were not found, as some, even Ewald, suppose them to have been, in the cities, but were strictly confined to their own monastic settlements. Why, Jost pertinently asks, did Josephus retire for three years into the Desert, to acquaint himself with their tenets, if he could study them in Jerusalem or other towns? The Essenes were the monks of Judaism, and monachism seems to be the natural and necessary offspring of all, especially Eastern religions; and even of philosophies, as with the Pythagoreans, so long as philosophy has not set itself apart from religion. Herzfeld's notion that they arose in Egypt, and were really Pythagorean in their origin, appears to me in itself utterly improbable; and the few Pythagorean maxims which they held are common to all Asiatics.

² Ant. xviii. 11. 5.

their domains. Some of the inferior communities allowed marriage, but only associated with their wives for the procreation of children ; the higher and more esteemed societies practised the most rigid celibacy, and entirely forswore all communication with the other sex.¹ Wonderful nation, says the Roman naturalist, which endures for centuries, but in which no child is ever born !² They were recruited by voluntary proselytes, or by children whom they adopted when very young, and educated in their discipline. Among the Essenes all pleasure was forbidden as sin ; the entire extinction of the passions of the body was the only real virtue. An absolute community of goods was established in their settlements ; even a man's house was not his own ; another person might enter and remain in it as long as he pleased. The desire of riches was proscribed ; every lucrative employment, commerce, traffic, and navigation were forbidden. They neither bought nor sold : all they had was thrown into a common fund, from which each received the necessaries of life ; but for charity, or for the assistance of the poor or the stranger, they might draw as largely as they would on this general revenue. They were all clothed alike in white garments, which they did not change till they were worn out ; they abhorred the use of oil ; if any one were anointed against his will, he scrupulously cleansed himself. Their lives were regulated by the strictest forms ; they rose before the sun, but were forbidden to speak of any worldly business, and devoted all the time till break of day to offering up certain ancient prayers that the sun might shine upon them. After this they received their orders from the superior, and went to work, according to his commands, at the

¹ Joseph. Ant. xviii. 1. 5.

² Pliny, Hist. Nat.

labor or craft in which they were skilled ; but their artisans might only work on articles used in peace, by no means on swords, arrows, or military weapons ; though they carried arms, when they travelled, to defend themselves against robbers. Having worked till the fifth hour, eleven o'clock, they assembled for refreshment. First, however, they washed and put on a linen garment ; they then went into a room which no one might enter into who was not of their sect. After that they entered the common refectory as if it were a sacred place ; there in silence waited till grace was said ; then each received his portion from the baker and the cook, of bread, salt, and hyssop. They abstained from animal food, by which they were distinguished from all their Jewish brethren. To them the law of clean and unclean meat was superfluous. Another grace closed the meal ; then, putting off their sacred garment, they returned to their toil till evening, when they again assembled to supper. No noise or tumult was heard ; they spoke only by permission and in turn ; on other occasions, if ten were met, one could not speak without the consent of the nine. In company they were to avoid spitting either before them or to the right hand. They observed the Sabbath with the strictest precision, not even lighting a fire, or performing the necessities of nature. At all other times they concealed their excrements with scrupulous care, digging a pit a foot deep, lest the holy light should be defiled. They then washed themselves with the utmost nicety. On the Sabbath they all met in their synagogues, where the elders interpreted the sacred writings, explaining them chiefly by parables.

In their religious opinions they differed from their countrymen ; though they sent their gifts to the

Temple, they offered no sacrifices there.¹ They were strict predestinarians. They believed that the body was mortal, the soul immortal: that the soul, emanating out of the noblest and purest air, is imprisoned in the body, where it is subjected to severe trials: when released from its corporeal bonds, it escapes as it were a long servitude, and soars back rejoicing to its native element. They believed, with the Greeks, in a delightful region beyond the ocean, in which the souls of the good dwelt forever. There, rain and snow and parching heat were unknown, but the air was continually refreshed with balmy and gentle breezes from the sea. The souls of the wicked were doomed to a cold and gloomy place of everlasting punishment. They were great students of their sacred books, and especially of the prophetic writings. Many were endowed, according to Josephus, with that gift. They studied likewise the nature and cure of diseases, and the medicinal properties of herbs and minerals. Their morals were rigid in every respect. They were bound, by solemn vows, to worship God and to be just to men; to keep inviolable faith; if intrusted with authority, to abstain from all wrong and from splendid apparel; to love truth and hate liars; to communicate only to the members of the society the tenets of the sect; to preserve their sacred doctrinal books, and the names of the angels. They paid the highest veneration to age: many of them, from their temperate habits, lived to more than 100 years. They abstained from all oaths,

¹ It does not seem, as some have asserted, that they offered their own sacrifices, or any sacrifices at all. I suspect that they had a Buddhist aversion to take away life. Philo says distinctly — *ὅν ζῶα καταθύοντες, ἀλλ' ἱεροπρεπεῖς, τὰς ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν διανοίας κατασκευάζειν ἄξιοντες*. By this the passage in Josephus must be interpreted. No doubt they quoted the Prophets, that "the best sacrifice is a broken and a contrite heart."

considering an oath as bad as perjury. They abhorred slavery, as an infringement of the natural liberty of men. In their civil constitution they were all equal as regards their rights, but were divided into four classes ; of which the superior class looked down so much on those beneath them, that, if touched by one of a lower order, they were defiled, and washed themselves.

There were stewards who managed the common stock, and officers who took care of all strangers who might enter their towns. No one was admitted into the society without the strictest probation ; the proselyte received a small pickaxe, linen garments, and a white dress, and so commenced his year of noviciate. After having given satisfactory proof of continence and temperance for that period, he was admitted to closer intimacy, and to wash in the holy water ; yet for two years longer he remained on trial, and only at the end of that time was admitted to the common refectory. Whoever was guilty of any great crime was expelled from the society, — a fearful doom ! for having sworn that he would receive no food but from his own sect, the outcast fed, like a beast, on the grass of the field, till at length he perished with hunger. Sometimes, if at the last extremity the criminal showed sincere repentance, he was readmitted, from compassion, within the society. But this awful fate was inflicted with great reluctance ; for justice was administered with the utmost care ; and no verdict could be given unless a hundred were present ; it was then usually irrevocable.

The Essenes were cruelly persecuted by the Romans, who probably entered their country after the capture of Jericho. They were tortured, racked, had their bones broken on the wheel, in order to compel them to

blaspheme their lawgiver, or eat forbidden meats. They did not attempt to appease their tormentors ; they uttered no cry, they shed no tear ; and even smiled in the worst agony of torment ; and in steadfast reliance on the immortality of their souls, departed, rejoicing, from life. These were usually called practical Essenes ; there was another class in Egypt, called the Therapeutæ, or Contemplative. These were mystics ; they have been claimed by some Roman Catholic writers as primitive Christian monks, but, though doubtless the prototypes of the monastic or eremitical life, they were as certainly Jews.

The origin of this singular people, the Essenes, is involved in obscurity. Some have deduced them from very high antiquity, but without the slightest ground for their opinion ; others derive them from the Rechabites, mentioned in the latter period of the monarchy. In certain respects they may seem to have been formed in imitation of the schools of the Prophets, some of which, if not all, bound themselves to a severe and abstemious life ; and not only does Josephus inform us that many of the Essenes pretended to the gift of prophecy, but we meet with Essene prophets in several parts of the later Jewish history. The main principles of their tenets seem evidently grounded on that widespread Oriental philosophy, which, supposing matter either the creation of the Evil Being, or itself the Evil Being, considered all the appetites and propensities of the *material* body in themselves evil, and therefore esteemed the most severe mortification the perfection of virtue. The reverence for the names of the angels points to the same source, and there is one ambiguous expression in the account of Josephus, which, taken literally, would imply that they worshipped the sun.

On the complete alteration in the civil state of Judæa, P. Sulpicius Quirinius, who had passed through all the offices of the Roman magistracy, and attained the consulate, was appointed to the prefecture of Syria. The subordinate administration of Judæa was intrusted to Coponius, a man of equestrian rank. Quirinius is by some supposed to have acted formerly as coadjutor to the Syrian prefect, Saturninus, having been appointed for the special purpose of conducting the general census of the population in this region. This is what is incorrectly called the general taxation, in our common translation of St. Luke's Gospel, which, in fact, was only a registry. Quirinius had now the more invidious office of taking a second census, of property as well as of persons, in order to regulate the taxation exacted by the Roman government from the subject provinces.¹ The proud spirit of the Jews submitted in sullen reluctance to this last mark of subjection. The prudence of Joazar, who, in what manner it is unknown, had resumed the office of High Priest, repressed all dangerous indications of discontent ; but the fiercer spirits found a leader in Judas, called the Galilean, though born in Gamala, a city of Gaulonitis. He was a man of eloquence, which he employed on the popular subjects — the sovereignty of God over his chosen people — the degradation of subjection to a foreign yoke — the unlawfulness of paying tribute. Multitudes crowded

¹ This census, which first enregistered the Jews as subjects of Rome, not subjects to a king vassal to Rome, was one of the great revolutions in their history. It was this against which Judas the Gaulonite proclaimed his rebellious protest, — it was the act of the enslavement of the people. τὴν δὲ ἀποτίμησιν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἀντικρὺς δουλείαν ἐπιφέρειν. It is singularly in accordance with the whole spirit of the Gospel, that the first (if it may be so said) unconscious act of the unborn Jesus was the quiet recognition of the Roman sovereignty, an anticipation of the giving to *Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's*, and a preannouncement that his kingdom was not of this world.

around him: the high-spirited — the adventurous — those who were full of burning zeal for their country and their law — unhappily also the fierce and licentious. With his confederate, Sadoc, a Pharisee, Judas formed a fourth sect, in addition to those of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. The watchword of his party was — We have no lord and master but God. But the days were passed when a similar war-cry had rallied the whole nation under the banner of the Maccabees, and won the independence of Judæa at the point of the sword. The circumstances of the times were widely different; the national character was altered for the worse; the power of the oppressor, who wielded all the forces of the Western world with Roman vigor and ability, irresistible; and the God, in whose name and under whose protection they had been accustomed to triumph, was now about to withdraw his presence. A kingdom, *not of this world*, was to rise out of the ruins of the temporal sovereignty, which had so long remained among the heirs and successors of David. Judas himself perished, — his followers were dispersed; but to the influence of their tenets, in support of which numbers endured the most horrible tortures and death with the martyr's fortitude, Josephus attributes all the subsequent insurrections, and the final ruin of the city and the Temple. The Gaulonites were the doctrinal ancestors of the Zealots and Assassins (Sicarii) of later days. The sons of Judas were true to their father's precepts, and, as we shall see hereafter, shared his fate.

Quirinius, — having completed the sale of the confiscated goods which belonged to Archelaus, deposed Joazar, who had become unpopular, from the pontificate, and substituted Ananus, the son of Seth — re-

tired to Syria. Coponius remained as governor of the province. No other incident of his administration is related, but a singular story of a wanton profanation of the Temple by some Samaritans, who stole in on one of the nights during the Passover, and strewed the sacred pavement with dead men's bones.¹

Coponius was succeeded by M. Ambivius, during whose government died Salome, the sister of Herod, leaving Jamnia and her other territorial possessions to Livia, the wife of Augustus. M. Ambivius was followed by Annius Rufus. This rapid succession of provincial governors took place at the close of the reign of Augustus; his successor, Tiberius, pursued a different policy. During his reign of twenty-three years, Judæa had only two rulers, Valerius Gratus (A. C. 16), and Pontius Pilate (A. C. 27). This was avowedly done by Tiberius on principles of humanity, and implied a bitter sarcasm on the rapacity of Roman prefects. "A rapid succession of rulers," observed the shrewd tyrant, "only increases the oppressions and exactions of the provinces. The governor who anticipates but a short harvest, makes the most of his time, and extorts as much as he is able in the shortest possible period. A governor who expects to remain longer in office, pillages on a more gradual, and therefore less oppressive system,—it is even possible that his avarice may be satiated."² He compared a Roman province to the poor wounded man in the fable, who lay by the wayside covered with flies; and when a kind-hearted traveller offered to drive them away, declined his service, as those were already glutted, and would only be replaced by a more hungry swarm. As if the governors of Judæa had exemplified the justice of the Im-

¹ Joseph. Ant. xviii. 2. 2.

² Joseph. Ant. xviii. 6. 5.

perial pleasantry, the Jews petitioned Tiberius for a diminution of the burdens by which they were overwhelmed. The decision was left to Germanicus, who was then in the East; but whether any inquiry took place is uncertain. The government of Gratus is remarkable only for the perpetual changes which he made in the appointment to the High-Priesthood. He deposed Ananus, and substituted Ismael, son of Fabi; then Eleazar, son of Ananus; then Simon, son of Camith; and lastly, Joseph Caiaphas, the son-in-law of Ananus.

During this period Judæa enjoyed tranquillity, but the Jews of Rome were exposed to a dreadful calamity. The rapid progress of foreign superstitions, as they were called, particularly among the women of high rank, alarmed the vigilance of the government. A young libertine, Decius Mundus, had bribed the priests of the Egyptian Isis, and by their means, in the character and habit of the god Anubis, had debauched the wife of Saturninus, Paullina, a woman of rank and virtue, but strangely infatuated by her attachment to the Egyptian religion.¹ Mundus boasting of the success of his profligacy, the affair was detected. Mundus was banished, the priests crucified, the temple razed, and the statue of Isis thrown into the Tiber. Just at this juncture, some Jews were discovered to have obtained so great an ascendancy over the mind of Fulvia, a noble matron, as not only to have made her a proselyte, but to have extorted from her large sums of money, as offerings to the Temple, which they had converted to their own use. The Jews were involved in the same sentence with the Egyptians; they were expelled from Rome, perhaps from Italy; 4000 were

¹ Joseph. Ant. xviii. 3.

drafted into the army, and sent to Sardinia, where the greater part fell victims to the unwholesome climate. Philo attributes this persecution to the intrigues of Sejanus, who apprehended that the attachment of the Jews to the person of the Emperor might stand in the way of his daring designs; and adds, that Tiberius, having discovered this after the death of Sejanus, issued an edict more favorable to that people.¹

Up to this period the Roman prætor seems to have resided in Cæsarea, and avoided all collision between his troops and the turbulent zealots of the capital. Pontius Pilate determined to transfer the winter-quarters of his army from Samaria to Jerusalem. The Romans had hitherto so far respected the prejudices of their subjects, as not to introduce their standards, on which appeared not only the offensive *image* of the eagle, but likewise that of Cæsar, within the walls of the city. The troops entered the gates by night, and in the morning the people were shocked and surprised at beholding the effigy of the Emperor publicly displayed in their streets. They abstained from all violence, but a numerous deputation set out to Cæsarea, and for many days entreated Pilate to remove the standards. Pilate treated the affair as an insult on the Emperor, and, weary of their importunity, concealed some troops, with which he surrounded and hoped to disperse them. When the soldiers appeared, the Jews with one accord fell on the ground, declaring that they were ready to die rather than sanction the infringement of their law.

¹ Tac. Ann. ii. 85; Suet. in Tib. xxxvi. The Jews even then inhabited the Vatican in great numbers; they were chiefly freedmen. Augustus had treated them with extraordinary favor; indulged them in perfect freedom of worship; gave them their full share in the largesses of corn; and when the distribution took place on their Sabbath, permitted it to be reserved for the next day. Compare on this, Joseph. Ant. xviii. 3, with the letter of Agrippa in Philo de Legatione, p. 590.

Pilate had the prudence to withdraw the obnoxious emblems.¹

The refractory spirit of Jerusalem broke out on other occasions.² Pilate seized some of the revenue of the Temple, and applied it to the useful and magnificent design of building an aqueduct, which was to bring a supply of water to the city from the distance of 200 stadia—about 25 miles. The populace rose, and interrupted the workmen. Pilate, having dressed some of his soldiers in the common garb of the country, with their swords concealed, commanded them to mingle with the people, and when they began their usual obstruction to his works, to fall upon and disperse them. The soldiers executed their commission with greater cruelty than Pilate had intended, and committed dreadful havoc among the unarmed multitude.³

Such was the man, not naturally disposed to unnecessary bloodshed, but, when the peace of his province appeared in danger, stern, decided, and reckless of human life, — on all other occasions by no means regardless of ingratiating himself in the popular favor, before whose tribunal Jesus Christ was led. Pilate was awed perhaps by the tranquil dignity of Jesus, or at least saw no reason to apprehend any danger to the Roman sovereignty from a person of such peaceful demeanor. He probably detected the malice, though he might not clearly comprehend the motive, of the accusation

¹ It is difficult to decide whether the account given by Philo, of the hanging up certain bucklers in Herod's palace, is a version of the same story or a different one. The question is discussed by Lardner, i. p. 184; by Mangey, in his note on the passage in Philo, ii. p. 591; and by Valesius ad Euseb., H. E. ii. 6. Compare on the subject of images, as permitted by the Jews, a sensible note of Aldrich in Cardwell's Josephus, ii. p. 493.

² B. J. ii. 9. 3.

³ B. J. ii. 9. 4.

brought forward by the priests and populace. Still, however, he shrank from the imputation of not being "Cæsar's friend," and could not think the life of one man, however innocent, of much importance in comparison with the peace of the country, and his own favor at Rome. In this dilemma he naturally endeavors to avoid the responsibility of decision, by transferring the criminal to the tribunal of Herod, to whose jurisdiction Christ, as a Galilean, belonged, and who happened to be at Jerusalem for the celebration of the Passover. At length, however, finding the uproar increasing, he yields without much further scruple, and the Roman soldiery are permitted to become the willing instruments of the Jewish Priesthood, in the crucifixion of that man in whom Pilate himself could find no fault. We leave to the Christian historian the description of this event, and all its consequences — inestimable in their importance to mankind, but which produced hardly any *immediate* effect on the affairs of the Jewish nation. Yet, our history will have shown that the state of the public mind in Judæa, as well as the character of Pilate, the chief agent in the transaction, harmonize in the most remarkable manner with the narrative of the Evangelists. The general expectation of the Messiah, — the impatience of the Roman sovereignty, fostered by the bold and turbulent doctrines of Judas the Galilean, — the extraordinary excitement of the more fanatical part of the people, which led them to crowd round the banner of each successive adventurer, who either assumed or might assume that character, — the rigid prudence of the chief priests, lest the slightest indication of revolt should compromise the safety of the city and the Temple, and expose the whole nation to the jealous resent-

ment of the Roman governor, — these circumstances of the times sufficiently account for the reception which such a teacher as Jesus of Nazareth met with in Jerusalem. Appearing, as he did, with doctrines so alarming to the authority of the priesthood, — so full of disappointment to the fanatic populace, — so repugnant to the national pride, as implying the dissolution of the Mosaic constitution, and the establishment of a new and more comprehensive faith, — and, above all, openly assuming the mysterious title, the Son of God, — it excites less astonishment than sorrow and commiseration, that the passions of such a people should at once take arms, and proceed to the most awful violence against a Teacher whose tenets were so much too pure and spiritual for their comprehension, whose character was so remote from their preconceived notions of the expected Messiah.

St. Luke relates another characteristic act of violence committed during the administration of Pilate, of which the Jewish records take no notice, — the massacre of certain Galileans while they were offering sacrifice. Some have supposed that these might be followers of Judas the Gaulonite.

An act which displayed the same vigilant jealousy of popular commotion, and the same reckless disregard of human life, led to the recall and the disgrace of Pilate. The Samaritans had, hitherto, remained in peaceful submission to the Roman government; they are stated occasionally to have shown their old enmity against the Jews, by waylaying those of the northern provinces who were travelling on their way to the Passover at Jerusalem. Now, however, the whole province was thrown into a state of excitement by an impostor, who promised to discover certain vessels, ac-

according to his statement (grounded, doubtless, upon some old tradition), buried by Moses on Mount Gerizim. Multitudes appeared in arms at a village named Tirabatha, at the foot of the mountain. Pilate, with his usual vigilance and decision, ordered some troops to station themselves on the road, attacked the village, slew the leaders, and dispersed the rest.

The Samaritan senate carried their complaints before Vitellius, the president of Syria, the father of that Vitellius who afterwards obtained the empire. Vitellius sent immediate orders to Pilate to withdraw to Rome, and there answer to the charges which were made against him.¹

Vitellius then, in person, visited Jerusalem; he was received with great magnificence, and was present during the celebration of the Passover. He remitted the tax on the sale of the fruits of the earth. He likewise conferred a benefit on the nation, which was considered of signal importance. By a remarkable accident, the custody of the High Priest's robes of office had passed into the hands of the Romans. Hyrcanus had been accustomed to lay them up in the Baris, the castle near the Temple. This usage was continued by his successors. Herod having converted the Baris into the strong fortress called Antonia, it afterwards became the chief place of arms to the Roman garrison. The Jews, tenacious of ancient customs, did not think of removing these important vestments. They thus fell into the power of the foreign rulers, who, as the High Priest could not officiate without them, might impede or prevent the performance of the Temple ceremonies.

¹ Tacitus gives this character of Vitellius:—"Regendis provinciis priscâ virtute egit unde regressus . . . turpe in servitium mutatus exemplar apud posteros adulatorii dedecoris habetur: cesseruntque prima postremis, et bona juventæ senectus flagitiosa oblitteravit." Ann. vi. 32.

They were kept in a stone building, and sealed by the seal of the High Priest, from whence they were taken with great ceremony, seven days before the feast, and purified; after they had been used, they were replaced with the same care. Vitellius gave up the robes to the High Priest, and they were transferred to a treasury within the Temple. Vitellius degraded Caiaphas from the High-Priesthood, and substituted Jonathan, son of Ananus, or Annas. He then returned to Antioch.

During this period, the two other sons of Herod had reigned in peace over their respective provinces: Herod Antipas, as Tetrarch of Galilee, in Sepphoris, his capital; Philip in the district beyond the Jordan. Both had endeavored to ingratiate themselves with the reigning Emperor by the costly flattery of founding or ornamenting cities to be called after his name. Philip called Paneas, Cæsarea; and Bethsaida, Julias. Antipas called Betharamphtha, Julias, after the wife of the Emperor, and founded Tiberias on the lake of Gennesaret. The city having been built over an ancient cemetery, Herod was obliged to use force and bribes to induce the people to settle there. Philip was a prince of great justice and humanity; wherever he went, the divan of justice followed him; and directly any appeal was made to his tribunal, a court was formed, and the cause decided. He died about this time, without issue; his territory was annexed to the province of Syria.¹

Herod had seduced and married Herodias his niece, the wife of Herod Philip (not Philip the Tetrarch, but a son of Herod the Great by Marianne, daughter of Simon the High Priest). It was on her account that he put to death John the Baptist. This marriage led

¹ Joseph. Ant. xviii. 4. 6.

him into danger, as well as into crime. His repudiated wife was a daughter of Aretas, king of Arabia. This prince took arms, to avenge the wrong and insult offered to his daughter, and in a great battle the whole army of Herod was cut off. Herod sent to entreat the interference of Tiberius, who gave orders to Vitellius to chastise the insolence of Aretas. Vitellius set his troops in motion to advance on Petra, the Arabian capital. His march lay through Judæa, but the heads of the people sent an earnest request that he would not display his standards, which were adorned with images, within their territory. Vitellius complied; he sent his army across the Jordan, and himself, with Herod and his friends, went up a second time, to witness the Passover at Jerusalem. He deposed the High Priest, Jonathan, and substituted his brother Theophilus. On the fourth day of the festival, intelligence arrived of the death of Tiberius, and the accession of Caligula. Vitellius dismissed his troops to their quarters, and returned to Antioch.¹

The accession of Caligula was an event of the greatest importance to another branch of the Herodian family, — Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, one of the two unfortunate princes, the sons of Herod the Great by Mariamne the Asmonean. The early life of Agrippa had been a strange course of adventure and vicissitude. On his father's execution he was sent to Rome, where he enjoyed the favor of Antonia, the widow of the elder Drusus, the brother of Tiberius. Antonia entertained a sincere friendship for Berenice, the mother of Agrippa, and under her protection the young Idumæan prince attached himself to the person of Drusus, the son of Tiberius. Agrippa inherited the profusion, but not the

¹ Joseph. Ant. xviii. 5. 3.

wealth, of the Herodian race. On his mother's death he speedily dissipated his whole property, and found himself overwhelmed with debts. His associate and friend, Drusus, died; and Tiberius issued orders that none of the youth's intimate companions should be admitted into his presence, lest they should awaken the melancholy recollection of his beloved son. Agrippa, in the utmost distress, retreated to his native land, and took up his residence at Malatha, an insignificant village in Idumæa. There he was in such a state of destitution that he began to entertain designs of ridding himself of his miserable life by suicide. His affectionate wife, Cypros, consoled him in his despair, and gave him excellent counsel. According to this at length he had recourse to his sister Herodias, the incestuous wife of Herod Antipas. Through her interest he obtained a welcome reception at Sepphoris, where the Ethnarch of Galilee held his court. From Antipas he obtained a yearly allowance, and the government of Tiberias. But Herod, during the conviviality of a banquet, having cast some reflection on his pensioner, the indignant Agrippa withdrew from Galilee, and retired to the protection of Pomponius Flaccus, the Prefect of Syria, into whose goodgraces he insinuated himself with hereditary address. At Antioch he met his step-brother, Aristobulus, but there was not much fraternal amity between them, and Aristobulus seized the opportunity of supplanting his rival in the favor of the Roman Prefect. Agrippa received a bribe, to secure his interest with Flaccus, from the inhabitants of Damascus, who were engaged in a dispute about their borders with the Sidonians. Detected in this discreditable transaction through the jealous vigilance of his brother, he was forced to leave Antioch in disgrace, and retired to

Ptolemais in a state of the lowest indigence. There, through his freedman, Marsyas, he tried in vain all the money-lenders, for he had neither bondsman nor security to offer, till at last a freed slave of his mother lent him 17,500 drachms on a promissory bond for 20,000. With this sum he got to Anthedon, intending to sail for Rome. But he was suddenly arrested by Herennius Capito, Prefect of Jamnia, for a debt of 300,000 drachms, which he had borrowed at Rome of the Imperial exchequer. Agrippa promised to settle the debt, but his vessel slipping her cables by night, he escaped to Alexandria. There his wife, Cypros, prevailed on the Jewish Alabarch to lend him 200,000 drachms. The prudent Alabarch, however, advanced only five talents, promising that the rest should be forthcoming on his arrival in Italy. With this money, having sent his wife back to Palestine, Agrippa set sail for Rome. On his landing at Puteoli, he dispatched a letter to Tiberius, then at Capreæ. The Emperor sent to congratulate him on his arrival, invited him to Capreæ, and entertained him with great courtesy, till a despatch arrived from Herennius Capito, relating to his dishonorable evasion from Anthedon. He was forbidden the Imperial presence, and retired in disgrace to Rome. But his mother's friend, Antonia, still protected him. She lent him a sum sufficient to discharge his debt to the Imperial treasury, and Agrippa was reinstated in the favor of Tiberius. The Emperor recommended him to attach himself to the person of his grandson, the younger Tiberius; but the Jewish prince, with better fortune or judgment, preferred that of Caius Caligula. In this state of advancement he borrowed a million drachms of Thallus, a Samaritan freedman of Cæsar, and repaid his debt to Antonia. Unfortunately, one day,

when he was riding with Caligula in a chariot, he expressed aloud his earnest petition to Providence that Tiberius might speedily be removed, in order to make room for a more worthy successor. The speech was overheard by Eutychus, a freedman, the driver of the chariot. Eutychus, punished for a theft, hastened to revenge himself by laying a charge against his master. The dilatory Tiberius, according to his custom, postponed the examination of the accuser, who remained in prison ; till Agrippa, imprudently, or having forgotten the whole affair, urged on the inquiry, and the fact was clearly proved. Tiberius was already offended at the court paid by Agrippa to the young Caius ; and suddenly, in the public circus, commanded Macron, the captain of his guard, “ to put that man in chains.” Macron, surprised at the sudden change, delayed the execution of the command ; till, Tiberius returning to the same spot, he inquired against whom the order was directed. The Emperor sternly pointed to Agrippa, and, notwithstanding his humble supplications, the heir of the Asmonean princes, clad as he was in the royal purple, was put in fetters like a common malefactor. The day was excessively sultry, and a slave of Caligula passing by with a vessel of water, Agrippa entreated for a draught. The slave complied, and Agrippa promised, that, when he should be released from his chains, he would repay the kindness through his interest with Caligula, — a promise which, to his honor, he faithfully kept. Even in this fallen condition, Antonia did not desert the son of her friend Berenice ; she obtained for him some mitigation of the discomforts and privations of his prison. At length, after six months’ imprisonment, during which the historian relates a wild tale of the augury of a German fellow-captive, from an owl on

a tree above them, of the liberation and future greatness of Agrippa, his release arrived. The tyrant of Capreæ expired. Immediately on the death of Tiberius, Marsyas, his faithful freed-slave, hastened to his master's dungeon, and communicated the joyful intelligence, saying in the Hebrew language, "The lion is dead." The centurion on guard inquired the cause of their rejoicing; and when he had extorted the information from Agrippa, anxious to propitiate the favor of a prisoner whose advancement he foresaw, he ordered his chains to be struck off, and invited him to supper. While they were at table, a rumor reached the prison that Tiberius was still living. The affrighted centurion bitterly reproached Agrippa with betraying him into so serious a breach of discipline, and ordered the prisoner immediately to be reloaded with his chains. That night Agrippa passed in the most anxious state of suspense and apprehension. With the morning the news was confirmed, and shortly after Caligula entered Rome in imperial state. On the very day of his entry, but for the prudence of Antonia, he would have commanded the release of his friend. A short time after he sent the order for his liberation, received him at his court, and conferred on him the vacant Tetrarchate of Philip, with the title of king. He presented him likewise with a chain of gold, of the same weight with that of iron with which he had been fettered.¹

Agrippa remained that year in Rome; during the next, the second of Caligula's reign, he arrived in Pal-

¹ This story is related more at length, as illustrating the relation of the Jews, even of the royal race, to the Romans; the contemptuous superiority with which they were at one time treated with high honor, the next with the utmost ignominy; now as princes, now as miserable debtors; now in purple, now in a dungeon — at the caprice of the Emperor or his favorites.

estine with royal pomp, to take possession of his dignity. But if the good-fortune of Agrippa excited the general wonder, it aroused the bitterest jealousy in the mind of Herodias, the wife of Herod, the tetrarch of Galilee. She saw the splendor of her husband eclipsed by the beggarly spendthrift, who, although her own brother, had been dependent on their charity. The evil passions of this woman were as fatal to the prosperity as to the virtue of Herod. Her insatiable and envious ambition would not allow him to rest till he had obtained a royal title which should set him on a level with the upstart Agrippa. Herod, whose character is described as cool and crafty (he is designated in the Gospel "as that fox Herod"), was carried away by her perpetual urgency, and, in an inauspicious hour, he undertook a journey to Rome, in order to solicit the title of king. Agrippa instantly dispatched a messenger to counterwork the intrigues and outbid the bribery of Herod. The messenger made such good speed as to arrive at Baiaë before the Tetrarch. Agrippa's letter to Caligula accused Herod of former intrigues with Sejanus, and secret intelligence with the Parthians. It charged him particularly with having laid up a great store of arms, in case of a revolt. Directly Herod appeared, the Emperor closely questioned him upon the plain fact, whether he had furnished his palace with large quantities of warlike stores. The Tetrarch could not deny the charge, and Caligula immediately deprived him of the ethnarchate, which he added to the dominions of Agrippa, and ordered him into banishment.¹ Lyons, in Gaul, was the place of his exile ; and thus, in the same remote province, two sons of the magnificent Herod were condemned to

¹ Joseph. Ant. xviii. 7.

waste their inglorious lives by the summary sentence of the Roman Emperor.

On account of her relationship to Agrippa, Caligula was inclined to exempt Herodias from the disgrace of her husband ; he offered to restore her to all the possessions which she could claim as her own. In a nobler spirit than could have been expected from such a woman, Herodias rejected his mercy, and determined to share the fortunes of her banished husband.

Up to the reign of Caligula, the Jews had enjoyed, without any serious interruption, the universal toleration which Roman policy permitted to the religion of the subject states. If the religion had suffered a temporary proscription at Rome under Tiberius, it was as a foreign superstition, supposed, from the misconduct of individuals, to be dangerous to the public morals in the metropolis. Judaism remained undisturbed in the rest of the empire ; and, although the occasional insolence of the Roman governors in Judæa might display itself in acts offensive to the religious feelings of the natives, yet the wiser and more liberal, like Vitellius, studiously avoided all interference with that superstition which they respected or despised. But the insane vanity of Caligula made him attempt to enforce from the whole empire those divine honors which his predecessors condescended to receive from the willing adulation of their subjects. Everywhere statues were raised and temples built in honor of the deified Emperor. The Jews could not submit to the mandate without violating the first principle of their religion, nor resist it without exposing their whole nation to the resentment of their masters.¹

¹ Compare throughout the two very curious tracts by Philo, *adversus Flaccum*, et de Legatione, the chief or rather the only valuable authorities for these events.

The storm began to lower around them: its first violence broke upon the Jews in Alexandria, where, however, the collision with the ruling authorities first originated in the animosities of the Greek and Jewish factions, which divided the city. This great and populous capital, besides strangers from all quarters, was inhabited by three distinct races, the native Egyptians, Jews, and Greeks. The native Egyptians were generally avoided as of an inferior class; but the Jews boasted of edicts from the founder of the city, and from other monarchs of Egypt, which entitled them to equal rank and estimation with the descendants of the Macedonian settlers. They were numerous: Philo calculates that in Egypt they amounted to a million of souls.¹ They were opulent, and among the most active traders of that great commercial metropolis. It is probable that they were turbulent, and not the peaceful and unoffending people described by their advocate Philo, — at all events they were odious to the Greek population. The Roman prefect at this period was

¹ This included the Jews in Alexandria, and scattered settlers up to the borders of Ethiopia (p. 523).

Tradition thus speaks of the Synagogue in Alexandria: — “He who has never seen the Double Hall of Alexandria has never beheld the majesty of Israel. It rose like a great palace (Basilica); there was colonnade within colonnade; at times a throng of people filled the building twice as great as that which went out of Egypt with Moses. There were seventy golden thrones within, inlaid with precious stones and pearls, according to the number of the seventy elders of the Sanhedrin. Each of these cost 25 millions of gold denarii. In the midst arose an *Alhambra* of wood, on which stood the choir leader of the Synagogue. When any one rose to read in the Law, the President waved a linen banner, and the people answered ‘Amen.’ At every benediction which the President spoke, he waved the banner, and the people answered ‘Amen.’ They did not sit promiscuously, but each separate with his guild, so that strangers who entered might join their guild, and every man find his own trade.”

This remarkable illustration of the traditions of the Egyptian settlement of the Jews, which we are surprised to find in the Talmud, is quoted from the Suka, in Delitsch, *Geschichte der Jüdischen Poesie*, p. 26.

Flaccus Aquilius. For the five last years Flaccus had administered the affairs of this important province, and the municipal government of this unruly city, with equal vigor and discretion. His attention to business; his perfect acquaintance with the usages, interests, and factions of the whole country; his dignity on the tribunal of justice; his prudence in suppressing all clubs and assemblies of the lower orders, which were held under the pretence of religion, but were acknowledged to be dangerous to the public peace, excited universal admiration. He had introduced a system of good and equal laws into the city, while by constant reviews of the military forces he had both improved the discipline of the army, and overawed the turbulent and disaffected by the display of his power. The death of Tiberius, according to Philo, wrought a total change in this wise and upright character. Flaccus had attached himself to the party of the younger Tiberius, and apprehended the resentment of the new Emperor. He became careless of business, remiss in all the great duties of his station, his vigorous mind seemed paralyzed. The death of his friend Macro, who alone repressed the violence of Caligula, deprived him of his last hope of maintaining himself in the Imperial favor. He determined, therefore, to ingratiate himself with the people of Alexandria, in order that their good report might plead his cause, and commend the wisdom of his government with the Emperor. With this view he relaxed the sternness of his police, and allowed the Grecian party to proceed to every outrage and insult on the hated Jewish population.¹ The accidental arrival of

¹ Philo describes the Greeks who got the ear of Flaccus and exasperated him against the Jews, as *διονύσιοι, δημοκόποι, Λίμπωνες, γραμματοκίφωνες, Ἰσίδωροι, στασιάρχαι, φιλοπόαγμονες, κακῶν ἔνρεται, ταραξιπόλιδες*. Lam-

King Agrippa was the signal for this collision of the two factions. On his way to Palestine, where he was going to take possession of his kingdom, Agrippa, to avail himself of the Etesian winds, sailed direct to Alexandria. He arrived unexpectedly in the evening, and landed in the night, that he might avoid all unnecessary display. According to Philo, the sight of a Jew honored with a royal title, and surrounded by guards, whose armor glittered with gold and silver, exasperated the envious Alexandrians. They insulted him; wrote pasquinades against him, probably alluding to the beggarly condition in which he had before appeared in Alexandria; brought him on the stage, and even proceeded to a more offensive practical jest.

There was a poor idiot named Carabas, who used to wander naked about the streets, the butt of idle and mischievous boys. Him they seized, and placed on a lofty seat near the Gymnasium, dressed him in an old mat for a robe, put a paper crown on his head, and a cane in his hand for a sceptre. Boys, with sticks for halberds, went before him to represent his body-guard; and, to complete the parody on the royal state of Agrippa, some did him homage, some presented petitions, some addressed him on affairs of state, and called him by a word which signified "Lord" in the Syrian language. Flaccus, though outwardly he showed all possible respect to Agrippa, secretly connived at their insulting proceedings, and even fomented them. This, however, is the most improbable part of Philo's story; for if it was the main object of Flaccus to secure the favor of Caligula, no man of his prudence would

pon and Isidore were famous libellers, perhaps also Dionysius. Philo, edit. Mang. ii. p. 520.

He speaks afterwards about the *παλαιὰν, καὶ τρόπον τινα γεγεννημένην πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ἀνέχθειαν*; p. 521 — the almost innate hatred.

unnecessarily have offended his acknowledged friend and favorite. Agrippa, probably, soon withdrew from the inhospitable city, bearing with him a decree of the Jews, in which they offered to Caligula all the honors compatible with their law. This decree Flaccus had promised to forward, but had treacherously withholden from the knowledge of the Emperor. Encouraged by the apparent connivance of the Prefect, the Greek faction assembled in the theatre, and demanded, with loud cries, that the statue of the Emperor should be placed in all the Jewish *Proseuchæ*, their oratories or places of prayer. They then proceeded to carry their own demands into execution; they cut down the trees which surrounded those picturesque places of worship, burned some, and profaned the rest by erecting images within them; in the most considerable they determined to place a great statue in a chariot drawn by four horses. Not having a chariot ready, they seized an old one which had formerly belonged to Cleopatra, an ancestress of the celebrated Egyptian queen of that name. A few days after their oratories had thus been violated,¹ Flaccus issued an edict, in which the Jews were called strangers, thus depriving them at once of their boasted rights of citizenship. Philo would persuade us that the Jews had not given the slightest provocation, and bore all these repeated outrages with the utmost meekness.² This is not probable; and the next measure of the governor seems as if it had been intended to separate the two conflicting parties, and so secure the peace of the distracted city. Alexandria was divided

¹ Philo uses a singular argument against this violation of the *Proseuchæ*: that the Jews being deprived of their houses of prayer, would be unable to propitiate heaven, as he assumes that they do most effectively, by supplications for the Augustan family; p. 524.

² *De Legatione*, p. 565.

into five quarters, named from the first five letters of the alphabet. Two of these were entirely peopled by Jews, and many of them dwelt scattered about in the other three. They were ordered to retire into one of these districts, which was so much too small to contain them, that they spread about upon the sea-shore and in the cemeteries. The vacant houses in the quarter from which they had retired were pillaged by the mob; the magazines and shops, which were shut on account of a general mourning for Drusilla, the Emperor's sister, were broken open: the goods publicly shared in the market-place. Philo complains that great distress was caused by the pledges being taken away from the brokers, whence it appears that the Jews had already taken up the profession of money-lenders.¹ But this was not the worst. Cooped up in one narrow quarter of the city, they began to suffer dreadfully from the heat and unwholesomeness of the air. Pestilential disorders broke out, and though the year was plentiful, they suffered all the miseries of famine, for they were almost besieged in their quarter. Those who ventured out into the market were robbed, insulted, maltreated, pursued with sticks and stones. Bloodshed soon ensued; many were slain with the sword, others trampled to death; some, even while alive, were dragged by their heels through the streets. When dead, their bodies were still dragged along till they were torn to pieces, or so disfigured that they could not be distinguished if at length recovered by their friends. Those who strayed out of the city to breathe the purer air of the country, or the strangers who incautiously entered the walls to visit and relieve their friends, were treated in the same way, and beaten with clubs till they were

¹ P. 525.

dead. The quays were watched, and on the landing of a Jewish vessel, the merchandise was plundered, the owners and their vessel burned. Their houses were likewise set on fire, and whole families, men, women, and children, burned alive. Yet even this was a merciful death compared with the sufferings of others. Sometimes, from want of wood, their persecutors could collect only a few wet sticks, and over these, stifled with smoke, and half consumed, the miserable victims slowly expired. Sometimes they would mock their sufferings by affected sorrow; but if any of their own relatives or friends betrayed the least emotion, they were seized, scourged, tortured, and even crucified.¹

During all these horrible scenes, Flaccus, who could at once have put an end to the tumult, looked on in calm indifference. He now, according to his accuser, openly took part against them. He sent for the principal Jews, as if to mediate an accommodation, in reality only to find new pretexts for cruelty. The Jews had their Alabarch or chief magistrate, and their council or senate. Flaccus ordered thirty-eight of the most distinguished members of this body to be seized, bound them as criminals, and, although it was the Emperor's birthday, a day of general rejoicing, they were brought into the theatre, and publicly scourged with such cruelty that many of them died instantly of the blows, others, shortly after, of the mischiefs they received. It was thought an aggravation of this cruelty, that, as there were different kinds of flagellation, according to the rank of the criminal, these distinguished men were condemned to that usually inflicted on the basest. Those who escaped with life were thrown into prison; others of this miserable race were seized and crucified.

¹ Compare the *De Legat.* p. 564, with the *Adversus Flaccum*.

It was the morning spectacle of the theatre to see the Jews scourged, tortured both with the rack and with pulleys, and then led away to execution ; and to this horrible tragedy immediately succeeded farces and dances and other theatrical amusements. Women were occasionally seized and exposed to public view : sometimes female peasants were taken for Jewesses, when discovered they were let go ; if any doubt remained, swine's flesh was brought and the women commanded to eat ; those who complied were released ; those who refused, treated with every kind of indignity.

As if to justify these cruelties by an apparent dread of insurrection, Flaccus sent a centurion, Castus, to search all the houses of the Jews for concealed arms. The search was conducted with the utmost rigor, even the women's apartments ransacked, but no weapon was found more dangerous than common knives used for domestic purposes.

At length the hour of retribution arrived ; all the attempts of Flaccus to secure the favor of Caligula were unavailing. A centurion, Bassus, was sent to arrest him. Flaccus had kept back a loyal address from the Alexandrian Jews, which he had promised to transmit. It had reached Rome, however, through King Agrippa. Bassus proceeded, not with the boldness of a messenger armed with an Imperial edict, but as if he had to surprise an independent sovereign in the midst of loyal subjects.¹ This seems to warrant a suspicion, either that Flaccus entertained some design of revolting, or at least that his popularity at Alexandria was so great as to render his capture difficult and dangerous. Bassus

¹ ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα ἐνδοκιμεῖν παρὰ τῷ πλείστῳ μέρει τῆς πόλεως ἕνεκα τοῦ
 οὐ προαισθόμενον Φλόκκον καὶ βουλευσόμενόν τι νεώτερον ἁποικῶν αὐτῷ
 τῇ ὑπηρεσίαν ἐργάσασθαι. p. 333.

arrived at night, landed secretly, and found that Flaccus was abroad, at a banquet given by one Stephanio, a freedman of Tiberius. One of his followers mingled with the guests, and finding that the governor was only attended by eight or ten slaves, Bassus surrounded the chamber with his soldiers, and displayed the Imperial edict. Flaccus at once saw his fate, and was led away without resistance. It was the Feast of Tabernacles; but the sad and persecuted Jews had little inclination for the usual joy and merriment of the season. When the rumor of the apprehension of Flaccus spread abroad, they supposed it to be a deception intended to tempt them to rejoicings which would be cruelly revenged. When the intelligence was confirmed, they began, not to rejoice over the ruin of their enemy, for that was forbidden in their humane Law,¹ but to praise God; and during the whole night the people were occupied in hymns and songs of thanksgiving. The wrath of Heaven, as they believed, now pursued the miserable Flaccus; he had a tempestuous voyage; on his arrival at Rome he was accused by Lampon and Isidore, two men of the basest character;² his property was confiscated, and he himself banished, first to Gyara, an island in the Ægean Sea, proverbial for the hard fate of those who were exiled to its shores. By the interest of Lepidus he obtained a commutation of this punishment, and was sent to Andros, where he arrived after a disastrous voyage, and after having been an object of contempt or commiseration in the various towns through which he passed. Philo asserts that he was

¹ The words of Philo: *Ὀὐκ ἐφηδόμεθα . . ὧ δέσποτα, τιμωρίας ἐχθροῦ, δεδιδάγμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων ἀνθρωποπαθεῖν.* p. 334.

² The lives of these two consummate villains, as painted, darkly enough no doubt, by Philo, are curious studies of Roman and provincial manners and morals at this period.

haunted by bitter remorse for his cruelties towards the Jews. He was soon after put to death in a horrible manner by order of Caligula.¹

Thus Philo describes the persecutions of the Jews in Alexandria, and the conduct of Flaccus ; but it may be justly suspected that both the sufferings and the peaceful disposition of his countrymen are highly colored ; and in the character and motives of Flaccus there appears so much inconsistency as perpetually to remind us that we are reduced to follow the narrative of an advocate, not that of a dispassionate historian.

A deputation from each of the parties in Alexandria arrived in Rome, to lay the whole history of the late disturbances before the Emperor. At the head of the Grecian party was Apion, a man of eloquence, and a determined enemy to the Jews ; on the other side appeared Philo, the author from whose writings the recent account has been extracted, a person of rank, for he was the brother of the Alabarch, and of unquestioned ability. The reception which the Jewish party met with at first was apparently flattering ; Philo alone apprehended an unfavorable event. They presented a memorial, which the Emperor seemed to receive with gayety and urbanity. They then followed the court to Puteoli : their great object was to obtain the security of their *Proseuchæ* from being desecrated by images. These oratories they possessed in every city where they resided. While they were discussing their hopes of succeeding in this great object of their mission, sud-

¹ I am afraid that the manifest satisfaction with which Philo relates the horrible execution of Flaccus shows that he was not very deeply imbued with the humanity which he boasts of as inculcated by his legislator. Read the frightful scene: he ends — *τοιάντα καὶ Φλύακκος ἔπαυε, γενόμενος ἀφηνεός: ἀπὸ τῶν τίσιν τοῦ μὴ ὑπερορᾶσθαι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ἐπικουρίας τῆς ἐκ Θεοῦ.* p. 544.

denly a man rushed in with a pale and disordered countenance, and communicated the dreadful intelligence that an edict had been issued to place the statue of the Emperor within the Temple of Jerusalem.¹

The mad vanity of Caligula had been irritated by the resistance of the Jews in Alexandria; other circumstances, combined with evil counsellors, made him determine to triumph over what he considered the disloyal obstinacy of this self-willed people. Capito, a receiver of revenue in Judæa, at first a very poor man, had grown rich in his employment, and apprehended that complaints of his exactions might reach the ear of the Emperor. He determined, therefore, that his accusers should appear in an unfavorable light, and, to this end, he persuaded certain Greeks, who lived mingled with the native population in Jamnia, to build a miserable altar of brick in honor of Caius. The Jews, as he expected, rose and demolished the altar; they then carried their complaints before Capito himself, who seized the opportunity of representing the affair in Rome as an act of wanton and unprovoked sedition.

The evil counsellors of Caligula were Helicon, an Egyptian, a slave by birth, a buffoon by occupation, and Apelles,² a tragic actor, of Ascalon, in Syria. Both these men were born and brought up in hostility to the

¹ This divine worship demanded by Caligula was more unexpected and offensive from the extreme reluctance with which Augustus usually accepted, and the prudence, almost reverential, with which Tiberius usually declined, such honors. "*Nihil deorum honoribus relictum cum se templi et effigie numinum, per flamines et sacerdotes coli vellent.*" Tac. Ann. i. 10: of Augustus. Compare *De Legatione*, p. 568.

² If Apelles was instrumental in this transaction, he met with just though horrible retribution. Suetonius relates, that, as he was standing with Caligula near a statue of Jupiter, the Emperor suddenly asked him which of the two was the greater. Apelles hesitated, and Caligula ordered him to be scourged with the utmost violence, praising the sweetness of his voice all the time that he was shrieking in his agony.

Jewish race. By their advice the fatal mandate was issued that a gilded colossal statue of Caligula should be placed in the Holy of Holies, and that the Temple should be dedicated to Caius, the present and younger Jupiter. The execution of the edict was intrusted to P. Petronius, who was appointed to succeed Vitellius as Prefect of Syria. But before we describe the attempt to enforce this edict in Palestine, it may be well to anticipate the fate of the Alexandrian deputation, which is related by Philo, and is curiously characteristic both of the Emperor and of the estimation in which the Jews were generally held. After a long and wearisome attendance, the deputies were summoned to a final audience. To judge so grave a cause, as Philo complains with great solemnity, the Emperor did not appear in a public court, encircled by the wisest of his senators; the embassy was received in the apartments of two contiguous villas in the neighborhood of Rome, called after Læmia and Mæcenas. The bailiffs of these villas were commanded at the same time to have all the rooms thrown open for the Emperor's inspection. The Jews entered, made a profound obeisance, and saluted Caligula, as Augustus and Emperor, — but the sarcastic smile on the face of Caius gave them little hope of success.¹ “You are then,” he said, showing his teeth as he spoke, “those enemies of the gods who alone refuse to acknowledge my divinity, but worship a deity whose name you dare not pronounce,” — and here, to the horror of the Jews, he uttered the awful name.² The Greek deputies from Alexandria, who were present, thought themselves certain of their triumph, and be-

¹ *σαρκάζων γὰρ ἄμα καὶ σεσηρώς.* p. 597.

² *τὸν ἁκατονόμαστον . . καὶ ἀνατείνας τὰς χεῖρας ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν, ἐπεφῆμιζε πρόσρησι, ἣν οὐδὲ ἀκουεῖν θεμιτὸν, οὐχ ὅτι διερμηνέειν ἀντολεξεί*
Ibid.

gan to show their exultation by insulting gestures ; and Isidore, one of the accusers of Flaccus, came forward to aggravate the disobedience of the Jews. He accused them of being the only nation who had refused to sacrifice for the Emperor. The Jews with one voice disclaimed the calumny, and asserted that they had three times offered sacrifice for the welfare of the Emperor — and indeed had been the first to do so on his accession. “Be it so,” rejoined the Emperor, “ye have sacrificed *for* me, but not *to* me.” The Jews stood aghast, and trembling. On a sudden, Caius began to run all over the house, up-stairs and down-stairs ; inspecting the men’s and the women’s apartments ; finding fault, and giving orders, while the poor Jews followed him from room to room, amid the mockery of the attendants. After he had given his orders, the Emperor suddenly turned round to them : “Why is it that you do not eat pork ?” The whole court burst into peals of laughter. The Jews temperately replied that different nations have different usages ; some persons would not eat lamb. “They are right,” said the Emperor ; “it is an insipid meat.” After further trial of their patience, he demanded, with his usual abruptness, on what they grounded their right of citizenship. They began a long and grave legal argument ; but they had not proceeded far when Caius began to run up and down the great hall, and to order that some blinds, of a kind of transparent stone, like glass, which admitted the light and excluded the heat and air, should be put up against the windows.¹ As he left that room, he asked the Jews, with a more courteous air, if they had anything to say to him ; they began again their harangue, in the middle of which he started away into another chamber, to see

¹ τοῖς ὑάλω λευκῇ παραπλησίους διαφανέσι λίθοις.

some old paintings. The ambassadors of the Jews at length were glad to retreat, and felt happy to escape with their lives. Caius gave them their dismissal in these words: "Well, after all, they do not seem so bad; but rather a poor foolish people, who cannot believe that I am a god."¹

The instructions to Petronius, appointed governor of Syria, were distinct and precise; he was to place the statue of Caligula in the Temple of Jerusalem at all hazards.² He was to withdraw, if necessary, the two legions which were usually stationed on the Euphrates. Yet he was too prudent and humane not to hesitate; he called a council, where the bigoted attachment of the Jews to their Temple, and their formidable numbers, both in Judæa and other countries, were discussed. But it was unanimously agreed that the mandate of the Emperor was imperative; and Petronius issued out orders to the Sidonian workmen to make the statue. He then collected his troops, and went into winter-quarters at Ptolemais. He had made known to the priests and rulers of the Jews the designs of the Emperor; but no sooner had the intelligence spread, than many thousands of the people assembled from all quarters, without distinction of rank, age, or sex. They covered the country for a great distance like a vast cloud; they were unarmed and defenceless; many of them were clad in sackcloth, and had ashes on their heads, and every mark of the deepest mourning. All

¹ Philo relates some curious acts of Caligula's self-deification (we must remember that it is a Jew who writes; but nothing seems to have been too wild for this mad youth): his assuming the attributes first of deities of the second order, then those of the first; dressing himself like Hercules, and Bacchus, and the Dioscuri; then calling himself Hermes, Apollo, and Mars. Philo well calls it *τὴν ἁθεωτάτην ἐκθείωσιν*. p. 557.

² Compare throughout Joseph. Ant. xviii. 8, with Philo de Legatione. In the Syrian transactions I am more inclined to follow Josephus.

with one voice declared their steadfast and deliberate resolution to sacrifice their lives rather than consent to the profanation of their Temple. Petronius sternly rebuked them, and insisted on his own obligation to fulfil the positive commands of his sovereign. They answered that they were as much bound to respect the ordinances of their God, — that no fear of death would induce them to the violation of their Law, — that they dreaded the wrath of their God more than that of the Emperor.

Petronius shrank from the horrible task of commencing a war of massacre and extermination for such an object; and in order to obtain more certain information on the state of the country, he left his troops at Ptolemais, and himself, with some of his more distinguished officers, moved to Tiberias. Here many of the rulers, and the people by thousands, crowded again into his presence. Once more Petronius urged the power of the Romans, the positive mandate of the Emperor, and the uniform obedience of all other nations. The Jews replied with entreaties and supplications that he would not think of violating their sanctuary with the images of man. “Are ye resolved, then,” said the Roman, “to wage war against your Emperor?” “We have no thought of war,” they replied unanimously; “but we will submit to be massacred rather than infringe our Law,” —and at once the whole body fell with their faces to the earth, and declared that they were ready to offer their throats to the swords of the soldiery.

For forty days this scene lasted: it was the time for sowing;¹ and the whole land remained uncultivated.

¹ Joseph. Ant. xviii. 8. 4. According to Philo, of gathering in the harvest.

Aristobulus, the brother of Agrippa, Helcias, called the Great, — and others of the most distinguished men of the nation, — appeared before Petronius, and remonstrated with him on the impolicy of reducing a flourishing province to a desert, from which no tribute could be drawn. The people, they urged, were obstinately determined not to till the soil, and would betake themselves to robbery ; so that it was impossible to calculate the dreadful results of his persisting in the odious measure. They entreated that he would forward their representations to Caligula, in hopes that the Emperor might yet be persuaded to relent.

The humane Petronius, after holding a council with his friends, resolved to risk the wrath of the Emperor rather than deluge the whole country with blood.¹ According to one account, he determined not to forward the petition of the Jews, but to delay, under the pretence of allowing time for the statue to be finished ; and to represent the inconvenience of permitting the province to remain uncultivated, more particularly as the Emperor and the court were about to visit Alexandria. But whatever turn he gave to the affair in his despatches to Rome, he assembled the people at Tiberias ; declared his determination to suspend the execution of the decree till he should receive further instructions ; and promised that he would use all his interest to obtain the total repeal of the edict. He well knew the danger to which he exposed himself by his

¹ According to Philo, Petronius had some glimmerings of what Philo calls Jewish philosophy: ἄλλ' εἶχε τινα καὶ ἀντὶς, ὡς εἴποιεν, ἐναύσματα τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς φιλοσοφίας ἅμα καὶ ἐνσεβείας· εἴτε καὶ πάλαι προμαθὼν ἕνεκα τῆς περὶ παιδείαν σπουδῆς, εἴτε καὶ ἀφ' ὧν τῶν χωρῶν ἐπιτρέπουσεν, ἐν οἷς Ἰουδαῖοι καθ' ἐκάστην πόλιν εἰσὶ παμπληθεῖς Ἀσίας τε καὶ Συρίας· εἴτε καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὕψω διατεθεῖς, ἀντηκὼ καὶ ἀντοκελεύστω καὶ αὐτομάθῃ τι πρὸς τὰ σπουδῆς ἄξια φύσει. This is a curious passage, as if a knowledge of the Jewish religion was a part of good education.

disobedience to the Imperial decree ; but he was willing to stand the hazard in order to preserve the Jewish people from the horrors of war. He exhorted them in the mean time to disperse peaceably, and betake themselves to their usual occupations and to the tillage of their lands. The season had been uncommonly sultry the customary rains had not fallen. But scarcely had Petronius ended his speech, than the day, which had been till then serene, became overcast, and the showers began to fall. The people saw the mark of the Divine approbation with unmingled satisfaction ; Petronius himself is said to have been greatly struck by this singular coincidence.

The Jews, however, owed their security rather to the interest of their king with the Emperor, than to the humanity of the Prefect. Throughout the history of the whole preceding transaction, our two authorities, Philo and Josephus, have differed in many most important particulars. It is scarcely possible to reconcile their narrative of the conduct of Agrippa. According to the former, the despatches of Petronius threw Caligula into one of his most violent paroxysms of fury. Before he had recovered, Agrippa entered, and from the Emperor's fiery eye and disordered countenance, apprehended that something was wrong. Caligula suddenly turned upon him, and broke out into the bitterest reproaches against his countrymen for their obstinate resistance to his will. The Jewish prince was so appalled that he trembled in every limb ; he fainted away, and would have fallen to the ground, but that his attendants caught him, and removed him from the Imperial presence. Till the next evening he remained without giving signs of life and consciousness. At length he opened his eyes, and then fainted again.

The third day he came to himself, and inquired with a shudder whether he was still in the dreaded presence of the Emperor. His attendants urged him to rise, to bathe and take refreshment; he refused all sustenance, except some flour and pure water. He then sat down, and wrote a long letter to Caius; but that which is extant in Philo's works displays too much of the Alexandrian orator to induce us to suppose it genuine.¹ Such is the narrative of Philo; that of Josephus is more creditable to the character of the king. Agrippa having entertained Caligula at a banquet so sumptuous as to excite astonishment even in that age of prodigal luxury and magnificence, the Emperor offered to grant any request that he might make. Agrippa, with a feeling worthy of one who had the blood of the Asmoneans in his veins, instead of demanding an accession of wealth or territory, immediately petitioned for the repeal of the fatal edict. The wounded pride of Caligula struggled hard with his attachment to Agrippa, and with the shame of forfeiting the Imperial word, which he had given with so much publicity. At last, however, he relented, and the fatal decree was suspended. At the same time the disobedience of Petronius was not to be pardoned. A letter was written, in which he was accused of having preferred the bribes of the Jews to his allegiance to his sovereign; and he was commanded to prepare himself, as about to undergo the most exemplary punishment. But this letter was accidentally delayed, and the news of Caligula's death reached Petronius first. If Philo is to be credited, this event was equally fortunate for the Jewish nation;

¹ This letter, even if the declamatory work of Philo, is curious as illustrating the position which the Jews supposed themselves to hold in the empire; as not merely the people of the Holy Land, but as settled in all parts of the Eastern world, in Asia Minor, Greece, Libya.

for Caligula, with his customary irresolution, repented of his lenity, and ordered a colossal statue of bronze to be cast, which he intended, when he should arrive at Alexandria, where he was to be solemnly inaugurated as a god, to have placed by stealth in the Temple of Jerusalem.¹

It might seem as if the skirts of that tremendous tempest, which was slowly gathering over the native country and the metropolis of the Jewish nation, broke, and discharged their heavy clouds of ruin and desolation successively over each of the more considerable, though remote, settlements of the devoted people. The Jews of Babylonia had now their turn. There is something very remarkable in the history of this race, for the most part descendants of those families which had refused to listen to the summons of Zorobabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, and to return to the possession of their native country. It was, perhaps, natural that men born in a foreign region, and knowing the lovely land of their ancestors only by tradition, or by the half-forgotten descriptions of their departed parents, should hesitate to abandon their houses, their fields, and their possessions, in the hospitable country to which their fathers had been transported by force, but where they themselves had become naturalized. But the singular part of their history is this, that, though willing aliens from their native Palestine, they remained Jews in character and religion; they continued to be a separate people, and refused to mingle themselves with the population of the country in which they were domiciliated. While those who returned

¹ Jost observes that of all this affair there is hardly an obscure trace in the Rabbinical writings. — “Was noch seltsamer erscheint, die rabbinische Ueberlieferung hat kaum eine dunkele Erinnerung von dem ganzen Vorfalle.” *Jud. i. p. 360.*

to the Holy Land were in danger of forming a mixed race, by intermarriages with the neighboring tribes, which it required all the sternest exercise of authority in their rulers to prevent, the Babylonian Jews were still as distinct a people as the whole race of Israel has been since the final dispersion. They adhered together, though wanting as well the bond of persecution as the deep religious hope of restoration to the promised land in more than their ancient glory; for this hope was obviously not strong enough to induce them to avail themselves of the present opportunity of return, at the price of their possessions in the Median dominions. Nor did they, like the Jews of Alexandria, become in any degree independent of the great place of national worship; they were as rigid Jews as if they had grown up within sight of the Temple. They still looked to the Holy of Holies at Jerusalem as the centre of their faith; they regularly sent their contributions to its support. The passionate attachment to their native country gave place to a more remote, though still profound, attachment to the religious capital of their people. The Temple became what the Caaba of Mecca is to the Mohammedans, the object of the profoundest reverence, and sometimes of a pious pilgrimage; but the land of their fathers had lost its hold on their affections; they had no desire to exchange the level plains of Babylonia for the rich pastures, the golden cornfields, or the rocky vineyards of Galilee and Judæa. This Babylonian settlement was so numerous and flourishing, that Philo more than once intimates the possibility of their marching in such force to the assistance of their brethren in Palestine, in case the Roman oppression was carried to excess, as

to make the fate of the war very doubtful.¹ Their chief city, Nearda, was strongly situated in a bend of the river Euphrates, which almost surrounded the town. Here, in a place impregnable to the Parthian robbers, the Jews of Mesopotamia had made a sort of treasury, in which they laid up the tribute of two drachms a head, which was received for the service of the Temple, and at stated intervals transferred to Jerusalem. In this city were two orphans, named Asinai and Anilai, who had been bred up as weavers, probably of those rich stuffs for which Babylonia was so long celebrated. On some ill-usage from the master-manufacturer, they fled to a low district between two

¹ Ἐφόβουν δὲ αὐτὸν (Petronium) καὶ ἡ πέραν Εὐφράτου δυνάμεις ᾗδει γὰρ Βαβυλῶνα καὶ πολλὰς ἄλλας τῶν Σατραπειῶν ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων κατεχομένῃς He dreaded a general insurrection of the Jews from all lands, who, gathering on every side, might hem him in, and crush him before aid could arrive; p. 578.

Agrippa in his letter says:— Καὶ σιωπῶ τὰς περὰν Εὐφράτου. Πᾶσαι γὰρ ἔξω μέρους βραχέος (Βαβυλῶνος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Σατραπειῶν ἡ ἀρετῶσαν ἔχουσι τὴν ἐν κύκλῳ γῆν) Ἰουδαίους ἔχουσιν οἰκητορας. p. 387. The whole of this affair, related by Josephus, gives a notion of the formidable numbers of the Jews in these regions. Josephus expressly says that the Jews hoped that all their countrymen beyond the Euphrates would join in the insurrection. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἰουδαίων μὲν ἅπαν τὸ ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην ὁμόφυλον συνεπαρθέσθαι σφίσιν ἤλπισαν. B. J., i. 2.

This Babylonian settlement is of great importance in Jewish history, not less perhaps in Christian. I have long held, and more than once expressed a strong opinion, that the Babylon from which St. Peter's Epistle was dated is this Babylonian settlement. What more likely than that the Apostle of the Circumcision should place himself in the midst of his brethren in that quarter and address as it were a pastoral letter to the conterminous settlements in Asia?

It must have been for these Jews, dwelling among the ἄνω Βαβυλώνιαι, that Josephus wrote the first version of his "Jewish War" in their native tongue (Aramaic). It shows their importance at the period immediately after the Jewish war, even to a man so entirely Romanized as Josephus. ἅ τοῖς ἄνω Βαβυλώνοις τῇ πατρίᾳ φωνῇ συντάξας ἀνεπεμψα πρότερον. It must have been addressed to his countrymen, who spoke their own language in those regions.

branches of the river, where there were rich meadows, and a place where the shepherds used to lay up their stores for the winter. There a number of indigent and discontented youths gathered around them, and they became the captains of a formidable band of robbers. They built a strong fortress, secured by the marshes around, and levied tribute on the shepherds, whom, however, they defended from all other assailants. The Satrap of Babylon determined to suppress them, and seized the favorable opportunity of the Sabbath for his attack. Asinai happened to be reposing among a number of his followers, whose arms lay scattered around; he suddenly exclaimed: "I hear the trampling of horses; it must be more than a troop of wild ones in their pastures, for I hear likewise the jingling of the bridles." Spies were sent out, and the whole band determined to sacrifice their respect for the Sabbath to their self-preservation. They attacked and defeated their assailants with great slaughter. Artabanus, the King of Parthia, heard with admiration of their extraordinary valor, and sent to offer terms of accommodation. Anilai was sent to the court, where the king pledging his personal honor for their security, Asinai was persuaded to follow him. The king received them with great courtesy, admired their singular corporal strength and activity, and refused all the secret solicitations of his officers to rid himself by treachery of such dangerous men. He even appointed Asinai to the supreme command in Babylonia, with strict injunctions to suppress all robbers. Asinai conducted himself with equal vigor and prudence, and rose to the highest degree of wealth and power. But wealth and power led to their usual consequences, insolence and injustice. Anilai became enamored of the

wife of a Parthian chieftain, whom he excited to hostilities, and slew. This woman, to the great offence of the Jews, adhered to the Parthian religion. The Jews strongly urged on the brother, Asinai, the imperative necessity of preventing this breach of the Law in his own family. Asinai at length strongly remonstrated with his brother, and insisted on the dismissal of the woman. His remonstrances were fatal to himself; for the Parthian woman, apprehending some further exercise of authority, poisoned Asinai; and thus the supreme authority passed into the hands of Anilai. Anilai, with equal bravery, but far less prudence and virtue than his brother, attacked the territory of Mithridates, a Parthian chieftain of the highest rank, and connected by marriage with the king, surprised him by an unexpected attack on the Sabbath, and took him prisoner. Contrary to the advice of his more desperate associates, he refused to put the captive to death, and released him. The royal wife of Mithridates, furious at the disgrace, instigated her husband to revenge; and they assembled considerable forces. Anilai, disdaining to rely on the strength of his marshes, advanced a great way into the plains, where his troops suffered grievously from want of water. In this state they were attacked by Mithridates, and totally defeated. But desperate adventurers flocked from all quarters to the standard of Anilai; his losses were speedily restored, and he waged a marauding war and carried fire and sword into the Babylonian villages. The Babylonians sent to Nearda, the chief settlement of the Jews, to demand the surrender of Anilai. Those in Nearda were unable or unwilling to comply with this order. At length the Babylonians surprised the camp of the robber, when his soldiers were sunk

in debauchery and sleep, slew the whole band, and Anilai himself.

The Babylonians were not content with vengeance against the offenders, but began to commit dreadful reprisals on the whole Jewish population. The Jews, unable to resist, fled in great numbers to Seleucia; six years after, many more took refuge from a pestilence in the same city. Seleucia happened to be divided into two factions: one of the Greeks, the other of the Syrians. The Jews threw themselves into the scale of the Syrians, who thus obtained a superiority, till the Greeks came to terms with the Syrians; and both parties agreed to fall upon the unhappy Jews. As many as 50,000 men were slain. The few who escaped fled to Ctesiphon. Even there the enmity of the Seleucians pursued them; and at length the survivors took refuge in their old quarters, Nearda and Nisibis.

The assassination of Caligula delivered the Jews within the Roman dominion from their immediate danger, and delayed the fatal hour which his madness seemed rapidly hastening. Agrippa was in Rome at that critical period, and, during the confusion which ensued, he sustained an important part. His conduct was honorable to his feelings, as well as to his address and influence. He alone paid the last honors to his murdered friend and Emperor. He then became mainly instrumental in the peaceful reëstablishment of that order of things which, however different from what an ardent lover of the old Roman liberty might have desired, was perhaps the best which the circumstances of the times would admit. He persuaded the Senate to abandon their unavailing resistance to the infuriated soldiery; reassured the weak and unambi-

tious spirit of Claudius ; and at the same time dissuaded him from taking those violent measures against the Senate, to which the army were urging him, and which would have deluged Rome with blood.¹

His services were amply repaid by the grateful Emperor. Agrippa received the investiture of all the dominions which belonged to the Great Herod. Judæa and Samaria were reunited with Galilee, Peræa, and the provinces beyond Jordan, in one kingdom ; Abilene, the district at the foot of Antilibanus, was added. Herod, his brother, received the kingdom of Chalcis. This donation of the Jewish kingdom was made with the utmost publicity ; the edict which announced it contained a high eulogium on Agrippa ; and the act was registered on a brass tablet in the Capitol. A treaty was formally concluded between the Emperor and Agrippa, in the Forum.

The death of Caligula was the signal for new commotions in Alexandria. The Jews attempted to recover their former rights. Claudius issued a temperate edict, favorable to the Jewish inhabitants of that city, and confirming their privileges.² This was followed by a second general decree, which secured the freedom of religious worship to the Jews throughout the empire ; at the same time they were admonished to behave with decency to the religions of other people. Under this decree the inhabitants of Dora were condemned by Petronius, for wantonly insulting

¹ This important part assumed by Agrippa in the restoration of the empire rests on the authority of Josephus, *Ant.* xix. 4, and *B. J.*, ii. 11. 1, 4. The Roman historians are silent, except Dion, who says incidentally that Claudius made grants to Agrippa: *συμπράξοντί δι τὴν ἡγεμονείαν*, l. x. p. 670. The fact, however, that decrees so favorable to Agrippa and to the Jews were issued by Claudius, seems to confirm the supposition that Agrippa rendered valuable services to the Emperor on his accession.

² The two edicts in Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 5.

a Jewish synagogue by placing a statue of Claudius within its walls.

Agrippa returned to his kingdom in great splendor. He displayed the utmost respect for the national religion; he hung up in the Temple the golden chain which Caligula had bestowed upon him, of equal weight with the iron one with which he had been bound as a prisoner, as a memorial of the rapid change of human fortune and of the protection of Almighty Providence. He observed the Mosaic Law with great exactness; offered sacrifice every day; and abstained from every legal impurity. In all other respects Agrippa aimed at popularity; he remitted the house-tax of the inhabitants of Jerusalem.¹ Yet the sterner zealots looked on with jealousy; and while he was absent at Cæsarea, one Simon assembled a number of the people, accused him of violating the Law, probably on account of his fondness for theatric exhibitions, and demanded his exclusion from the Temple. Agrippa sent for Simon to Cæsarea, placed him by his side in the public theatre, and mildly inquired whether he saw anything contrary to the Law. Simon was silent;

¹ The Rabbinical writings are tender to the memory of Agrippa: they dwell on the gentleness of his disposition. On the eighth day of the Feast of Tabernacles, when the Torah was read, "Thou shalt set him king over thee whom the Lord shall choose. . . Thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother" (Deut. xvii. 15), Agrippa burst into tears, for he was of foreign descent. But a cry arose, "Be not troubled, King Agrippa; thou art our brother." They thought, no doubt, of his kindred with the Asmonean family. He had great respect for the common usages. It was a custom that bridal processions should give way before the king. Agrippa saw a bridal procession coming towards him, and turned into a side-street to let it pass. Jost, i. 420.

A more doubtful instance of his respect for the Law is recorded. Instead of executing criminals condemned to death, he let them fight as gladiators in his splendid amphitheatre at Berytus, and kill each other. See next page.

upon which Agrippa dismissed him without molestation.¹

The conduct of Agrippa to Silas, one of his faithful followers, though more severe, can scarcely be considered as an exception to the general mildness of his disposition. Silas had steadfastly adhered to his fortunes, and received as a reward the command of his forces. But presuming on his services, he was perpetually reminding the king of his former low condition. His insolence, at last, provoked Agrippa to dismiss Silas from his employment, and imprison him. Once he relented; but the intractable Silas treated his overtures with the utmost arrogance, and Agrippa left him in confinement. Agrippa exercised his supreme authority in Jerusalem by continually displacing the High Priest. He first deposed Theophilus, son of Annas, and substituted Simon, named Cantherus, son of Boethus. Afterwards he offered the dignity to Jonathan, son of Annas, who declined it, and his brother Mathias was appointed. Before the close of his reign he degraded Mathias, and substituted Elio-næus, son of Simon Cantherus.

Agrippa inherited the magnificent taste for building which distinguished the elder Herod. At Berytus, a city which he highly favored, he built a splendid theatre, where the most costly musical exhibitions were displayed; and in an amphitheatre in the same city, two troops of gladiators, malefactors, of 700 each, were let loose upon each other; and thus horribly fulfilled the sentence of the law.

In Jerusalem he commenced a more useful work. To the north of the city, a new suburb, called Bezetha, had grown up; this he encircled with a wall, and was

¹ Joseph. Ant. xix. 7. 4.

proceeding to strengthen the whole line of fortifications round the city.¹ But Vibius Marsus, who had succeeded Longinus as Prefect of Syria, beheld this proceeding with great suspicion; and, on account of his representations at Rome, Agrippa thought it prudent to desist from the work.

Marsus watched all the motions of the Jewish monarch with the same jealousy. Agrippa, probably with an innocent view of displaying his magnificence, assembled five kings at a great entertainment in Tiberias: Herod, king of Chalcis, his brother; Antiochus, king of Commagene; Cotys, king of the Lesser Armenia; Sampsigeranus, king of Emesa; and Polemon, king of Pontus. Marsus arrived at the same time; and Agrippa, out of respect, went forth to receive him: the imperious Roman sent orders to the several kings to withdraw themselves into their own territories. Agrippa was greatly offended, and sent a letter to Claudius, earnestly entreating the recall of Marsus.

Unhappily, besides his splendor, munificence, and conformity to the Law, Agrippa sought other means of ingratiating himself with his Jewish subjects, — the persecution of the unoffending Christians. He put to death James, the brother of St. John, and threw St. Peter into prison.²

Having completed a reign of three years over the whole of Palestine, Agrippa ordered a splendid festival at Cæsarea, in honor of the Emperor. Multitudes of the highest rank flocked together from all quarters. On the second day of the spectacle, at the early dawn,

¹ This wall, according to Josephus, would have rendered Jerusalem impregnable to the Romans. *τηλικούτον γὰρ περιβάλλειν ἤρξατο τοῖς Ἱερουσολύμοις τεῖχος, ἥλικον ἂν τελεσθὲν ἀνήνυτον τὴν ἐν Ρωμαίοις ἐποίησι παλιорκίαν.* B. J., ii. 11. 6

² Acts xii. 2.

the king entered the theatre in a robe of silver, which glittered with the morning rays of the sun, so as to dazzle the eyes of the whole assembly, and excite general admiration. Some of his flatterers set up a shout — “A present god!” Agrippa did not repress the impious adulation which spread through the theatre. At that moment he looked up, and saw an owl perched over his head, on a rope. The owl had once been to him a bird of good omen. While he was in chains at Rome, a fellow-prisoner, a German, had augured, from the appearance of one of these birds, his future splendid fortune; but he had added this solemn warning, that, when he saw that bird again, at the height of his fortune, he would die within five days. The fatal omen, proceeds Josephus, pierced the heart of the king; and with deep melancholy, he said, “Your god will soon suffer the common lot of mortality.” He was immediately struck, in the language of the sacred volume, by an angel. He was seized with violent internal pains, and carried to his palace. There he lingered five days in extreme agony; being “eaten of worms,” the cause of his intestine disorder.¹ He died in the forty-fourth year of his age, having reigned seven years over part of his dominions, and three over the whole of Palestine. He left one son, Agrippa; an elder, Drusus, had died in his infancy; and three daughters — Drusilla, married first to Aziz, king of Emesa, then

¹ Joseph. Ant. xix. 8.

The account of the death of Herod, in Acts xii. 21–23, shows the same event as seen from a Christian point of view. What ground has Jost for his suspicion of poison? — “vielleicht durch Vergiftung;” p. 422.

To Agrippa's reign are attributed humane regulations concerning idolaters. The poor of them were to share in the gleanings; the poor idolater was to be aided with alms, the sick to be tended, the dead buried, like the Israelites. Gittin, 61 a.

to Claudius Felix; Berenice, married to his brother Herod, king of Chalcis; and Mariamne.

The inhabitants of Sebaste and Cæsarea, probably the Greek party, and particularly his own soldiers, expressed the most brutal exultation at the death of Agrippa. They heaped his memory with reproaches, took the statues of his young daughters, carried them to brothels, and there placing them on the roof, treated them with every kind of indignity. They then made a great feast, to celebrate the *departure* of the king. Claudius heard with much indignation of this ungrateful conduct, and ordered the cohorts in Sebaste and Cæsarea to be removed into Pontus, and their place to be filled by draughts from the legions in Syria. Unhappily, this purpose was not executed. The troops remained with this sentence of disgrace rankling in their hearts, and exasperating them to still greater animosity towards the whole Jewish nation; a chief cause, Josephus adds, of the subsequent disasters.¹

¹ διὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιούσιν χρόνοις τῶν μεγίστων Ἰουδαίοις ἐγένετο συμφορῶν ἀρχὴ, τοῦ κατὰ Φλῶρον πολέμου σπέρματα βαλόντες. Ant. xix. 9. 2.

BOOK XIII.

THE ROMAN GOVERNORS.

Cuspius Fadus — Tiberius Alexander — Ventidius Cumanus — Felix — Porcius Festus — Albinus — Gessius Florus — Commencement of the Revolt — The Zealots — Manahem — Massacre of the Jews in the Provinces — Advance and Defeat of Cestius Gallus.

AT the decease of Herod Agrippa, his son, who bore the same name, was seventeen years old. He was considered too young to bear the burden of royalty ; and Judæa relapsed into a Roman province. Cassius Longinus was appointed to the presidency of Syria ; Cuspius Fadus was sent as governor of Judæa. Fadus administered his office with firmness. He found a civil war disturbing the district beyond the Jordan. The inhabitants of Peræa, on some boundary dispute, had attacked the Philadelphians. Fadus seized three of the ringleaders, executed one, named Hannibal, and banished the rest. The easy yoke of Agrippa had permitted the robbers, who perpetually rose up to waste this fertile country, to gain head. Fadus made them feel the vigor of the Roman arm ; he cleared the whole country of their bands, and put to death Ptolemy, a noted captain, who had committed great excesses against the Idumæans and Arabians. Apprehending, it may seem, that the High Priest possessed too much independent authority, Fadus proceeded to revoke the edict of Vitellius, by which the custody of the pontifical robes had been surrendered. He commanded that they

should be replaced in the garrison of Antonia; and Longinus himself appeared in Jerusalem, with a considerable force to overawe all resistance. The Jews appealed to the Emperor, who, at the earnest entreaty of young Agrippa, issued an imperial mandate in favor of the Jews. At the same time Herod, king of Chalcis, petitioned, and obtained the sovereignty over the Temple, and the power of nominating the High Priest. He displaced Cantherus, who had regained the office, and appointed Joseph, son of Camith.

This was the second year of a **grievous** famine, which for several years prevailed in Judæa. The metropolis derived great advantage from the bounty of a royal proselyte, Helena, the queen of Adiabene, a district beyond the Tigris. She imported vast quantities of corn from Alexandria and dried figs from Cyprus, which she distributed among the lower orders. Her son, Izates, who had likewise adopted the Jewish faith, sent great sums to Jerusalem, for the same charitable purposes. Helena was both the wife and sister, according to the ancient Persian usage, of Monobazus, king of Adiabene. Izates was the favorite son of that monarch, who, apprehensive of the jealousy with which he was looked on by his brothers, sent him to Abenerig, king of Characene (a district on the Persian Gulf), whose daughter he married. In that commercial district there was a Jew merchant, named Ananias, who was accustomed to have free ingress into the women's apartments, probably for purposes of traffic, and there seized every opportunity of teaching the religious tenets of the Jews. Izates became a convert; and, by a singular coincidence, his mother, Helena, at the same time adopted the same opinions. On the return of Izates to Adiabene, his father made him

governor of a district named Carrhæ, in which, according to tradition, the remains of Noah's ark were still to be seen. On the death of his father, Helena had the address to secure the succession to the throne for Izates. His brother, Monobazus, assumed the crown till Izates should arrive ; and the rest of the monarch's sons, by different mothers, were thrown into prison, and were even in danger of their lives. Immediately that Izates appeared, Monobazus abdicated the sovereignty ; Izates expressed great indignation at the imprisonment of his brethren. Izates was so ardent a convert that he insisted on undergoing circumcision. His prudent preceptor, Ananias, from fear lest the unpopularity of the measure should make the king odious to his subjects, and himself thus be exposed to personal danger, dissuaded him from his design. But a more zealous Galilean insisted that the honor of God was concerned ; and the monarch immediately, to the great alarm of Ananias, submitted to the rite. Izates was a king of great prudence and resolution. By his moderation and address he reinstated Artabanus, king of Parthia, on his throne, from which he had been driven by his own satraps ; and, afterwards, dissuaded his son, Bardanes, from entering into a war with the Romans. Bardanes immediately declared war on Izates ; but he was set aside by his own subjects. The king's brother, Monobazus, and the chief satraps of the kingdom, endured for some time, but with great reluctance, the yoke of a sovereign who had apostatized from the national religion. Monobazus conspired with Abiah, an Arabian king, to invade Adiabene ; but Abiah was defeated with great loss. Afterwards they had recourse to Vologeses, king of Parthia ; but his invasion was arrested by a rebellion among his own

dependants. On the death of Izates, who wore the crown for twenty-four years, his remains, and those of his mother, Helena, were transported to Jerusalem, and buried in a splendid cemetery, which remained till the time of Jerome.

Before the recall of Fadus, the peace of the country was disturbed by an impostor, named Theudas, who gave himself out as a prophet, and gained a great number of proselytes. Multitudes thronged forth, with all their possessions, to the banks of the Jordan, which Theudas asserted that, like Joshua of old, he would divide in the midst, and carry them through in triumph. Fadus, with his usual vigilance, seized the impostor, cut off his head, and sent it to Jerusalem.

To Fadus succeeded Tiberius Alexander.¹ Alexander was an apostate Egyptian Jew. For, if in the remote East the worshippers of Jehovah gained royal proselytes, in the West they lost some of their own sons of high rank. Tiberius was the son of Alexander, the Alabarch of Alexandria, and the nephew of the celebrated Philo. The only act recorded of his short government was the crucifixion of James and Simon, two sons of Judas the Galilean, who had attempted to disseminate the dangerous doctrines of their father. Notwithstanding, however, the famine, by which the land was still afflicted, — the seditious tenets of the Galilean rebels, — and the government of an apostate,

¹ Josephus says of Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander, *οὐ μὴδὲν πα-
ρακινούντες τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν, ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὸ ἔθνος διεφύλαξον.* B. J. ii. 11.
6; see also Ant. xx. 5. 2.

Alexander in later times threw off this milder character as he had thrown off his religion. He was appointed procurator of Egypt by Nero, and slew 50,000 of his countrymen in an insurrection at Alexandria. He was the first procurator who dared to declare his allegiance to Vespasian; and was present during the siege and at the fall of Jerusalem. Compare B. J. ii. 1. 8. 7; iv. 10. 6; v. 1. 6; Suet. Vespas. vi.; Tacit. Hist. ii. 74. 79.

which must have been singularly odious to the zealous Jews, the province continued in peace until the arrival of Ventidius Cumanus, to supersede Alexander.

At this time Herod, king of Chalcis, died, having once more changed the High Priest, and substituted Ananias, son of Nebid, for Joseph, the son of Camith. He left sons ; particularly Aristobulus, afterwards appointed, by Nero, to the kingdom of Lesser Armenia ; but the kingdom of Chalcis, and the sovereignty of the Temple, were assigned to young Agrippa, who assumed the title of king.

During the government of Cumanus, the low and sullen murmurs which announced the approaching eruption of the dark volcano, now gathering its strength in Palestine, became more distinct. The people and the Roman soldiery began to display mutual animosity. To preserve the peace during the crowded festivals in Jerusalem, the Romans mounted a guard in the Antonia, and in the adjacent cloister. One of these soldiers, to show his contempt for the religious rites and usages of the Jews, indecently exposed his person.¹ The furious populace not only vented their rage on the offender, but uttered the most violent reproaches against Cumanus himself. The governor immediately ordered his whole forces into the Antonia. The affrighted people fled ; the narrow streets were choked ; and 20,000 perished. The sacrifice was suspended, and the whole city given up to wailing and lamentation.

This disturbance was scarcely appeased, when another succeeded. Near Bethhoron, in the pass about twelve miles from Jerusalem, a party, half insurgents and half robbers, attacked, in the public road, Steph-

¹ This is rather differently related in Ant. xx. 5. 3, and B. J. ii. 12. 1. The best comment is Horat. Sat. i. 9. 70.

anas, a slave of the Emperor, and plundered his baggage. Cumanus sent a troop of soldiers to plunder the neighboring villages, and seize the chief persons in them. During this scene of pillage, a soldier found a copy of the Law of Moses, and tore it to pieces, uttering the most offensive blasphemies. The Jews sent a formal deputation before Cumanus to complain of the insult ; Cumanus, by the advice of his friends, ordered the soldier to execution.

The animosities of the populace and the Roman soldiery were not the only conflicting elements in this distracted country ; the jealousies of the natives began again to break out. The road by which the Jews of Galilee went up to the Temple led through the territory of Samaria. The Samaritans waylaid and slew many of them. Cumanus, bribed by the Samaritans, refused to take cognizance of any complaints. The Jews, headed by two valiant robber chieftains, took up arms, and set fire to some of the Samaritan villages. Cumanus marched against them ; and, with the aid of the Samaritans, defeated them. Jerusalem was in an uproar, and, but for the authority and influence of the chiefs, the whole people would have risen in insurrection. Clad in sackcloth, and with ashes on their heads, the priests and rulers passed through the streets, entreating the insurgents to lay aside their arms, lest they should bring fire and sword on the city, and ruin on the Temple. With difficulty the tumult was allayed in Jerusalem. But the whole country was in a state of confusion. The Samaritans carried their complaints before Ummidius Quadratus, prefect of Syria. The Jews pleaded the wanton aggression of the Samaritans, and their bribery of Cumanus. Quadratus deferred his judgment, till a short time after, having investigated

the affair on the spot, he condemned the Samaritans ; but put to death, as seditious persons, all the Jews taken by Cumanus. He then removed his tribunal to Lydda, where he received information that a certain Dortus and others had openly exhorted insurrection against the Romans. He ordered the four ringleaders to be crucified ; and sent Ananias, the High Priest, with Annas, the captain of the Temple, in chains, for trial at Rome. At the same time Cumanus, and Celer, his military tribune, were also sent to Rome to answer for their conduct before the Emperor. From Lydda, Quadratus moved to Jerusalem, and finding peace entirely reëstablished, he returned to Antioch.

Great interest was made at Rome by Cumanus, Celer, and the Samaritan party ; but the influence of Agrippa, then at Rome, predominated. Cumanus was banished ; Celer sent to Jerusalem, to be dragged publicly through the streets and beheaded ; the ringleaders of the Samaritans were put to death.

In an evil hour for himself and for his country, Jonathan, who had succeeded to the High-Priesthood, exerted his influence to obtain the appointment of governor of Judæa for Felix, brother of Pallas, afterwards the freed slave and all-powerful favorite of the Emperor Nero. According to Tacitus, who is quite at variance with the Jewish historian, Felix was already in Palestine, as independent governor of Samaria, where he had inflamed the civil commotions, and ought to have appeared with Cumanus as a criminal before the tribunal of Quadratus ; but Quadratus, dreading his interest at Rome, placed him by his own side on the seat of justice. Cumanus was condemned, and suffered the penalty of the crimes of Felix as well as of his own. Born a slave, Felix was magnificent in his

profligacy. He had three wives, all of royal blood. One of these was the beautiful Drusilla, the daughter of King Agrippa the First, whom, by the aid of Simon, a magician (by some, though improbably, supposed the Simon Magus of the Acts), he had seduced from her husband, Aziz, king of Emesa.¹ Aziz had carried his complacency so far as to submit to circumcision in order to obtain the hand of Drusilla, who now gave up her religion to marry Felix. Felix administered the province with the authority of a king, and the disposition of a slave. Supported by the interest of Pallas, says Tacitus, he thought he might commit all crimes with impunity. The land was full of armed robbers who wasted the country. Felix at first proceeded with vigor and severity against them; but afterwards, for his private ends, entered into a confederacy with some of the most daring.² The High Priest, Jonathan, assuming the privilege of a friend, like the Christian Apostle, would reason with him *on temperance and righteousness*. His remonstrances, if at the time they produced the same effect, and *made Felix tremble*, were fatal to himself. Felix, weary with his importunity,

¹ These three daughters of Agrippa the First did little honor to their race or their religion; they vied with each other in profligacy. Drusilla was the eldest. The second, Berenice, was married to her uncle, Herod of Chalcis. On his death she remained a widow, but in bad repute, as living in incest with her brother. By her wealth she tempted Polemo, king of Cilicia, to take her to wife. Polemo, another royal proselyte, submitted to circumcision, and embraced Judaism with fervor and constancy. She left Polemo, to live a life of free indulgence. Mariamne, the third, having repudiated her husband, Archelaus, married Demetrius, the Alabarch of Alexandria.

² "At non frater ejus, cognomento Felix, pari moderatione agebat, jam pridem Judææ impositus, et cuncta malefacta sibi impunè ratus, tantâ potentiâ subnixus." Tac. Ann. xii. 54. Compare the whole passage.

"Antonius Felix, per omnem sævitiam et libidinem, jus regium servili ingenio exercuit, Drusillâ, Cleopatraræ et Antonii nepte, in matrimonium acceptâ." Tac. Hist. v. 9. Compare Suet. Claudius, xxviii.

entered into a secret conspiracy with some of the Sicarii, or Assassins, the most extravagant of the school of Judas the Galilean.¹ These were men, some fanatics, some unprincipled desperadoes, who abused the precepts of the Mosaic Law, as authorizing the murder of all on whom they might affix the brand of hostility to their country and their God. Having bribed Doras, the intimate friend of Jonathan, through his means Felix sent a party of these wretches into the Temple. With their daggers under their cloak, they mingled with the attendants of the High Priest. They pretended to join in the public worship, and suddenly struck dead the unsuspecting pontiff, who lay bleeding on the sacred pavement. From this period, says the indignant Josephus, God hated his guilty city, and disdaining any longer to dwell in his contaminated Temple, brought the Romans to purify with fire the sins of the nation.²

The crime remained unrevenged and unnoticed. The Assassins, emboldened by their impunity, carried on their dreadful work. No man was secure. Some from private enmity, others on account of their wealth, as they pursued their peaceful occupations, were struck dead by men who passed by, apparently unarmed and as peacefully disposed as themselves. Even the Temple was not a place of safety; the worshipper did not know but that the man who knelt by his side was preparing to plunge a dagger to his heart.

¹ Joseph. Ant. xx. 7. 3. Tac. Ann. xii. 54. See above.

The Mishna (Tract Sota, ix. 9) asserts that at the time when these Assassins, or Sicarii, multiplied, the sacrifice of a calf, which, according to the Law, was made by the neighboring city whenever the body of a murdered man was discovered, came to an end.

² καὶ τὸν Θεον . . . Ρωμαίους ἐπαγαγεῖν ἡμῖν καὶ τῇ πόλει καθάρσιον πῦρ, καὶ δουλείαν ἐπιβαλεῖν σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις, σωφρονῆσαι ταῖς συμφοραῖς βουλόμενον ἡμᾶς. Ant. xx. 8. 5.

Such was the state of the city; the country was not much more secure. The robbers multiplied and grew more bold. Nor were these the worst. In every quarter arose impostors, and pretenders to magic, who, asserting their miraculous powers, led the people into desert places, and harangued them on the impiety of obedience to the Roman government. Felix in vain scoured the country with his horse; as fast as some were seized and crucified, others arose, and the fanatical spirit of the people constantly received new excitement. The most formidable of these men was a Jew of Egyptian birth. He assembled in the desert, probably that of Quarantania, between Jerusalem and Jericho, as many as 30,000 followers. He led them to the Mount of Olives, and pointing to the city below, assured them that its walls would fall down and admit his triumphal entrance. Felix marched out to attack him: the Egyptian escaped; but many of his followers were killed, many taken, the rest dispersed.¹

In the mean time Claudius died, having promoted Agrippa from the kingdom of Chalcis to the more extensive dominion — the Tetrarchate of Philip, Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, Batanea, and Paneas, to which was afterwards added part of Galilee and Peræa. On the whole, the government of Claudius was favorable to the race of Israel; but rather as subjects of his friend Agrippa than as Jews. At one time he closed their synagogues, and expelled them from Rome, — probably on account of some tumult caused by their persecutions of the Christians. Agrippa appointed Ismael, son of Fabi, to the Pontificate, vacant since the death

¹ Compare Acts xxi. 38. The immediate followers of the Egyptian were probably 4000, as in the Acts. The rabble who joined him may have reached the larger and vaguer number. B. J. ii. 13.

of Jonathan, — though in this interval, probably, a kind of illegitimate authority had been resumed by that Ananias, son of Nebid, who had been sent in chains to Rome by Quadratus, and had been released through the influence of Agrippa. It was that Ananias who commanded St. Paul to be smitten when he was addressing the people. St. Paul either did not know or did not recognize his doubtful title.¹

Up to this period, according to the representation of the Jewish annalist, the Pontificate had remained almost entirely uncontaminated by the general license and turbulence which distracted the nation. The priests were in general moderate and upright men, who had endeavored to maintain the peace of the city. Now the evil penetrated into the sanctuary, and feuds rent the sacred family of Levi. A furious schism broke out between the chief priests and the inferior priesthood. Each party collected a band of ruffians, and assailed the other with violent reproaches, and even with stones. No one interfered to repress the tumult; and the High Priests are said to have sent their slaves to levy by force the tithes which belonged to the inferior class, many of whom in consequence perished with hunger. Even the worst excesses of the dagger-men seemed to have been authorized by the priesthood for their own purposes. The forty men who, with the connivance of the priests, bound themselves by a vow to assassinate St. Paul, if not of the fraternity, recognized the principles of that sanguinary crew.

It was in Cæsarea that the events took place which led to the final rupture with Rome. This magnificent city had rapidly risen to a high degree of wealth and

¹ Acts xxiii. 3.

populousness. It was inhabited by two races, — the Syrian Greeks, who were heathens, and the Jews. The two parties violently contended for the preëminence. The Jews insisted on the foundation of the city by Herod their king, and on his occupying the site of the old Jewish town called the Tower of Straton ; the Greeks appealed to the statues and temples erected by Herod himself, which clearly proved that Cæsarea was intended for a Pagan city. The feud became gradually more fierce ; tumults and bloodshed disturbed the streets. The more aged and prudent of the Jews could not restrain their followers. The Jews were the more wealthy ; but the Roman soldiery, chiefly levied in Syria, took part with their countrymen. The officers attempted, but in vain, to keep the peace ; and when Felix himself came forth to disperse a party of Jews, who had got the better in an affray, they treated his authority with contempt. Felix commanded his troops to charge them. The soldiery were too glad to avail themselves of the signal for license ; many of the Jews fell, many were seized, and some of the more opulent houses plundered. After the recall of Felix, a deputation of each party was sent to Rome, to lay the whole case before the Emperor. The Jews brought heavy charges against Felix ; but the powerful protection of his brother Pallas, now in the highest favor with Nero, secured his impunity. The Greeks, by a large bribe to Burrhus, who had been the preceptor of Nero, obtained a decree which deprived the Jews of the rights of equal citizenship. This decree still further inflamed the contest. The Greeks became more and more insulting ; the Jews more and more turbulent.

In the rest of the province the administration of the

rigid but upright Porcius Festus caused a short interval of comparative peace. Festus kept down all the bands, whether we are to call them robbers or insurgents, and repressed the dagger-men.¹ His soldiers put to death an impostor who had led multitudes into the desert.

At this period King Agrippa resided in Jerusalem, in the palace of the Asmonean princes, which stood on the cliff of Mount Sion, towards the Temple. In front of this was the Xystus, an open colonnade, which was connected by a bridge with the Temple. Agrippa reared a lofty building in this palace, which commanded a beautiful prospect of the whole city, particularly of the Temple courts. Reposing on his couch he might see the whole course of the religious ceremonies. The priesthood were indignant at the intrusion, and hastily ran up a wall, on the western side of their own court, by which they intercepted not merely the view of the king, but that of the Roman guard which was mounted in the outer western portico. Agrippa and Festus ordered the demolition of this wall. The Jews demanded permission to appeal to Nero; Festus consented, and a deputation of ten, headed by Ismael, the High Priest, and Hilkiah, the keeper of the treasury, set off to Rome. There they obtained the interest of Poppæa, the profligate empress of Nero, whom Josephus describes as *devout*, as if she had been inclined to the Jewish religion: if so, she was no very creditable proselyte. Through her interest the wall was permitted to stand, but the High Priest and treasurer were detained at Rome. Agrippa

¹ The Sicarii, so called from a kind of sword or dagger which they carried, about the size of the Persian acinace, but curved like the Roman sica. Joseph. Ant. xx. 8. 10.

seized the opportunity of appointing another High Priest,—Joseph, named Cabi, son of Simon Cantherus. Soon after, he degraded Joseph, and appointed Annas, the fifth son of Annas, in Jewish estimation the happiest of men, for he himself had been High Priest, and had seen his five sons and his son-in-law, Caiaphas, successively promoted to that dignity.¹ Annas united himself to the sect of the Sadducees, if he did not inherit those doctrines from his father. The Sadducees were noted for their rigid administration of the Law; and while the place of the Roman governor was vacant, Annas seized the opportunity of putting to death James the Just, and others of the Christians, at the feast of the Passover.² But the act was unpopular, and Agrippa deprived him of the priesthood, and appointed Jesus, son of Damnai.

Unhappily for this devoted country the upright Festus died in Judæa, and Albinus arrived as his successor. With the rapacious Albinus, everything became venal. At first he proceeded with severity against the robbers, but in a short time began to extort enormous ransoms for their freedom. This was little better than to set a price on robbery and assassination. In the mean time the taxes were increased, and the wasted country groaned under the heaviest burdens. Two men alone grew rich amid the general distress, the Roman governor, and Ananias, formerly High Priest, who, keeping both Albinus and the High Priest in pay, committed all kinds of outrages, seizing the tithes of the inferior priesthood, who were again so reduced that many of them died of famine. Ananias was too wealthy a prize to escape the robbers who infested the

¹ Joseph. Ant. xx. 9. 1.

² Ibid. This passage seems to be genuine.

country. In the open day, and at the time of a festival, they seized the scribe of Eleazar, captain of the guard, who was probably the son of Ananias, carried him off, and demanded as a ransom the release of ten of their companions who were in prison. Ananias persuaded Albinus, no doubt by a great bribe, to comply. Encouraged by this success, whenever any one of the Assassins was taken, they seized one of the dependants on Ananias, and demanded an exchange.

Agrippa, as if he foresaw the approaching danger, began to prepare a place of retreat. He enlarged the city of Cæsarea Philippi (Paneas), and called it *Neronias*. But his chief expenditure was made at Berytus, where he built a theatre, and at great cost provided for the most splendid exhibitions. He likewise distributed corn and oil; collected a noble gallery of statues and copies from the antique; in short, he transferred to that city the chief splendor of his kingdom. This liberality to a foreign city was highly unpopular at Jerusalem. The degradation of Jesus, son of Damnai, and the appointment of Jesus, son of Gamaliel, increased the general discontent. Each of these rival High Priests had his party, who attacked each other in the streets; in short, every one who had wealth or power assembled his armed adherents. Ananias, as the richest, got together the strongest band; and two relatives of Agrippa, Saul and Costobar, appeared at the head of their own followers, plundering on all sides without scruple. Albinus aggravated the mischief. Having heard of his intended recall, he brought forth all the malefactors, who crowded the prisons, executed the most notorious, but allowed the rest to pay their ransoms. Thus the prisons were empty, but the whole province filled with these desperate ruffians. The com-

pletion of the works in the Temple added to the multitude of the idle and unemployed,— eighteen thousand workmen were discharged. The more prudent of the people dreaded the letting loose this vast number of persons, without employment, on society ; and with no less forethought they apprehended the accumulation of vast treasures in the Temple, which had hitherto been for the most part profitably employed on the public buildings, and would now serve no purpose but to excite the rapacity of the Romans. They petitioned that the eastern portico might be raised to a greater degree of magnificence. Agrippa, who was intrusted by the Emperor with the command over the Temple, refused their request, but permitted them to pave the city with stone. He afterwards deposed Jesus, son of Gamaliel, and appointed Matthias, the last legitimate High Priest of Jerusalem.

Nothing was wanting to fill the measure of calamity which this fruitful and once happy land was to exhaust, but the nomination of a governor, like Gessius Florus, who made the people look back with regret to the administration of the rapacious Albinus. Albinus at least dissembled his cruelties and exactions. Relying on the protection of the Empress, who was attached to his wife Cleopatra by long friendship and kindred disposition, Florus made an ostentatious display of his oppressions. Without compunction and without shame, as crafty as he was cruel, he laid deliberate schemes of iniquity, by which, at some distant period, he was to reap his harvest of plunder. He pillaged not only individuals, but even communities, and seemed to grant a general indemnity for spoliation, if he was only allowed his fair portion of the plunder. Many villages and towns were entirely deserted : the inhabitants left their native

country to fly beyond the reach of his administration. Cestius Gallus, a man of a congenial spirit, commanded in Syria. The fear of Florus, as long as Cestius remained in Syria, prevented the Jews from appealing to his tribunal; they would not have been suffered to arrive there in safety. But when Cestius, during the days preceding the Passover, visited Jerusalem, three millions of suppliants, that is, the whole population assembled for the great annual feast, surrounded him, and entreated his interference. Florus stood by the side of Cestius, turning their complaints into ridicule. Cestius, however, promised that he would use his interest with Florus to treat them with greater moderation, and Florus, without further reproof, was permitted to escort his colleague in iniquity, on his way to Antioch, as far as Cæsarea.

In the mean time wild and awful prodigies, thus the Jewish annalist relates, had filled the timid with apprehensions of the approaching desolation. But the blind and desperate multitude neglected all these signs of Almighty wrath. A comet, which had the appearance of a sword, hung above the city for a whole year. While the people were assembled at the feast of unleavened bread, at the sixth hour of the night, a sudden light, as bright as day, shone about the altar and the Temple, and continued for nearly half an hour. A cow led forth to sacrifice, brought forth a calf. The inner gate on the side of the Temple looking eastward was of brass, and of such immense weight as to require twenty men to close it in the evening. It was fastened by strong iron bolts, let into the stone door-posts. Suddenly this gate flew open, and it was with much difficulty that all the assembled guard could reclose it. This the vulgar considered a good omen, as indicating

that God had opened the gate of blessing ; but the wise more sadly interpreted it as a manifest sign of the insecurity of the Temple, and that it prefigured the opening of the gate of the Holy Place to the enemy. A few days after this festival, a still more incredible circumstance occurred, — such, says Josephus, as would appear a fable, had it not been attested by eye-witnesses, and justified by the subsequent events. Before sunset, chariots and armed squadrons were seen in the heavens ; they mingled and formed in array, so as to seem to encircle the city in their rapid and terrific career. And on the Pentecost, when the priests on duty entered by night into the Temple, they said that they heard a movement and a noise, and presently the voice as it were of a great host, which said, “ Let us depart hence.” More alarming still ! while the city was yet at peace and in prosperity, a countryman named Jesus, son of Ananus, began suddenly to cry aloud in the Temple — “ *A voice from the east ! a voice from the west ! a voice from the four winds ! a voice against Jerusalem and against the Temple ! a voice against the bridegrooms and the brides ! a voice against the whole people !* ” Day and night in the narrow streets of the city he went along repeating these words with a loud voice. Some of the leaders seized him, and had him severely beaten. He uttered no remonstrance, no entreaty for mercy, he seemed entirely regardless about his own person, but still went on reiterating his fearful burden. The magistrates then apprehended him, and led him before Albinus, the Roman governor ; there he was scourged till his bones could be seen ; he uttered neither shriek of pain, nor prayer for mercy, but raising his sad and broken voice as loud as he could, at every blow cried out, *Woe, woe to Jerusalem !* Albinus de-

manded who he was, and whence he came? he answered not a word. The Roman at length supposing that he was mad, let him go. All the four years that intervened before the war, the son of Ananus paid no attention to any one, and never spoke, excepting the same words, *Woe, woe to Jerusalem!* He neither cursed any one who struck him, nor thanked any one who gave him food. His only answer was the same melancholy presage. He was particularly active during the festivals, and then with greater frequency, and still deeper voice, he cried, *Woe, woe to the city and to the Temple!* At length, during the siege, he suddenly cried out, *Woe, woe to myself!* and was struck dead by a stone from a balista.

It is not improbable that the prophecies of the approaching ruin of Jerusalem disseminated by the Christians might add to the general apprehension. Mingled as they were with the mass of the people, their distinct assurances that their Divine Teacher had foretold the speedy dissolution of the state, could scarcely remain unknown, especially when, in obedience to the command of Christ, they abandoned Jerusalem in a body, and retreated to Pella, a town beyond the Jordan.

There was another sign, which might have given warning to the political sagacity or to the humanity of the Romans, upon the nature of the approaching contest, as showing how immense a population they were thus driving to desperation, and what horrible carnage would be necessary, before they could finally subdue the rebellious province. When Cestius Gallus was at Jerusalem, at the time of the Passover, he inquired the number of Jews present from all quarters. The priests counted the lambs sacrificed, and found 255,600. None

but Jews, and those free from legal impurities, might sacrifice. Reckoning at a low average of ten to each lamb, the numbers were 2,556,000. Josephus supposes that three millions would not have been an immoderate calculation.¹

The fatal flame finally broke out from the old feud at Cæsarea.² The decree of Nero had assigned the magistracy of that city to the Greeks. It happened that the Jews had a synagogue, the ground around which belonged to a Greek. For this spot the Jews offered a much higher price than it was worth. It was refused; and to annoy them as much as possible, the owner set up some mean shops and buildings upon it, and rendered the approach to the synagogue as narrow and difficult as he could. The more hot-headed of the Jewish youth interrupted the workmen. The men of greater wealth and influence, and among them, John, a publican, collected the large sum of eight talents, and sent it as a bribe to Florus, that he might interfere and stop the building. Florus received the money, made great promises, and immediately set out from Cæsarea for Sebaste, in order to leave full scope for the riot. On the following day, a sabbath, while the Jews were crowding to the synagogue, a man upset an earthen vessel in the way, and began to sacrifice birds upon it. It has been conjectured that this was a particularly offensive jest. The heathens generally represented the ancestors of the Jews to have been expelled from Egypt, as a race of lepers; and since birds were the first sacrifice appointed in cases of leprosy, it was most likely meant to gall the old wound.³ However that

¹ See, on these numbers, below.

² B. J. ii. 14. 4.

³ "Hac re lepra Judæis exprobratur per mactationem avis supra vas fictile: quod in leprosum mundatione ex lege Dei (Levit. xiv.) fieri debuit." Reland, quoted by Hudson in a note on the passage in the B. J.

may be, the more violent Jews, furious at the affront, attacked the Greeks. The Greeks were already in arms, waiting this signal for the affray. Jucundus, the governor, attempted in vain to appease the tumult, till at length the Jews, being worsted, took up the books of their Law, and went away to Narbata, about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles distant. John, the publican, with twelve of the highest rank, went to Samaria to Florus, implored his assistance, and modestly reminded him of the eight talents he had received. Florus threw them into prison with every mark of indignity.

The news of this outrage and injustice spread to Jerusalem. The city was in a state of violent excitement. It was the deliberate purpose of Florus to drive the people to insurrection, both that all inquiry into his former oppressions might be drowned by the din of war, and that he might have better opportunities for plunder. He seized this critical moment to demand seventeen talents from the sacred treasury under pretence of Cæsar's necessities. The people assembled around the Temple with the loudest outcries. The name of Florus was passed from one to another with every epithet of hatred and contempt. Some carried about a basket, entreating alms for the poor beggar, Florus. Neglecting entirely the tumult in Cæsarea, Florus advanced with all the force he could collect against Jerusalem. To his disappointment, the people, instead of maintaining their seditious demeanor, endeavored to excite his clemency by the most submissive and humiliating conduct. They crowded forth, received his army with acclamations, and hailed the Procurator himself as a public benefactor. But Florus was too keen-sighted to be imposed upon by these unmerited marks of popularity. He chose to remember nothing

but the insults and contumely with which his name had been treated. He sent forward Capito with fifty horse, commanding the people to disperse; they obeyed, and retreating to their houses, passed the night in trembling expectation of his vengeance.

Florus took up his quarters in the Palace.¹ In the morning his tribunal was erected before the gates. The High Priest and the leaders of the people (probably the Sanhedrin) were summoned to attend. Florus demanded the surrender of all those who had insulted his name, and added, if the heads of the people refused or delayed, he should proceed against them as responsible for the offence. The priests represented the general peaceable disposition of the city, and entreated his forbearance, throwing the blame on a few hot-headed youths, whom it was impossible to detect, as all had repented, and none would confess their guilt. At these words Florus broke out into the most violent fury; he gave the signal to his troops to plunder the upper market, and put to death all they met. The soldiery were but too ready instruments of his cruelty. They cleared the market, then broke into the houses, pillaged them, and put to death the inhabitants. The narrow streets were crowded with fugitives; many who escaped the sword were trampled to death. Unoffending citizens were seized, carried before Florus, scourged and crucified. Of men, women, and children, for neither age nor sex was spared, there fell that day 3600. Florus paid no regard to the sacred rights of Roman citizenship; some freemen of the first distinction, for many of the Jews had attained even the equestrian rank, were scourged and executed with their meaner countrymen.

Agrippa was absent in Egypt, but his sister Berenice was in Jerusalem, in pursuance of a religious vow. She sent repeated messages to Florus, imploring him to stay the fury of his soldiers ; and even herself, in her penitential attire, with her hair shorn and with naked feet, stood before his tribunal. The Roman was deaf to her entreaties ; he had no ear but for the accounts of wealth, which was brought in, every hour, in great masses. Even in the presence of Berenice, her miserable countrymen were scourged and hewn down. She herself was obliged to take refuge in one of the royal residences, and dared not go to rest, lest the soldiers should force their way through her feeble guard.

The next day multitudes assembled in the scene of the massacre, the upper market-place ; and among the wailings for the dead were heard but half-suppressed execrations and menaces against the cruel Florus. The chief heads of the city with the priests were in the greatest alarm ; they tore their robes, rushed among the people, addressed them individually with the most earnest supplications not again to provoke the anger of the governor. The populace, partly out of respect, partly out of fear, quietly dispersed.

Florus and his satellites alone were grieved at this pacification ; he determined, if possible, to renew these profitable tumults. He sent for the priests and leaders, and commanded them, as the last proof of their submission, to go forth and receive, with the utmost cordiality, two cohorts of troops who were advancing from Cæsarea. The priests assembled the people in the Temple, made known the orders of Florus, and exhorted them to obedience. The more turbulent did not disguise their seditious intentions. Then all the priesthood, the Levites, the musicians and singers in

their sacred vestments, fell upon their knees and supplicated the people that they would not bring down certain ruin on the whole city, or give excuse to the rapacious plunderer to profane the Holy Place, and pillage the sacred treasures of God. The priests of the highest rank, with robes rent and ashes on their heads, went about, calling on the most influential by name, and urging with the most solemn vehemence, that, however degrading the submission to the commands of Florus, it was a trifling sacrifice, if it might avert the desolation of the city, and all the horrors of war: that it would be the height of madness to allow themselves to be borne away by a few of the factious or misguided populace, whom they, the rather, ought to overawe with their authority.

They succeeded in allaying, for the time, the enraged multitude; the more turbulent were silenced, as menaces were mingled with entreaties; and the chief priests led forth the whole populace in peaceful array. The procession, in obedience to their admonitions, welcomed the cohorts with apparent gladness. The cohorts, who had received their secret instructions from Florus, advanced in sullen silence, not condescending to return the greetings. The more violent Jews took fire, and broke out into audible imprecations against Florus. The troops turned upon them; struck them with their staves; the horsemen rode over them, and trampled them down; many were bruised, many wounded. At the gates there was a violent rush to obtain entrance. Those behind pressed on those before; the horsemen came trampling on, and forcing their way through the dense mass; numbers fell, pushed down by their own people, or under the hoofs of the horses; their bodies were so crushed and

mangled, that when they were taken up for burial, they could not be distinguished by their friends.

The soldiery still kept on, advancing, and driving the multitude before them, or riding over them, all through the suburb of Bezetha. Their object was to press forward, and gain possession at the same time of the Antonia and the Temple. At this moment Florus sallied from the Palace, and attempted to force his way to that part of the castle which joined the Temple, but without success: for the people blocked up the narrow streets, so that his men could not cut their way through the living masses, and were themselves beaten down by stones and missiles from the roofs of the houses. They retreated to their quarters. The insurgents, apprehending that the enemy might force their way from the Antonia to the Temple, cut off the porticos and galleries which connected them. This bold measure made Florus despair of succeeding in his main object, the plunder of the sacred treasury during the confusion. He suspended the attack, sent for the chief priests and rulers, and proposed to evacuate the city; but offered to leave a guard of sufficient force to preserve the peace. They entreated him to leave only one cohort, and that not the one which had been engaged against the people. On these terms, Florus retired unmolested to Cæsarea.

But Florus did not yet despair of inflaming the province and commencing an open war on more advantageous terms. He sent to his superior officer, Cestius Gallus, an artful representation of the tumults, in which all the blame was laid on the intractable and rebellious spirit of the Jews, whose unprovoked and wanton insults on the Roman authority had called for instant and exemplary justice. The Jews on their

part were not remiss. The Rulers and Berenice sent the most touching accounts of the terrible rapacity and cruelty of Florus and his troops. Cestius summoned a council; in which it was resolved that he should repair in person to Jerusalem, to examine into the causes of the revolt, to punish the guilty, and confirm the Roman party in their allegiance.

In the mean time he sent forward Neopolitanus, a centurion, to prepare for his approach. At Jamnia, Neopolitanus met with Agrippa, then on his return from Egypt, and communicated to him the object of his mission. Before they left Jamnia, a deputation of the priesthood and heads of the people appeared, to congratulate Agrippa on his return. Agrippa artfully dissembled his compassion, and even affected to reprove the turbulent conduct of his countrymen. About seven or eight miles from Jerusalem, Neopolitanus and Agrippa were met by a more mournful procession. The people were preceded by the wives of those who had been slain. The women, with wild shrieks and outcries, called on Agrippa for protection; and recounted to Neopolitanus all the miseries they had undergone from the cruelty of Florus. On the entrance of the king and the Roman into the city, they were led to the ruined market-place, and shown the shops that had been plundered, and the desolate houses where the inhabitants had been massacred. Neopolitanus having passed through the whole city, and found it in profound peace, went up to the Temple, paid his adorations there in the court of the Gentiles, exhorted the people to maintain their loyal demeanor, and returned to Cestius.

Agrippa, on his part, declined to countenance an embassy which they proposed to send to Nero. He

assembled the whole multitude before the Xystus, and taking his seat in a lofty part of the Palace, with Berenice by his side, commenced a long harangue. He enlarged on the prospect of a milder government than that which had recently afflicted them, when the real state of the province should reach the ears of the Emperor. He urged that their hopes of independence were vain : if they could not resist part of the Roman forces under Pompey, how could they expect to make any effectual struggle when the Romans wielded the power of the whole universe? He adduced the example of all other nations, Greeks, Germans, Gauls, Africans, Asiatics, who were held in submission by a few Roman troops : finally, he dwelt on the horrors of war, and the danger of destruction which they would bring on the city and the Holy Place. He ended in tears, and his sister wept aloud. The people, with one voice, cried out, that they had taken arms, not against the Romans, but against Florus. Agrippa replied that the refusal of tribute, and the demolition of the galleries which united the Antonia with the Temple, were overt acts of war against Rome. He exhorted them forthwith to discharge their tribute, and repair the buildings. The people obeyed. The king and Berenice joined eagerly in urging forward the reconstruction of the porticos. Chief persons were sent out to collect the arrears of tribute, and forty talents were speedily brought in. The war seemed at an end ; and Agrippa might entertain the lofty satisfaction of having by his influence averted inevitable ruin from his country, profanation and sacrilege from the Temple of his God. The cornfields and vineyards of Judæa might yet escape the trampling havoc of armed squadrons ; the city at its festivals receive its gay and cheer-

ful inhabitants ; the Temple resound with the uninterrupted music and psalmody of the whole united nation. Vain hope ! the fire was only smothered, not extinct. In an evil moment, Agrippa attempted to persuade the people to render the usual allegiance to Florus, until the Emperor should send another governor in his place. At the sound of that name, all influence and authority fell, as it were by magic, from the person of Agrippa. The populace rose, began to assail him, first with insulting language, afterwards with stones ; they even ordered him to leave the city. Despairing, at the same time, of being of any farther use, and indignant at this treatment, Agrippa, having sent certain of the leaders to Florus, in order that he might nominate some of them to collect the tribute, retreated to his own kingdom, and left the ungrateful city to its fate.

Still the more prudent of the higher orders entertained hopes of quelling the tumult, and averting the storm. But every day the breach became more inevitable. The important fortress named Masada stood on the brow of a hill, at no great distance from the Dead Sea, near the fertile spot called the Gardens of Engeddi. It was a place of great strength, originally built by Jonathan the Maccabean, and fortified at great expense by Herod. Some of the bolder and more zealous of the war-party contrived to obtain entrance into this post, put the Roman garrison to the sword, and openly unfolded the banner of revolt. In the city a still more decisive measure was taken. It had been the custom to receive the gifts and sacrifices of foreign potentates in the Temple ; and since the time of Julius Cæsar, according to the policy of Rome, offerings had been regularly made, in the name of the Emperor, to the national God of the Hebrews. Eleazar, the son

of Ananias, the chief priest, who then commanded the guard in the Temple, had the ambition of becoming the head of the war-faction. He persuaded the lower orders of the officiating priests to reject the Imperial offerings, and to make a regulation that from that time no foreigner should be allowed to sacrifice in the Temple. This was a direct renunciation of allegiance. The Roman party, or rather that party which was anxious to preserve peace, made a strong but unavailing effort. The chief priests, joined by the heads of the Pharisees, who as yet had maintained great influence over the populace, met in frequent council. They agreed to assemble the people in the quadrangle of the Temple, which was before the great brazen gate which looked to the east: this was called also the Gate of Nicanor.¹ They addressed them in strong language, representing the honor and wealth that the Temple had long obtained by the splendid donations of foreigners. They urged that this act amounted to an open declaration of war; that it was not merely inhospitable, but impious, to preclude strangers from offering victims and kneeling in worship before God; that they would consider such a decree an act of inhumanity against an individual; how much greater then must it be against the Emperor and the whole Roman people! Above all, the Jews must take heed lest, by

¹ πρὸ τῆς χαλκῆς πύλης . . . ἥτις ἦν τοῦ ἐνδον ἱεροῦ τετραμμένη πρὸς ἀνατόλην ἡλίου. B. J. ii. 17. 3.

Some of the later Jewish writers make much of this assembly. Their great object is to show that during all this period, including the crucifixion of Christ and the persecution of his followers, there was no legitimate Sanhedrin, no representative body, whose acts could fairly be held as national. I am not convinced by their arguments. They add that throughout there was a struggle between the two great schools of Jewish teaching, the milder and more yielding school of Hillel, the sterner and bolder school of Schammai.

prohibiting others to sacrifice, they bring upon themselves the same prohibition ; and thus, having as it were outlawed the rest of the world, be themselves condemned to a more fatal outlawry. They then brought forward those who were thought best acquainted with the precedents and customs of the Temple worship. The learned in the law unanimously declared that it was the ancient and immemorial usage to receive the offerings of strangers. The violent faction paid not the least attention to argument or remonstrance ; the lower order of priests openly refused to officiate. The pacific party made one effort more. They sent one deputation, headed by Simon, son of Ananias, to Florus ; another to Agrippa, headed by his relatives, Saul, Antipas, and Costobar, entreating them to march instantly on Jerusalem, or all would be lost. These were glad tidings to Florus, who saw, in quiet and ferocious delight, the progress of the mutiny. He did not condescend to reply. Agrippa, still anxious to preserve the city and Temple, sent immediately 3000 horse from Auranitis, Batanea, and Trachonitis, commanded by Darius and Philip the son of Jacimus.

On the arrival of these troops, the chiefs of the people made themselves masters of the upper city. The insurgents, under Eleazar, who now appeared openly at the head of the war-faction, occupied Acra and the Temple. The two parties began to assail each other with missiles and slings. Bands occasionally met and fought hand to hand. The royal troops had the advantage in discipline, the insurgents in courage. The Temple was the great object of the struggle. For seven days affairs remained in this state, neither party obtaining any positive advantage. The following day

was the festival of wood-carrying, in which it was the custom for every individual among the Jews to contribute a certain supply of wood for the fire of the altar, which was never allowed to go out. The insurgents refused to admit the more distinguished of the opposite party; while they themselves received a great accession of strength. With the meaner people who were permitted to enter the Temple, stole in a great number of the Zealots, called the Assassins. These desperadoes infused new daring as well as strength. They made a vigorous attack on the upper city, the royal troops gave way; the victorious insurgents set fire to the house of Ananias, the chief priest, to the palaces of Agrippa and Berenice, and to the public archives, in which the bonds of the debtors were registered. In this proceeding all the debtors eagerly took their side, and assisted in cancelling their debts by destroying the records. This measure was as politic as it was daring; it annihilated at one blow the influence of the wealthy, who, being generally their creditors, had before this the poorer people entirely in their power. Some of the priests and heads of the people concealed themselves in the sewers; others, for the time more fortunate, secured the upper towers of the palace, and closed the gates. Among the latter were Ananias and his brother Hezekiah, and those who were obnoxious, as having been deputed to Agrippa. Flushed with their victory, the insurgents retired to rest.

The next day they attempted a much more daring enterprise. A feeble garrison still held the important fortress, the Antonia, which, if better manned, might long have resisted the attacks of undisciplined soldiers. In two days the insurgents carried this citadel, put the

garrison to the sword, and burnt the keep. They then turned against the palace, where the miserable remains of the royal party had taken refuge. They divided themselves into four troops, and made a simultaneous attempt to scale the walls. The few defenders, distracted by these separate attacks, dared not venture on a sally, but contented themselves with striking down the assailants as they climbed singly up the battlements. Many of the insurgents fell. Night and day the conflict lasted; the besiegers expecting that the royal troops would speedily be reduced by famine — the besieged, that their tumultuary assailants would grow weary of the attack.

In the mean time a new leader arose, who had hereditary claims on the ardent attachment of the Zealots. Judas the Galilean had been the first who had openly declared the impiety of owning any king but God, and had denounced the payment of tribute to Cæsar, and all acknowledgment of foreign authority, as treason against the principles of the Mosaic constitution. These doctrines, after having long fermented in secret, and only betrayed themselves in local tumults or temporary insurrections, were now espoused, as it were, by the whole nation. Judas himself, not long after his outset on his career, and his two elder sons, during the government of Tiberius Alexander, had fallen martyrs to their opinions. All eyes were now turned on Manahém,¹ a younger son, who they hoped would maintain the lofty principles of his father with better success. Manahém suddenly appeared in the conquered fortress of Masada, plundered the armory of Herod, and, girt with a resolute and confident band, approached Jerusalem. The gates flew open, and he entered the city in royal pomp ;

¹ Josephus calls him *ὁ σοφίστης*.

he was admitted at once as the captain of their forces, and gave orders to press the siege of the palace. The palace still bravely held out; the assailants had no battering engines; and when they attempted to mine the walls, they were beaten down by stones and javelins from above. They began, therefore, a mine at a considerable distance, and when they got under one of the towers, they carried in a great quantity of wood and set it on fire. The flames caught the timbers of the foundations, and the tower fell with a tremendous crash. The insurgents were already rushing to the assault, when they found themselves checked by a second wall, which the besieged had built within. During this consternation of the assailants, the garrison sent to demand terms. The insurgents readily granted safe passage to the troops of Agrippa and to the Jews, who marched out, leaving the few Roman soldiers in the most desperate condition, without a hope of cutting their way through the countless multitudes of their assailants; and, even if they should submit to the disgrace of surrendering on conditions, almost certain that those conditions would not be kept. They retreated to the three strong towers which Herod had built, and called Hippicos, Phasaelis, and Mariamne. Manahem and his followers broke into the palace, slew the few who had not made good their retreat, plundered the baggage, and set fire to their encampment.

The following morning Ananias was discovered, with his brother Hezekiah, in an aqueduct leading to the palace: they were put to death without remorse. The towers were surrounded, so as to prevent any chance of escape. Manahem grew intoxicated with success; he already assumed all the state of a king, and maintained his authority with the most unsparing bloodshed. The

death of Ananias was an unpopular measure ; yet probably this, as well as other sanguinary acts, might have been pardoned. But Eleazar did not patiently endure that the supreme authority, for which he had so subtly plotted and so resolutely dared, should thus be wrested at once from his hands. His partisans began to murmur that they had only changed a Roman tyrant for one home-born ; that Manahem, though he had no claim or title to this superiority, had insolently gone up to worship in the Temple, in royal attire, and surrounded by his guards. The populace rose on the side of Eleazar, and began to stone the adherents of Manahem. His followers fled. Many were slain outright, many in places of concealment. A few with Eleazar, the son of Jair, a relation of Manahem, made good their retreat to Masada. Manahem himself was taken, having fled to a part of the city called Ophlas ; he was dragged forth, and put to death with great cruelty. Many of his partisans, one Absalon in particular, shared his fate. Thus fell Manahem, who, if he had united discretion with his courage, might have given the insurgents what they felt the want of during the whole war — an acknowledged leader, who might have concentrated the resources and consolidated the strength of the revolt.

Many of the populace had taken part against Manahem, in hopes that by his death the tumult might be suppressed ; but this was not the intention of Eleazar and his party. They pressed vigorously the siege of the towers. At length Metilius, the Roman commander, found himself constrained to demand terms. The garrison offered to surrender on condition that their lives were spared ; their arms and everything else were to be at the mercy of the conquerors. The

treaty was accepted and solemnly ratified. Gorion, son of Nicomedes, Ananias, son of Sadoc, and Judas, son of Jonathan, on the part of the insurgents, swore to the execution of the conditions. Metilius led out his soldiers. While they retained their arms, no movement was made; directly they had piled their swords and bucklers, the followers of Eleazar fell upon them and slew them, unresisting, and wildly appealing to the faith of the treaty. All fell, except Metilius, who had the un-Roman baseness (the word may be excused) to supplicate for mercy, and even agreed to submit to circumcision. After this treacherous and horrid deed, the last faint hope of accommodation was quenched, as it were, in blood. The more moderate foresaw the inevitable ruin; they did not conceal their profound sorrow; the whole city, instead of resounding with triumph, was silent, dejected, and melancholy. It was an aggravation of the general terror and depression, that this atrocious massacre was perpetrated on a Sabbath!

On that very day and hour, by a coincidence which Josephus considered providential,¹ a dreadful retribution for the crimes of their countrymen was, as it were, preëxacted from the Jews of Cæsarea. The Greeks, now tolerably certain that to satiate their own animosity would be to please rather than offend the Romans, or, perhaps, under secret instructions from Florus, suddenly rose and massacred the Jews almost to a man; — in one hour, 20,000, an incredible number! were said to be killed. Not a Jew appeared in Cæsarea. The few who fled were seized by Florus and sent to the galleys.

By this act the whole nation was driven to madness.

¹ ὥσπερ ἐκ δαιμονίου προνοίας. B. J. ii. 18. 1.

Committed by the enormities of their brethren in Jerusalem, — thus apparently proscribed everywhere else for slaughter, — they determined, if mankind thus declared war upon them, to wage unrelenting war upon mankind. They rose, surprised, and laid waste all around the cities of Syria, around Philadelphia, Sebonitis, Gerasa, Pella (where probably as yet the Christians had not taken refuge), and Scythopolis. They made a sudden descent upon Gadara, Hippo, and Gaulonitis; burnt and destroyed many places, and advanced boldly against Cedasa, a Tyrian town, and the important places of Ptolemais and Gaba, and even against Cæsarea itself. Sebaste and Ascalon offered no resistance — at least to the inroad on their territory; Anthedon and Gaza they razed to the ground. The hamlets around these cities were pillaged, with immense slaughter.

The Syrians took the alarm; and either for security, or out of old animosity, committed dreadful havoc on the Jewish inhabitants of their towns. Every city was, as it were, divided into two hostile camps. The great object was to anticipate the work of carnage. The days were passed in mutual slaughter, the nights in mutual dread. All agreed that the Jews were to be put to the sword without mercy — but how to treat the numerous proselytes to Judaism? Should they respect their Syrian blood, or punish their conformity to the Jewish faith? The fatal wealth of the Jews even then, as in after-ages, was at once their pride and their ruin. Many were put to death from the basest motives of plunder; and he who could display the greatest heap of Jewish spoil was considered a hero. The streets were strewn with unburied bodies — aged men and infants — women with the last covering of modesty torn off; the whole province was bewailing

the present calamities, and trembling with foreboding apprehensions of still worse.

So far the Jews had confined their attacks to foreign troops or settlers; but making an inroad into the domain of Scythopolis, they met with unexpected resistance from the Jewish inhabitants, who had taken arms with those of Syrian race, and united with them in defence of their common territory. But the Scythopolitans mistrusted their fidelity, and, dreading lest they should make common cause with the assailants during the attack, desired them to retire with their families into an adjacent grove. Suspecting no danger, the Jews at once complied, and for two days they remained in quiet, encamped under the trees. The third night the perfidious Scythopolitans attacked them unawares, put them all to the sword, and seized all their property. Thirteen thousand perished. This barbarous act clearly proved to all the Jews that no course remained but to unite hand and heart with their revolted countrymen. A particular incident which occurred during this massacre was well suited to spread from mouth to mouth, as a tale which might excite the revengeful spirit of the most lukewarm, and drive the most cautious to insurrection, as his last hope. There was a certain Simon, the son of Saul, a Jew of distinction in Scythopolis, who, during the Jewish attack upon the city, had fought against his countrymen with the most consummate bravery. He had slain many, and broken squadrons by his single strength. On that fatal night when the Scythopolitans surrounded their Jewish brethren, he saw that all resistance to such numbers was vain. He cried aloud, — “Men of Scythopolis, I acknowledge the justice of the penalty I am about to pay for having wielded arms against my

countrymen, and put my trust in you. The blood of my own brethren calls for vengeance. It shall be satisfied; but no enemy, like you, shall boast of my death, or insult my fall." He then, with wild and glaring eyes, looked round on his family. He had a wife, children, and aged parents. He first seized his father by the hoary hair, and pierced him with his sword; his mother next willingly bared her bosom to the blow. Then fell his wife and children, who crowded round him, eager to die by his hand rather than by that of the enemy. Last of all, he mounted upon their bodies, so as to make himself as conspicuous as possible, and drove his sword into his own entrails.

The rest of the Grecian cities followed the example of Scythopolis. In Ascalon 2500 were put to the sword, in Ptolemais 2000, and as many thrown into prison. In Tyre many were killed; in Hippo and Gadara they put to death the most dangerous, and threw the rest whom they suspected into prison. Of the Syrian cities, Antioch, Sidon, and Apamea alone showed real humanity, and forbade the death, or even the imprisonment, of their Jewish fellow-citizens. In these towns, indeed, the Jews were less numerous, and therefore less formidable; yet the exception is not the less honorable to the inhabitants. The citizens of Gerasa not merely abstained from injuring those who remained in their city, but escorted those who chose to leave it into the mountains. The dominions of Agrippa were not without disturbance. Agrippa himself had gone to Antioch to Cestius Gallus, and left the administration of his kingdom to Varus, a relation of Sohemus, the Tetrarch of the district about Lebanon. It happened that Philip, the son of Jacimus, the commander of Agrippa's troops in Jerusalem, had escaped the massacre committed by the

partisans of Manahem. He was concealed for four days by some relatives, Babylonian Jews, then at Jerusalem. On the fifth, by putting on false hair, he escaped, and arrived at length at a village of his own near the fortress of Gamala. There, while he was thinking of summoning his friends, he was seized with a fever, and as he lay ill, he sent letters to the children of Agrippa and to Berenice, announcing his escape. Varus was jealous of the influence of Philip with Agrippa. He accused the bearer of forgery, and declared that Philip had certainly perished at Jerusalem. A second messenger arrived, and him also Varus made away with; for a report had reached him from Cæsarea that Agrippa had been put to death by the Romans, on account of the revolt of his countrymen, and Varus began to entertain hopes, being of royal blood, that he might secure to himself the vacant kingdom. He intercepted, therefore, all communication from Philip, and, to ingratiate himself with the Cæsareans, he put to death many Jews.¹ He then determined to make an attack on Ecbatana, or Bathura—a town probably in Batanea. With this view he sent twelve Jews of Cæsarea to accuse them of meditating an insurrection against Agrippa, and to demand seventy of the chief citizens to answer the charge. The Cæsarean Jews found the town perfectly quiet, and the seventy citizens were sent with the utmost readiness. Varus, without trial, ordered them all to be put to death, and advanced upon the town. One, however, had escaped, and gave the alarm. The inhabitants

¹ Josephi Vita, ii. This is passed over in the B. J. Instead of it appears a peaceful embassy of seventy of the chief inhabitants of Batanea to demand forces to keep the peace in the district. These Varus surprised and put to death. Also the seizure of the fort Cypros above Jericho, and of Machærus, which the Romans surrendered. B. J. ii. 18. 6.

immediately seized their arms, leaving their great possessions in flocks and herds, and fled to the fortress of Gamala. Thence they sent to Philip, entreating him to come to their assistance. On his arrival, there was a general outcry that he should put himself at their head, and instantly lead them to battle against Varus and the Greeks of Cæsarea. The more prudent Philip restrained their impetuosity, and by his influence preserved the peace of Gamala, and kept the whole district faithful to the Romans till the commencement of the war. Agrippa sent to supersede Varus; his great connections rendered it dangerous to inflict a more severe punishment.

The Alexandrian Jews were not exempt from the general calamities of the nation; but they are less worthy of compassion, as they seem in a great degree, by their turbulence and rashness, to have brought the persecution upon their own heads. At a public assembly of the Alexandrians, to dispatch an embassy to Nero, many of the Jews, whether to maintain a contested right or not, thronged into the amphitheatre with the Greeks. An outcry immediately arose against the intruders, as enemies and spies. They were attacked; some were killed in their flight; others were taken and dragged along as if to be burnt alive. The whole Jewish population rose, and at first assailed the Greeks with stones. They then surrounded the amphitheatre with lighted torches, and threatened to burn the spectators to a man. They would have executed their purpose, but for the immediate intervention of Tiberius Alexander, the governor, — the same who had before governed in Judæa, and who was by birth a Jew, — the nephew of Philo. Alexander acted with humane consideration; he sent for the more influential of the Jews,

ordered them to put an end to the affray, and warned them against bringing the Roman soldiery upon their heads. The more seditious mocked at his admonitions, and heaped personal abuse upon his name.

Alexander instantly ordered out his troops ; besides his two legions, he had 5000 soldiers, recently come from Libya. He gave them leave not merely to kill, but also to pillage and to burn houses. The troops immediately forced the Delta, the quarter in which the Jews lived. The Jews made resistance ; but once routed, the slaughter was horrible. The houses were stripped, or set on fire full of inhabitants, who had taken refuge in them ; neither age nor sex was spared ; the whole place was like a pool of blood : 50,000 bodies were heaped up for burial. The few who remained sued for mercy. Alexander gave the signal for the cessation of the carnage ; and such was the influence of the commander and the discipline of the troops that he was instantly obeyed by the soldiery. The more vindictive animosity of the Alexandrian populace was not so easily arrested ; they could only be dragged by force from the dead bodies.¹

In Palestine one thing only was wanting to plunge the whole nation headlong into the revolt. They had already to stimulate them, on one hand, the remembrance of the galling oppression of their successive governors, — the desperate conviction that they were already committed by the events in Jerusalem, — the horrible proofs that in every city every man's hand was armed against them, and every heart steeled against their sufferings : on the other, the bold and lofty tenets of Judas the Galilean, in whose sense their older sacred Scriptures might be made to speak without much vio-

¹ B. J. ii. 18. 7.

lence of interpretation, — the universal belief in the immediate coming of the triumphant Messiah, which was so widely diffused as to be mentioned by Suetonius and by Tacitus¹ as a great cause of the war, — all these motives could not but operate in a most powerful manner. That which was wanting was a bright gleam of success to break the gloom that lowered all round the horizon, and animate the timid and desponding with the hope of possible victory. This was given by the imbecility of Cestius Gallus, the prefect of Syria. Cestius had under his command the 12th legion, complete in its numbers, about 4200 strong: besides these he had 2000 picked men; six cohorts of foot, about 2500; and four troops of horse, about 1200. Of allies he had from Antiochus, king of Commagene,² 2000 horse and 3000 foot, all archers; from Agrippa as many horse, but less than 200 foot; Sohemus followed with 4000 more, a third of which were horse, the rest archers. With this army of nearly 10,000 Roman troops and 13,000 allies, Cestius advanced to Ptolemais. Many volunteers crowded forth from the Syrian cities, and Agrippa and Sohemus attended on his march. His first exploit was against the town of Zebulon, called Andron, which divided the territory of Ptolemais from the Jewish province of Upper Galilee. The inhabitants fled to the mountains. The city, in which was abundance of wealth and provision, was pillaged by the soldiers; and its noble buildings, said to be as handsome as those of Tyre, Sidon, or Berytus, were burned to the ground. After having wasted the adjacent district, Cestius returned to Ptolemais. The

¹ Tac. Hist. v. 13; Suet. Vespas.

² Antiochus is mentioned with Agrippa as among the vassals and allies of Rome. Tac. Ann. xiii. 7. See also Hist. ii. 81. Suet. Caligula, 16. Dio. lix. 8.

Syrians, particularly those of Berytus, lingering behind to plunder, the Jews rose upon them, and cut off about 2000.

Cestius advanced to Cæsarea: from thence he sent forward part of his army to Joppa, with orders, if they could take the city, to garrison it; if the inhabitants were prepared for resistance, to await the arrival of the rest of the army. Part marched inland, part by the sea-coast. They found the city open; the inhabitants neither attempted to fly nor to resist. They put them all to the sword, and pillaged the town. The number slain was 8500. With the same savage cruelty the cavalry wasted Narbatene, a district near Cæsarea; killing, and plundering, and burning on all sides.

Cestius sent Gallus, the commander of the twelfth legion, into Galilee, with sufficient force to subjugate that province. Sepphoris opened its gates; the other cities followed the example of the capital. The insurgents fled to a mountain opposite to Sepphoris, called Asamon. There, favored by the ground, they at first made a gallant resistance, and killed 200 of Gallus's men; at length the Romans gaining the upper ground and surrounding them, they were broken and dispersed; 2000 were slain. Gallus, having subdued the province, returned to Cæsarea.

Cestius advanced to Antipatris, dispersed a small band at the tower of Aphek, and burned their camp. From Antipatris he marched to Lydda, which was deserted, the inhabitants having gone up to Jerusalem for the Feast of Tabernacles. Fifty men, who came forth to meet him, were put to death; the city was burned. He then ascended the hills near Bethhoron, and encamped at Gabao, fifty stadia, rather more than six miles, from Jerusalem. No sooner did the Jews hear

that the war was approaching their gates than they flew to arms; they broke off the festival; they paid no more respect to the Sabbath.¹ It is possible that they called to mind that it was near this very place, in the passes about Bethhoron, in the days of old, the *Lord cast down great stones* on the Canaanites, when, as their histories declared, the sun stayed his course at the command of Joshua. In the same mountain country Judas the Maccabee had discomfited the immense army of Nicanor. Now they poured forth by thousands; they fell upon the Roman van, broke it, and rushing in, began so great a slaughter, that, if the horse and some light troops had not made a circuit and charged them in the rear, the whole army of Cestius might have been destroyed. Notwithstanding this advantage, they drew back, having killed 515, of which 400 were horsemen. Their own loss was but twenty-two. Their most distinguished men in this battle were strangers: Monobazus and Cenedæus, relations of the King of Adiabene; Niger, of Peræa; and Silas, a Babylonian, who had quitted the service of Agrippa. The Jews made good their retreat; and as the Romans ascended the hill of Bethhoron, Simon, son of Gioras, a man who will afterwards make an eminent figure in the history, hung on their rear, and cut off their stragglers and beasts of burden, many of which he carried safe to the city. Cestius remained quiet for three days, the Jews keeping watch on the hills, waiting for his troops to move.

At this juncture, Agrippa determined to make a last effort to avert the war. He sent a deputation to persuade his countrymen to surrender, offering, in the name of Cestius, an amnesty for all that had passed.

¹ B. J. ii. 19.

The leading insurgents dreaded the effect of these proposals on the people. They suddenly attacked the deputation; slew one, named Phœbus, wounded the other, Borcæus, with sticks and stones; and drove back those who appeared to take any interest in their fate. Cestius seized the opportunity of this dissension to advance on Jerusalem; he encamped at Scopos, within seven stadia, not quite a mile, to the north of the walls. Three days he suspended his attack, in hopes of receiving an offer of surrender; in the mean time his horse scoured the villages around for provision and forage; on the fourth the Romans advanced to the attack. The insurgents had not only to repel the enemy, they had also to watch a formidable party within the walls, whom they suspected of being but lukewarm in the cause. They were struck with consternation at the order and discipline of the Roman army as it came slowly on to the attack. They abandoned the outer walls, and fled into the Temple and the other fortified places within the city. Cestius passed through the new suburb of Bezetha, and burned it as he proceeded; he then advanced against the upper city, and encamped opposite to the palace. Had he then rushed at once to the assault, the city would have fallen. But, as Josephus asserts, with no great probability, the general, Tyrannius Priscus, and several of the commanders of cavalry, bribed by Florus to prolong the war, dissuaded him from the attack.¹

It is more probable that Cestius entertained hopes of the surrender of the city by means of a powerful party within the walls; for many of the chief persons, at the persuasion of Ananus, the son of Jonathan, invited the Roman to continue the attack, and promised to open

¹ B. J. ii. 19. 4.

the gates. But the irresolute Cestius, either from anger or mistrust, delayed and lost time. The conspiracy was detected by the insurgents; Ananus and his followers were thrown headlong from the walls; the rest were assailed with stones, and driven to their houses. The war-faction manned all the towers, and beat down with missiles all who approached the walls. For five days the Romans made only uncombined and desultory attacks; on the following, Cestius, with the flower of his army and his archers, made a vigorous assault on the north side of the Temple. The Jews defended themselves from the cloisters with the most resolute valor; continually repulsed the enemy; till at length, galled by the showers of missiles, the Romans recoiled. But they retreated to make a more dangerous attack. They formed what was called a *testudo*: those in the van fixed their shields firmly against the wall; the next rank joined theirs in succession, till the shields, fitting over each other like the shell of a tortoise, formed an iron pent-house over their heads, under which the soldiers began to mine the walls, and attempted to set fire to the gates.

The besieged were in the most dreadful consternation; many endeavored secretly to make their escape from the devoted city. The peaceful party took courage, and began to muster in considerable force, in order to open the gates, and admit Cestius as their deliverer. A short time, an hour or less, might have made the Romans masters of the city: "but God, I conceive," says the Jewish historian, "on account of our sins, abhorring his own sanctuary, would not permit the war to end thus."¹

¹ ἀλλ' οἶμαι διὰ τοῦς πονηρῶς ἀπεστραμμένους ὁ Θεὸς ἤδη καὶ τὰ ἅγια, *τελος* λαβεῖν ἐπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκώλυσε τὸν πόλεμον. B. J. ii. 19. 6.

Cestius, ignorant of the state of affairs within the town, both of the despondency of the insurgents and the strength of the Roman party, suddenly called off his troops, and, to the universal surprise, retreated entirely from the city. The insurgents passed at once from the lowest depression to the wildest courage; they sallied from all quarters, and cut off many stragglers, both horse and foot. Cestius passed the night in his former encampment, at Scopos (the watch-tower). On the following day he continued to retire. The further he retreated, the more bold became the enemy: they harassed his rear; coming along cross-roads, they took his files in flank. The Romans dared not turn to make head; for they thought that countless multitudes were pouring behind them; and while the heavily accoutred legionaries continued their slow and sullen march, the light-armed Jews flew about with the utmost rapidity; assaulting, retreating; now on one side, now on the other; dashing down where they saw an opening, and starting off when they met resistance. The road was strewn with the dead; every one who, for an instant, quitted the ranks, was cut off. Nor did the loss fall only on the common soldiers. Priscus, the captain of the sixth legion; Longinus, a tribune, and Æmilius, a prefect of horse, were slain; till at length, with great loss of men, and still more of baggage and munitions, the army reached its former quarters at Gabao. There, with his usual irresolution, Cestius lost two days in inactivity; the third, when he saw the whole country in arms, and the Jews swarming on all the heights, he determined on retreat.

That he might retire with greater expedition, he commanded the soldiers to throw away everything that might impede their march. All the mules and

beasts of burden were killed, except those which bore arrows and the military engines ; the latter he would have saved for future use, and dreaded lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy. The Romans then entered the fatal pass down to Bethhoron. The Jews, who had preserved some respect for their close and serried ranks while they were in the open plain, no sooner saw them entangled in the defile, than they attacked them on all sides : some hastened to block up the outlet of the pass ; some from behind drove them headlong down the ravine ; and at the end of the defile, incalculable multitudes showered darts upon them, till the whole squadron seemed clouded over with missiles. The legionaries stood wavering, uncertain how to act. The cavalry were in a still more perilous condition. they could not form in ranks ; the steep sheer sides of the mountains were impracticable for their horses. At one moment they found themselves on the verge of frightful precipices, hanging over rugged, and, it seemed, bottomless ravines. Flight and resistance were alike hopeless : they began to utter wild cries of despair, and to groan aloud in the agony of their hearts : the shrill battle-cry of the Jews answered ; their savage shouts of exultation and fury rang from rock to rock. The whole Roman army must have fallen, had not night come on, which enabled the greater part to make its way to Bethhoron. The Jews crowned every hill, and blocked up every pass around.

Cestius, despairing of being able openly to force his way, began to think of securing his personal safety by flight. He selected four hundred of his bravest men, distributed them about the defences of the camp, with orders to mount guard, and in the morning to display

all their ensigns, that the Jews might suppose the whole army was still stationary. He then retreated in silence thirty stadia, not quite four miles. At the break of day the Jews discovered that the camp was deserted; enraged at their manœuvre, they rushed to the assault, and slew the four hundred to a man. They then pursued Cestius with the utmost rapidity. The Romans, who had got the start of several hours during the night, hastened their retreat, which bore every appearance of a rout. All the military engines, the catapults, battering-rams used in besieging cities, were abandoned, and fell into the hands of the Jews, who afterwards employed them with dreadful effect against their former masters. The conquerors continued the pursuit as far as Antipatris; and at length, finding that they could not overtake the fugitives, they turned back to secure the engines, strip the dead, and collect their immense booty. With hymns of victory they reëntered the capital, having suffered hardly any loss on their own part, and having slain of the Romans and their allies 5300 foot and 380 horse.¹ The Roman arms had not received so disgraceful an affront, nor suffered so great loss, since the defeat of Varus in the forests of Germany; and this not by a fierce and unconquered people among woods and morasses never before penetrated by civilized man, but in a province which had long patiently endured the Roman yoke, and had received for its sovereigns either native kings or foreign prefects, with the humblest submission to the Imperial will.

¹ Suetonius adds that an eagle was taken. "Judæi, legatum insuper Svrizæ consularem suppetias ferentem, captâ aquilâ, fugaverunt." In Vesp. iv.

BOOK XIV.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE WAR.¹

Vespasian — Josephus — Affairs of Galilee — John of Gischala — Affairs of Jerusalem — Ananus the Chief Priest — Simon, Son of Gioras — Battles near Ascalon.

JUDÆA was now in open rebellion against Rome. It was a mad and desperate revolt, for to declare war

¹ On the whole of this period Josephus is almost the only trustworthy authority. The traditions in the Talmud may be described as chiefly anecdotes, of the desultory and uncertain nature which belongs to such stories usually related for the description or embellishment of character. The few condensed and pregnant chapters of Tacitus rarely add to or contradict Josephus.

Josephus, comparing himself, of course to his own advantage, with his enemy the rival historian, Justus of Tiberias, adduces testimonies in favor of his own fidelity and accuracy, which to the historian of our times may rather call his impartiality in question. "Why," demands Josephus, "was not the History of Justus published during the lifetime of those who were the eye-witnesses and chief actors in these events — Vespasian, Titus, and King Agrippa?" Josephus, on the other hand, had presented his History both to Vespasian and to Titus, and had freely communicated on the subject with King Agrippa and some of his relatives. The Emperor Titus, it appears, refused to certify to the accuracy of Josephus, and would only give the sanction of his authority to what may be called the published official despatches. *ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀντοκράτωρ Τίτος οὕτως ἐκ μόνων αὐτῶν ἐβουλήθη τὴν γνώσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παραδοῦναι τῶν πράξεων, ὥστε χαράξας τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ τὰ βιβλία δημοσιεύσεσθαι προσέταξεν.* Josephus had, however, sixty-two letters of Agrippa, all bearing witness to his veracity. He subjoins two; in one of these Agrippa writes in modern phrase: — "I have read your work with pleasure. You seem to me to have drawn up your History with greater diligence and accuracy than any other writers. Send me the rest." In the second Agrippa is equally laudatory: — "In general, you have no need of further information on events with which you are so fully acquainted; but when we meet I shall be able to instruct you on some points of which perhaps you are ignorant." Agrippa, Josephus says further, when his History was finished, not out of flattery or dissimulation, bore witness to his truth. *Vit. c. 65.*

against Rome was to defy the whole force of the civilized world. The insurgents neither had, nor could hope for allies; the rest of the Roman provinces were in profound peace, and little likely to answer the call or follow the example of a people they despised, in assertion of their independence.¹ In Europe the only unsubdued enemies of the Romans were the wild tribes in the north of Britain, or in the marshes of Germany. In Asia, the only independent kingdom, the Parthian, was not in a state to make a war of aggression. Philo, in his oratorical invective against Caligula, throws out hints of the formidable numbers of his countrymen in Babylonia, and of the multitudes who were scattered throughout almost all the cities in the Eastern dominions of Rome.² But the foreign Jews in the Roman dominions, though, as Josephus hints in one place, solicited by ambassadors, either took no interest in the fate of their countrymen, or were too sadly occupied in averting the storm of public detestation from their own heads, or in bewailing its consequences in the unprovoked carnage of their own friends and families.³ They were trembling in the agony of personal apprehension,

¹ Tacitus no doubt expresses the Roman sentiment of wonder and indignation that this single nation, insignificant in extent of territory and numbers, should alone dare to resist the Roman supremacy. "Augebat iras, quod soli Judæi non cessissent." Hist. v. i.

² Josephus asserts that they expected a general insurrection throughout the empire, and powerful aid from their trans-Euphratic brethren. He dwells too in his first chapter on the state of the world, the commotions in Gaul, and the confusion which followed on the death of Nero. But this flourishing preface is belied by his tone throughout the History. See Proemium to the B. J. c. 2.

³ Immediately on the defeat of Cestius, the inhabitants of Damascus hastened to wreak their vengeance on the Jewish residents. They were obliged to proceed with caution, for fear of their wives, who *were almost all attached to the Jewish religion!* At last they contrived to take them at advantage, in some confined space, and, attacking them unarmed, massacred 10,000. B. J. ii. 20. 2.

or gathering up for burial the bodies of their murdered countrymen.

The state of the country offered scarcely better grounds for any reasonable hope of permanent resistance. The fortified places were not all in the power of the insurgents; they had no organized or disciplined force; no warlike engines, except those captured from the enemy; no provisions of any kind for a long war. Worse than all, they were divided among themselves. In every city there was an interested, or a timid, or a prudent party, anxious to purchase peace at any cost. They had no acknowledged leader. The representative of the Herodian house, Agrippa, openly espoused the Roman party. The rest were either undistinguished as soldiers, or strangers, and robber chieftains. Their only trust was in their own stubborn patience and daring valor, in the stern fanaticism with which they looked upon themselves as the soldiers of their God, and in the wild hope that Heaven would work some miraculous revolution in their favor.

Yet, however frantic and desperate the insurrection, why should the Jews alone be excluded from that generous sympathy which is always awakened by the history of a people throwing off the galling yoke of oppression, and manfully resisting to the utmost, in assertion of their freedom? Surely, if ever people were justified in risking the peace of their country for liberty, the grinding tyranny of the successive Roman procurators, and the deliberate and systematic cruelties of Florus, were enough to have maddened a less high-spirited and intractable race into revolt. It is true that the war was carried on with unexampled atrocity; but on the other hand insurrectionary warfare is not the best school for the humaner virtues; and horrible

oppression is apt to awaken the fiercer and more savage, not the loftier and nobler passions of our nature. And it must be borne in mind that we have the history of the war only on the authority of some brief passages in the Roman authors, and the narrative of one to whom, notwithstanding our respect for his abilities and virtues, it is impossible not to assign the appellation of renegade. Josephus, writing to conciliate the Romans, both to his own person and to the miserable remnant of his people, must be received with some mistrust. He uniformly calls the more obstinate insurgents, who continued desperately faithful to that cause which he deserted, by the odious name of robbers; but it may be remembered that the Spanish guerrillas, who were called patriots in London, were brigands in Paris. It is true that the resistance of many was the result of the wildest fanaticism. But we must not forget in what religious and historical recollections the Jews had been nurtured. To say nothing of the earlier and miraculous period of their history, what precedents of hope were offered by the more recent legends of the daring and triumphant Maccabees! It is, moreover, true that the Son of Man had prophesied the destruction of Jerusalem, and that the New Testament appears to intimate that the measure of wickedness in the Jewish people having been filled up in the rejection of Christ, they were doomed from that time to inevitable ruin. But we must avoid the perilous notion of confounding the Divine foreknowledge with the necessary causation of events. According to the first principles of the Mosaic constitution, national guilt led to national ruin. But still the motives which actuated many in the fatal struggle that led to the accomplishment of the Divine predictions, may have been noble and generous. It

was the national rejection of Christ, not the resistance to Rome, which was culpable. The Jew, though guilty of refusing to be a Christian, might still be a high-minded and self-devoted patriot. Although we lament that the gentle and pacific virtues of Christianity did not spread more generally through the lovely and fertile region of Palestine, yet this is no reason why we should refuse our admiration to the bravery, or our deepest pity to the sufferings, of the Jewish people. Let us not read the fate of the Holy City in that unchristian temper which prevailed during the Dark Ages, when every Jew was considered a personal enemy of Christ, and therefore a legitimate object of hatred and persecution, but rather in the spirit of Him who, when he looked forward with prophetic foreknowledge to its desolation, nevertheless was seen "to weep over Jerusalem."

The astonishment of the Romans at the revolt of this comparatively small province, and at the news of the total defeat of a Roman prefect at the head of his legionaries, was not unmingled with consternation. The Emperor Nero was then in Achaia. The first intelligence of the affair was brought by Costobar and Saul, two brothers related to the Herodian family, who, with Philip, the son of Jacimus, the general of Agrippa, had made their escape from Jerusalem.¹ The two former were dispatched, at their own request, to the Emperor by Cestius, who instructed them to lay the

¹ Is it impossible that this intelligence conveyed to Rome may have had some connection with the renewed persecution of the Christians, in which St. Paul certainly, and St. Peter, according to those who believe him to have died at Rome, suffered martyrdom? The cruel and base-born Helius, who ruled during that year in Nero's name in Rome, may have thought to show his zeal by putting to death men suspected of some strangely dangerous views, and guilty at least of Jewish descent. The martyrdom of St. Paul certainly took place this year, A. D. 66.

whole blame of the war on Florus. Nero, according to Josephus, affected to treat the affair lightly. He expressed great contempt for the revolt, but great anger at the misconduct of Cestius; yet he could not help betraying visible marks of disturbance and terror. The importance really attached to the affair may be judged by the selection of the most able and distinguished military commander in the empire. Vespasian had been bred to arms from his youth; he had served with great fame in the German wars; had reduced the unknown island of Britain into a Roman province, and obtained the honors of a triumph for the Emperor Claudius, without his own personal exertion or danger. Nero repressed his resentment against Vespasian, who was in disgrace for not having sufficiently admired the fine voice and style of singing of the theatrical Emperor. He committed the province of Syria to his charge. With his characteristic dispatch, Vespasian immediately sent his son, Titus, to Alexandria, to conduct the fifth and tenth legions to Palestine; he himself travelled, with all speed, by land to Syria, and collected all the Roman troops and forces from the neighboring tributary kings.¹

In the mean time the insurgents were not inactive. Some of the more prudent hastened, as Josephus says, to desert the sinking ship. Those who still *Romanized* were brought over, some by persuasion, some by force. They called a general assembly in the Temple, and proceeded to elect their governors and commanders. Their choice fell on Joseph, the son of Gorion, and Ananus, the chief priest, who were invested with unlimited authority in the city. Eleazar, the son of Simon, who had taken so active a part in originating and conducting

¹ B. J. iii. 1. 1. 2.

the first insurrection, and in the death of Manahem, was passed over. He was suspected, not without grounds, of aiming at kingly power, for he went about attended by a body-guard of Zealots. But Eleazar, probably as commanding within the Temple, had made himself master of the spoil taken from the Romans, the military chest of Cestius, and a great part of the public treasures. In a short time, the want of money, and his extreme subtlety, won over the multitude, and all the real authority fell into the hands of Eleazar. To the other districts they sent the men whom they could best trust for courage, and fidelity to their cause. To Idumæa, Jesus, son of Saphus, one of the chief priests, and Eleazar, the son of Ananias, also a chief priest. Niger of Peræa, who had hitherto commanded in that district, was directed to receive his orders from them. To Jericho was sent Joseph, son of Simon ; to Peræa, Manasseh ; to Tharnna, John the Essene : for even among these peaceful hermits were found men who would fight for their freedom. The toparchies of Lydda, Joppa, and Emmaus were added to his command. John, the son of Ananias, had the toparchies of Gophni and Acrabatene. Joseph, the son of Mathias, was intrusted with the command of Upper and Lower Galilee, with particular charge of the strong city of Gamala. Almost all, if not all these leaders, were of the more moderate, at least not of the Zealot party.¹

¹ The question which divided the war-party among the Jews, the more furious and more moderate, is well stated by Salvador : — “ Il s'agissait de savoir d'après quel esprit de conduite on se réglerait à l'avenir. Fallait-il seulement faire à l'étranger une guerre de transaction ou de redressement de tort, comme les hommes prudents et politiques le voulaient, une guerre qui fût dirigée plutôt contre la tyrannie personnelle des procurateurs Romains que contre le nom de César, contre l'Empereur lui-même ? Ou bien, fallait-il se jeter dans une lutte à outrance comme l'entendait la partie la plus ardente des zéloteurs, dans une lutte qui imposât pour première loi

Galilee was the province on which the storm would first break, and the confidence of the insurgents in the ability and zeal of Joseph, the son of Mathias, may be fairly estimated from their committing this important frontier to his charge. As long as the passes and hill fortresses of Galilee were defended, the southern region, and Jerusalem itself, might have time to organize their forces and fortify their strongholds. Joseph, the son of Mathias, is better known as the celebrated Josephus, the historian. He was a man of illustrious race, lineally descended from a priestly family, from the first of the twenty-four courses, — an eminent distinction! By his mother's side he traced his genealogy up to the Asmonean princes. His father, Mathias, was of upright character, as well as of noble birth; he resided in Jerusalem, where the young Joseph grew up with a brother, named Mathias, with great reputation for early intelligence and memory. At fourteen years old (he is his own biographer) he was so fond of letters that the chief priests used to meet at his father's house to put to him difficult questions of the law.¹ At sixteen he determined to acquaint himself with the three prevailing sects, those of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. For though he had led for some time a hardy, diligent, and studious life, he did not consider himself yet sufficiently acquainted with the character of each sect to decide which he should follow. Having heard that a certain Essene, named Banus, was living in the desert the life of a hermit, making his raiment from the trees, and his food from the wild fruits of the earth, practising

d'exciter les colères religieuses et politiques de la nation, de creuser un abîme infranchissable entre les Juifs et les Romains?" ii. p. 8.

¹ The curious analogy of this incident with what is related of Jesus (at the age of twelve) "among the doctors" cannot but strike every reader.

cold ablutions at all seasons, and, in short, using every means of mortification to increase his sanctity, Josephus, ambitious of emulating the fame of such an example of holy seclusion, joined Banus in his cell. But three years of this ascetic life tamed his zealous ambition. He grew weary of the desert, abandoned his great example of painful devotion, and returned to the city at the age of nineteen. There he joined the sect of the Pharisees. In his twenty-sixth year he undertook a voyage to Rome, in order to make interest in favor of certain priests who had been sent there, to answer some unimportant charge, by Felix. They were friends of Josephus, and his zeal in their favor was heightened by hearing that, with religious attachment to the Law, they refused, when in prison, to eat any unclean food, but lived on figs and nuts. On his voyage he was shipwrecked, like St. Paul, and in great danger. His ship foundered in the Adriatic, six hundred of the crew and passengers were cast into the sea, eighty contrived to swim, and were taken up by a ship from Cyrene. They arrived at Dicæarchia (Puteoli), the usual landing-place; and Joseph, making acquaintance with one Aliturus, an actor, a Jew by birth, and, from his profession, in high credit with the Empress Poppæa, he obtained the release of the prisoners, as well as valuable presents from Poppæa, and returned home. During all this time he had studied diligently, and made himself master of the Greek language, which few of his countrymen could write, still fewer speak with a correct pronunciation.

On his return to Jerusalem, he found affairs in the utmost confusion; great preparations were making for the war, and the insurgents were in high spirits. He united himself to the party who were for peace, and

strongly urged the rashness and peril of the war. Apprehensive that these unpopular doctrines had made him an object of suspicion to the more violent, and dreading lest he might be seized and put to death, he retired, after the capture of the Antonia, into the Inner Temple. After the murder of Manahem, he stole forth from thence, and joined himself to a considerable body of the chief priests and leading Pharisees, who pretended to enter into the insurrectionary measures that they might save the lives of those who capitulated in the palace, yet looked with anxious eagerness for the advance of Cestius, who, it was expected, would easily suppress the revolt.¹

On the disastrous retreat of Cestius, and the barbarous massacre of the Jews in Sepphoris and the Syrian cities, many of the more peaceful party joined heart and hand with the insurgents, others pursued a more temporizing policy, and outwardly uniting in defensive measures, still cherished a secret inclination to submission. To which of these parties Joseph the son of Mathias belonged, it is not quite so easy to decide; without his having acquired some confidence with the war-faction, he would scarcely have been intrusted with the command in Galilee; yet he undertook that post with the approbation and at the request of the more moderate.² Josephus, with his

¹ Josephus attributes the war chiefly to these risings and the massacres of their countrymen, which compelled the more peaceful to join in the common cause, as now become simply and therefore unavoidably defensive. *νιν δ' αὐτῶν ἐπεμνήσθην, βουλόμενος παραστήσαι τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσιν ὅτι ὅν προύρεσις ἐγένετο τῶν πολέμων πρὸς Ρωμῶνιους Ἰουδαίους, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλεόν ἀνάγκη.* Vit. c. 6.

² In the Life creeps out another view of the object for which he was appointed by the prudent party to the command in Galilee: to disarm the Zealots, to transfer their arms and power to the *better* orders, and to remain quiet till they saw the course which the Romans would pursue. *πείσοντας τοὺς ποιηροὺς καταθέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ διδάξοντας, ὥς ἐστιν ἄμεινον τοῖς*

two coadjutors, Joazar and Judas, hastened to their government.

The province of Galilee was divided into two districts, called Upper and Lower Galilee ; it contained all the territory which had belonged to the northern tribes of Naphtali, Zebulun, Issachar, and half Manasseh, reaching to the district of Ptolemais on the north, and Samaria on the south. The Jordan was the eastern limit. The people were a bold, hardy, and warlike race ; considered somewhat barbarous by the inhabitants of the metropolis, and speaking a harsh and guttural dialect of the Syro-Chaldaic language, now the vernacular tongue of Palestine. The country was remarkably rich, abounding in pasture, corn-land, and fruit-trees of every description. The population was very great. They lived in cities, which were numerous and large, and in great open villages, the least of which, says Josephus, contained 15,000 inhabitants. In many of these cities there was a mingled population of Syrians and Jews, rarely on an amicable footing, often forming fierce and hostile factions. Sepphoris was the capital, but that rank was disputed by Tiberias on the Sea of Galilee.

The measures of Josephus were prudent and conciliatory, yet by no means wanting in vigor and decision. He remained in sole command. His priestly colleagues, having collected a great quantity of tithes, determined to return home ; they delayed for a short time, at the earnest request of Josephus.¹ The object of Josephus was to promote union, and to organize the whole country on one regular system. He endeavored

κρατίστοις τὸν ἔθνονος αὐτὰ τηρεῖσθαι. Ἐγνωστο δὲ τούτοις ἀεὶ μὲν ἔχει τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἑτοιμα, περιμένειν δὲ, τί πράξουσιν Ῥωμαῖοι μαθεῖν.
c. 7.

¹ Vit. c. 12.

to acquire the confidence and attachment of the people. In order to interest and pledge all ranks to the common cause, as well as to secure the public peace, he appointed a sort of Sanhedrin of seventy, and seven judges in each city; all less important causes were to come before the latter tribunal; cases of murder before himself and the Sanhedrin.¹ Yet he acknowledges that he kept the seventy about his person as a kind of hostages.² In all respects he endeavored to maintain the strictest character for probity and justice, particularly labored in those lawless times to protect the chastity of the females from insult or outrage, refused all presents for the administration of justice, and declined all opportunities of enriching himself, though he confesses that he secured a considerable share in the confiscated property of the Syrian inhabitants in the cities, when they were expelled or massacred by the Jews, which he sent to his friends at Jerusalem.³ As he could not suppress the robbers, he obliged them, as far as he could, to give up their profession, and enroll themselves as regular troops. Having thus provided that the war, if commenced, should be that of an orderly and united people, not the desultory conflict of insurgents and robbers, he proceeded to fortify, with the greatest strength and expedition, the most defensible towns; among many others, Jotapata, Tarichea, Tiberias, Itabyrium on Mount Tabor, and certain caves near the Lake of Gennesaret.⁴ To the wealthy inhabitants of Sepphoris, who seemed to enter zealously into the cause, he granted the privilege of building their own fortifications, and gave permission to John, the son of Levi, afterwards the celebrated John of Gischala, to strengthen that city. The others he

¹ B. J. ii. 20. 5.² Vit. c. 14.³ Vit. 15.⁴ B. J. ii. 20. 6. 7.

superintended in person. He then raised an army of 100,000 men, armed them with weapons obtained from all quarters, and proceeded to introduce the Roman discipline. He appointed centurions and decurions, regularly exercised the whole force in military manœuvres, and thus organized an effective army of 60,000 foot, and, according to the text of Josephus, from which probably a number has fallen, 250 horse. Besides these he had 4500 mercenaries, on whom he placed his chief reliance, and a body-guard of 600.

Such were the general results of the administration of Josephus; but all these vigorous and prudent measures were perpetually interrupted and rendered abortive, partly by the internal dissensions of the province, but chiefly by the machinations of his subtle enemy, John of Gischala. While Josephus invariably represents himself as the most upright, incorruptible, and patriotic of men, no colors are too dark for the character of his antagonist. John of Gischala surpassed all men of high rank in craft and deceit, all of every class in wickedness. He was at first a poor adventurer, his poverty stood in the way of his advancement, but by his readiness in falsehood, and by the singular skill with which he glozed over his falsehoods, so as to make all men believe them, he deceived his nearest friends; affecting humanity, yet most sanguinary for the slightest advantage; lofty in his ambition, but stooping to the basest means to obtain his end. He began as a single robber, but gradually collected a powerful and select banditti, for he would only admit men distinguished either for strength, bravery, or warlike skill. His force at length amounted to 4000, and with these he long wasted Galilee. Such was the man who counter-worked all the measures of Josephus, and inflamed the

dissensions of the province, already too little disposed to lasting union.¹

For though the cities of Galilee seem generally to have submitted to the administration of Joseph and his coadjutors, so as to permit their walls to be put in a state of defence, yet each had its separate interests and inclinations, and was distracted by violent factions. Sepphoris, though intrusted with building its own walls, and, as Josephus says in one place, hearty in the cause, yet inclined to the Roman party; the inhabitants had sworn fealty, and given hostages from the chief families of the city to Cestius; these were still at Cæsarea. On the arrival of Josephus in his province, he found the territory of Sepphoris threatened with an attack by the rest of the Galileans on account of their dealings with the Romans. This danger was averted by Josephus, and the Sepphorites united, as was before said, in the common cause. Tiberias was distracted by three factions. This city belonged to Agrippa, and one faction, consisting of the more opulent and respectable burghers, headed by Julius Capellus, was desirous of preserving their allegiance to the king. A second, of the lowest class, headed by Jesus, son of Saphia, was clamorous for war. A third was headed by Justus, who afterwards wrote a history of the war. Justus, according to his rival Josephus, only regarded his own interests. He had endeavored to excite a feud between Tiberias and Sepphoris, asserting that on account of the manifest defection of the latter to the Roman party, Tiberias might justly be considered the capital of Galilee.² He had meditated an attack on the Sepphorite district, but as yet had only carried his

¹ Josephus acknowledges that John had a singular power of attaching men to his person. B. J. iv. 7. 1.

² Vit. c. 63.

plundering bands into the lands of Gadara and Hippos. Josephus, after settling affairs at Sepphoris, went to Bethmäus, within half a mile of Tiberias. He sent for the senate, who came readily to parley with him; he opened his commission from the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem, and demanded the demolition of a palace built by Herod the Tetrarch, and adorned with "graven images" of living creatures. The party of Agrippa opposed this measure; but the war-faction, headed by Jesus, son of Saphia, were ready for any work of destruction. Besides, they were not a little tempted by the hope of plunder, for the roof of the palace was gilded. They proceeded to plunder the furniture, and then to burn the palace to the ground. Flushed with their success, they rose on the Syrians, massacred all they could find, and at the same time seized the opportunity of revenging themselves on all their fellow-citizens who had been their enemies before the war.

Josephus seems to have been anxious to remain in amity with Agrippa. He assumed great indignation at the plunder of the palace, of which he had authorized the demolition, gathered up the wrecks of the furniture, consisting of candlesticks of Corinthian brass, royal tables, and uncoined silver, and committed them to the custody of Capellus, the head of Agrippa's party. Josephus then proceeded to Gischala. At the commencement of the insurrection, John had rather inclined to the Roman faction. Upon this the inhabitants of Gadara, Gebara, Sogana, and other towns, had assaulted and burnt Gischala. John, however, had rallied his forces, recovered the town, and fortified it more strongly than before. As yet, John and Josephus were on good terms. Josephus admired the activity of John, and John was anxious to obtain every possible advantage

from the governor of the province. He first proposed to Josephus that he might be permitted to carry off large quantities of corn stored up by the Romans in Upper Galilee; the sale of this, he stated, would enable him to complete his fortifications. Josephus answered that he should keep that corn either for the Romans, the owners, (a suspicious answer!) or for the use of the province intrusted to him by the Sanhedrin of Jerusalem.¹ John then demanded and obtained a monopoly of oil sold in Syria. For the Jews in the Syrian towns would not use the unclean oil prepared by the heathen, and were obliged to obtain it from their own country. John drove a thriving trade; for four Attic drachms he bought four measures of oil, which he sold again at the same sum for half a measure. This money he employed in undermining the power of Josephus, and industriously propagated reports, which accused him of intending to betray the province to the Romans. Whether or not the suspicions of John had any substantial grounds, strong circumstances combined to throw a shade on the popularity of Josephus. Certain youths of a village called Dabarittæ, in the great plain, waylaid and plundered Ptolemy, the agent of King Agrippa. With their spoils, consisting of embroidered robes, silver vessels, and six hundred pieces of gold, they went to Josephus, then at Tarichea.² Josephus rebuked them for the robbery, and committed the property to the custody of one of the chief citizens of Tarichea, to be restored to the owners. The robbers, deprived of

¹ Vit. 13. At Gischala he allowed his colleagues, who had been bribed by John, as he says, to take that side, to retire to Jerusalem. Vit. 14.

² B. J. ii. 21. 3. Compare Vit. c. 26. In the Life it is the wife of Ptolemy, four mule-loads of rich stuffs and silver vessels, 500 pieces of gold. Ptolemy was of the same tribe with himself (Vit. 26). He told the robbers that he reserved the plunder to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem.

their booty, raised loud outcries against the governor, whom they accused of being in a treasonable league with the king. One hundred thousand armed men assembled (Josephus is prone to large numbers) and thronged the circus of Tarichea; some cried out to depose, some to burn him. With this intent they surrounded his house; all his friends, except four, fled: Josephus suddenly awoke from sleep; he was neither confounded by the noise of his assailants, nor by the desertion of his friends. He rent his robes, poured ashes on his head; with his hands behind him, and his sword suspended around his neck, he went out to face the tumult. The Taricheans were moved with compassion; the ruder countrymen continued their clamor, ordered him to bring forth the plunder, and confess his treasons. Josephus answered with an effrontery and readiness of falsehood which might have done credit to his mendacious rival, John of Gischala. "Men of Tarichea, ye are quite in error if ye suppose that I retain these treasures with any design of restoring them to King Agrippa. The fact is, that, seeing the walls of your town in a ruinous and dismantled state, I have kept them to be spent in fortifying your loyal city." This bold address threw the Taricheans, to the number of 40,000, on his side. The strangers, particularly those of Tiberias, continued the tumult for some time, but at length sullenly withdrew, with the exception of 2000 (600) of the most desperate. These men, when Josephus retired again to rest, surrounded his house, and threatened to break down the doors. Josephus had recourse to a stratagem still more daring. He mounted the roof of the house, and making a sign that he wished to address them, he began with saying that from the height he could not distinguish their demands,

but if they would depute some of their leaders, he was ready to treat with them. No sooner were those few admitted, than he ordered them to be dragged into the inner part of the house, and scourged till their bowels were laid open. The mob began to grow impatient, when the doors were opened, and their leaders were turned out among them in this bloody and mangled state. The mob, supposing that he would not have ventured on such a step without a great force concealed, dispersed in consternation.¹ The secret enemy of Josephus, John of Gischala, had prompted this outrage ; but as there was no open breach between them, John, pretending to be ill, sent to demand permission to visit Tiberias, for the benefit of the warm baths in that city.² There, partly by persuasion, partly by bribes, he induced the inhabitants to renounce their allegiance to the governor. Silas, who commanded in the city under Josephus, sent immediate intelligence of the state of affairs. Josephus travelled night and day, and suddenly appeared in Tiberias. John, pretending that he was confined to his bed, excused himself from paying his respects to the governor. Josephus

¹ This transaction, as indeed the whole narrative of his administration in Galilee, is related with such extraordinary variations in the *Life of Josephus*, and in the *History of the Jewish War*, as to leave a very unfavorable impression, if not of the writer's veracity, at least (*Vit.* 30; *B. J.* ii. 21. 5) of his accuracy. It is impossible to keep the same order of events, and in this affair the *War* gives the number of armed men at 2000, the *Life* at 600. In the former, those admitted into the house are called the more distinguished and the rulers, and are sent in to treat on terms of agreement; in the other, some of the men are sent in to receive the money which he was accused of appropriating. In the one, all those admitted are scourged; in the other, one ringleader, who has his hand cut off and hung about his neck.

² *E. g.* in the *Vit.* The feigned sickness of John, and the affair at Tiberias, precede the robbery committed by the Dabarittæ and the scene at Tarichea; in the *B. J.* the plot of John and the peril of Tiberias is the *δευτέρα ἐπιβούλη*. ii. 21. 6.

assembled the people of Tiberias in the circus. He had begun to address them, when he was suddenly interrupted by a loud outcry from the spectators ; turning round, he saw a band of armed men, with their swords drawn, who were placed by John to assassinate him ; he leaped from his rostrum, which was about six feet high, rushed to the beach, seized a boat, and, with two of his followers, pushed out into the lake and escaped.

His soldiers, in the mean time, attacked the band of John ; but Josephus, apprehensive of a civil war, sent orders to his troops to abstain from bloodshed, and resisted all the urgent entreaties of his other Galilean friends, who were eager to make an example of the treacherous city. John fled to Gischala, where Josephus did not think it prudent to attack him, but contented himself with expelling those who espoused John's party from every city in Galilee.

During these events Sepphoris began again to waver. The inhabitants sent to Jesus, who commanded a noted troop of banditti, 800 strong, on the borders of Ptolemais, offering him a large sum to make war on Josephus. Jesus thought it more prudent to earn his wages by stratagem than by open force. He sent to request an interview with Josephus, that he might salute him, and then instantly began his march with his whole troop. . One of his followers, however, deserted, and put Josephus on his guard. Thus forewarned, Josephus proceeded to the interview, having occupied all the roads with his own forces, and gave orders that Jesus alone, and his followers, should be admitted within the gates, which were to be closed immediately on their entrance. Jesus entered boldly, but Josephus instantly ordered him to throw down his arms, or he was a dead man. Trembling, Jesus obeyed. Jose-

phus took him apart, informed him that he was aware of his treacherous designs, but offered him pardon if he would repent and swear to be faithful to him in future. Jesus complied, and Josephus having severely threatened the Sepphorites, departed to quell new disturbances. On his way he encountered two officers of the king, from Trachonitis, who wished to join him with some horse; these men the Jews would have forced to submit to circumcision. Josephus interfered, and asserted the right of every man to worship God according to his conscience.

Gamala now demanded the presence of the indefatigable governor. After the departure of Philip, Agrippa's general, a certain Joseph, son of a female physician, had persuaded the people to revolt. They forced some to enter into their views, others they put to death. They fortified the city, with the approbation of Josephus; and all Gaulonitis, a district which skirted Upper Gálilee, followed their example. Gamala was now threatened by Æquicolus Modius; at the same time, Neapolitanus, with some Roman troops, pushed towards Tiberias, and Æbutius, a decurion, advanced against Josephus, who lay at Simonias. Æbutius endeavored to draw him down to the plain, where his cavalry would have given him an advantage. Josephus continued on the hills, and Æbutius withdrew with some loss. Josephus then, in his turn, made an attack on some magazines of corn, which he carried off, quietly loading his camels and asses, in the sight of Æbutius, who was fairly out-generalled. Æquicolus Modius failed in his attempt on Gamala.

John of Gischala, all this time, remained quiet in his citadel, but it was only because he was laying a train from a greater distance, which was to explode

under the feet of his enemy.¹ He sent his brother Simon, and Jonathan, son of Sisenna, to Simon, son of Gamaliel, at Jerusalem, to persuade the people that Josephus was forming a dangerous power in Galilee, and to demand his recall. Simon was a man of great character and weight, but ill-disposed to Josephus, and closely allied with John. By bribes they brought Ananus, the chief priest, who, at first, espoused the cause of Josephus, and Jesus, the son of Gamala, into their party.² They determined to act with caution, lest Josephus should advance with his numerous and devoted army against Jerusalem. Jonathan and Ananias, two learned and influential Pharisees, and Joazar and Simon, priests, were sent, gradually to alienate the Galileans from their attachment to Josephus, and then, either to put him to death, or bring him alive to Jerusalem. They had troops with them; John of Gischala received orders to render them every support; and Sepphoris, Gabara, and Tiberias were to hold their troops in readiness at the command of John. Josephus got intelligence of the plot through his father, and also, as he relates, through a remarkable dream, which warned him that he should remain in Galilee, and fight against the Romans. In compliance with the earnest supplications of all the Galileans, who entreated him not to abandon them, he gave up his intention of submitting to the mandate and withdrawing to Jerusalem. With 8000 foot and 80 horse, he posted himself

¹ Vit. 38.

² This is utterly inconsistent with the high character, given by Josephus himself, of Ananus. Jost uses strong language: — "Wenn aber der Geschichtschreiber Josephus ihn beschuldigt, ohne Mitwissen des Kriegsausschusses Boten nach Galiläa gesendet zu haben, um ihn (Josephus) nach Jerusalem zu locken, oder allenfalls zu tödten, so ist das eine der dreisten Unwahrheiten, ersonnen aus persönlicher Feindschaft, die er selbst offen kennt;" p. 443.

at Chabolo, on the frontier of Ptolemais, under the pretext of making head against Placidus, who had begun to waste Galilee. Four cities, Sepphoris, Gamala, Gischala, and Tiberias, acknowledged the authority of the deputation from Jerusalem. The deputies, who had travelled secretly and with expedition, in order to come on Josephus unawares, finding him on his guard, still attempted to proceed by craft rather than by force. They sent a friendly letter informing him that they were come to punish the subtle proceedings of his enemy John, and to force him to obedience. Josephus kept the letter unopened to the evening, when he had a great banquet of his friends, to which he invited the messenger. He then secretly made himself master of its contents, and sealed it up again. He ordered the messenger twenty drachms, as a reward for having brought welcome intelligence. The messenger was delighted. He then plied him with wine, and offered him a drachm with every cup, till the man betrayed the whole plot. Josephus wrote back a friendly answer, excusing himself from attendance, on account of the necessity of watching Placidus. The deputies, who passed from place to place and found almost every town in favor of Josephus and enraged against John,¹ sent a more peremptory message, requiring his attendance at Gabara, to make good his charge against John of Gischala. Josephus expressed his readiness to wait upon them, but not at Gabara or Gischala, where he apprehended treachery.² They determined to send messengers throughout Galilee to excite the malcontents. Josephus waylaid the roads

¹ He names Japha, the largest village (κώμη) in Galilee; Sepphoris, which Romanized, and was indifferent as to Josephus; Aschois, and others. c. 45.

² ἡ μὲν γὰρ πατρίς ἐστὶν Ἰωάννου, ἣ δὲ συμμαχος καὶ φίλη. c. 45.

from Gabara, seized the messengers, and made himself master of all the letters. Upon this he surrounded Gabara with his own Galileans, and boldly entered the town. He first went to repose at an inn ; his enemies seized the opportunity to raise the people against him, but failed. Josephus soon after made his appearance in the assembly.¹ The Galileans surrounded the hall with loud acclamations. John and his friends endeavored in vain to make their escape. Josephus publicly read the letters which he had intercepted ; the deputies were confounded, the people unanimous in their applause. The mob would willingly have fallen on the whole assembly, who were saved only by the merciful intervention of Josephus. The governor then took horse and rode away to Sogana. From thence he dispatched an embassy of 100 men of distinction, escorted by an armed guard of 500, to Jerusalem.

The discomfited deputies retired to Tiberias, John to Gischala. At Tiberias they expected the city to declare in their favor, but Josephus suddenly made his appearance there. They received him with hypocritical courtesy, but requested him to withdraw, on account of the approaching Sabbath, lest there should be a disturbance. He retired to Tarichea ; new scenes of trickery followed ; the deputies, with Jesus and Justus, the turbulent leaders of Tiberias, endeavored to raise the town. Josephus again appeared with his soldiers ; they got rid of him by a false alarm of Roman troops seen in the neighborhood. Josephus counteracted this by another plot. They appointed a general

¹ They called him to account for about twenty pieces of gold taken from the public treasury. This Josephus had expended on his counter-deputation to Jerusalem. They became ashamed of this pitiful charge, and accused Josephus of setting up a tyranny. c. 60.

fast, during which no one was to appear armed at the Proseuchæ. Josephus and his friends concealed their daggers and breastplates under their robes, and when the enemy expected to find them defenceless, they brandished their weapons. The deputation of Josephus, in the mean time, returned from Jerusalem with a favorable answer, confirming him in the government. He summoned an assembly of the Galileans, who, in the same spirit, declared their ready and cheerful submission to his command. Emboldened by this, he began to act with greater vigor; he chastised the unruly inhabitants of Tiberias, got the deputies into his power, and sent them back to Jerusalem.

Tiberias attempted again to revolt, and to surrender the city to the troops of Agrippa. Not having his forces in readiness, Josephus had recourse, as usual, to one of his stratagems. He seized 240 vessels, put not above four sailors in each, and commanded them to take their station in sight of the town; and he then advanced boldly to the gates. The citizens supposing the ships full of soldiers, surrendered at discretion. Josephus got the senators, to the number of 600, and 2000 of the people, within his power, and sent them to Tarichea. They denounced one Clitus as the ring-leader; he was carried to the shore to have his hands cut off; on his earnest supplication, one was spared; the left, which he was induced himself to cut off to save the other; the rest of the malcontents were pardoned.¹ After this, Josephus surprised Gischala, and gave it up to pillage. Sepphoris admitted the troops of Gallus into their city. Josephus, with his forces, scaled the walls, but was beaten back, and afterwards defeated in the open plain. The troops of Agrippa soon after made

¹ B. J. ii. 21. 10; Vit. 67. 68.

their appearance under the command of Sylla; they were posted near Julias. Josephus endeavored, by a feigned flight, to betray them into an ambush, and might have succeeded, but his horse unfortunately plunged into a morass, and he was severely hurt in the wrist, and carried to Cepharnome. From thence, feverish symptoms appearing, he was removed to Tarichea.¹

Thus we have endeavored to wind our weary way through the intricate politics of Galilee. It is difficult to conceive how all these intrigues, as well as all the masterly and effective warlike preparations of Josephus, could be carried on simultaneously, more particularly if all these transactions must be crowded into the winter of one year, 66-7.² Besides the details of armies

¹ Vit. 72.

² In the "Jewish War" it is not difficult to trace a certain order of these events, if not strictly chronological, yet of historical arrangement. Josephus first relates his reception in Galilee and the measures which he took for the organization of the province, the levying and disciplining of his army, the defensive fortification of the chief cities. He then passes to his strife with John of Gischala, and the long and obstinate struggle in Galilee and in Jerusalem with this noted rival. This may account for some transposition of events, and some discrepancy with the Life.

Vit. c. 15.

The "Life" was written much later, after the death of Vespasian and Titus, long after the publication of the "Jewish War," and after the publication of the "History" of Justus of Tiberias, against whom Josephus writes in a spirit of bitter controversy. The whole "Life" is almost occupied with the events between his arrival in Galilee and the siege of Jotapata: out of seventy-six chapters only six relate to his early life, three to the period after his capture in Jotapata. It has, it must be acknowledged, a strongly romantic cast; it is an undisguised panegyric on his own valor, enterprise, activity, craft, promptitude, wisdom; it is full of strange hair-breadth escapes and stirring adventures. Yet vanity can hardly have been the sole motive for its composition. It was avowedly written to vindicate himself from the calumnies of Justus of Tiberias, his old enemy in that city, who had written a History of the Jewish war, long unhappily lost. The work of Justus compelled Josephus to utter things which he had so long kept in silence. ἀπολογέσθαι γὰρ νῦν ἀνάγκην ἔχω, καταψευδομαρτυρούμενος, ἐρῶ τὰ μέχρι νῦν σεσωπωμένα. c. 65. The heaviest part of the

raised, armed, and exercised, — cities fortified and strengthened, — the civil administration set on a regular footing, — by his own statement, Josephus twice took Sepphoris, four times Tiberias, once Gadara, perhaps Gischala; counteracted the plots, defeated the troops, took and pardoned his subtle antagonist John. Yet we must either, adhering to the usual chronology, admit this improbability, or throw back the whole events of the year which ended in the defeat of Cestius Gallus, into the year 65; and adopt almost as incredible a supposition, that, with most unusual inactivity, the Romans left the defeat of Cestius unrevenged, and allowed the Jews a whole year to organize their revolt, and strengthen their territory against invasion.

During this time the insurgents in Jerusalem continued to press their preparations for war, with as great activity and less interruption than those in Galilee. For though the timid and moderate groaned in heart to hear the din of war, the clattering of arms, the gymnasias echoing with the trampling march of all the youth in military exercise, and sadly foreboded the miseries and ruin to which the joyous city, the place of national festival, the rich, the beautiful, the holy city of Sion, was thus self-devoted; though they could not utter their prayers in the Temple, nor make their offerings on the altar of Jehovah without awful misgivings that before long the worship might be proscribed, and fire

misrepresentations of Justus, which he seeks to confute, is that he (Josephus) was the first great rebel against Rome, the author of the revolt of Galilee. He retorts on Justus as a turbulent fellow, who before this had raised Tiberias in insurrection; in short, that Justus was an earlier and more daring rebel than himself, and only escaped by singular good fortune the just punishment for his offences. Throughout the work is that of a man advanced in years relating the deeds of his youth from memory, — a constant struggle between his vanity and his fear of offending his Imperial patrons at Rome.

and sword lay waste the courts of the Lord's house ; yet they were constrained to suppress or conceal the unpopular weakness, and trembled lest the fierce eye of the Zealot or the Assassin should detect the dangerous or unpatriotic emotion.¹

In the city, Ananus the chief priest took the lead, arms were fabricated with the greatest activity ; the walls strengthened, military engines made, and stores of every kind laid in with the utmost care and expedition. The timid and moderate were not the only enemies with whom Ananus had to contend. The fierce Simon, the son of Gioras, has already appeared, at the head of his daring bandits, rendering good service during the retreat of Cestius. In the toparchy of Acrabatene,² he had betaken himself, not to the regular defence of the country, but to the most lawless ravage. He broke open and pillaged the houses of the opulent ; and even inflicted personal violence, scourging and maltreating all who opposed him. Already men began to forebode both his daring ambition, which would not be content with less than the highest station, and his cruelty, which would scruple at no means of obtaining or securing advancement. Ananus sent some troops against him ; Simon took refuge with men of a kindred spirit, who held Masada ; and from thence he pursued his ravages in Idumæa, till the magistrates of that district were constrained to raise an army, and set a guard in every village.

It was probably not long after the defeat of Cestius, that an unsuccessful expedition was attempted against Ascalon. That strong city, situated about sixty-five

¹ B. J. ii. 22.

² There were two Acrabatenes, which cause great confusion : one, according to Jerome, between Neapolis, Sichem, and Jericho ; the other in the south of Judæa, bordering on Idumæa.

miles from Jerusalem, was weakly garrisoned by one cohort of foot and one troop of horse, under a commander named Antonius. The Jews marched out in great force under Niger of Peræa, Silas the Babylonian, and John the Essene. Antonius, undismayed by the number and the daring of the enemy, led out his horse. The Jewish soldiers were all infantry, undisciplined and unused to war. The first furious charge of the cavalry broke their van, which fell back on their main body, threw it into confusion, and the whole army was scattered in small squadrons over the field. The active Roman horse attacked first one band, then another, charging and riding round them,—their mounted archers making dreadful havoc. Numbers were of no avail, or rather stood in the way of effective defence. The vast and confused multitude could not fight, and would not fly. Night put an end to the battle, or rather to the carnage. 10,000 men, with Judas and Silas, fell; Niger escaped with the rest to a small tower named Sallæ.¹ The Jews were not cast down by this signal defeat. In the shortest time, not enough for the wounded to get healed, they assembled all their forces, and in still greater pride and indignation again marched out against Ascalon. They had learned as little prudence as humility. Antonius occupied the passes with an ambush, and suddenly surrounding the Jewish army with his horse, after scarcely any resistance cut down 8000 of them. Niger, who showed great courage in the retreat, again escaped, and got possession of a strong tower in a village called Bezedel. The Romans, who had not time for a regular siege, and yet were unwilling to allow so formidable a leader to escape, set fire to the

¹ B. J. iii. 2. 1. 2.

wall. Having seen the tower in flames, they retreated in triumph. Niger, however, leaped down into a deep cavern, which was under the tower; and when his sorrowing companions came, three days after, to find his body, that they might bury it, they heard his feeble voice calling them from below. The Jews were full of joy, and looked on the escape of their champion as little less than a miraculous proof of divine favor.

BOOK XV.

THE WAR.

Vespasian — Siege of Jotapata — Fall of Japha — Mount Gerizim — Capture of Jotapata — Josephus — Surrender of Tiberias — Fall of Tarichea — Massacre — Siege of Gamala — Fall of Itabyrium — Taking of Gamala — of Gischala — Flight of John — Feuds in Jerusalem.

WITH the early spring Vespasian appeared at Antioch,¹ at the head of his powerful army. There Agrippa met him with all his forces. Vespasian advanced to Ptolemais; he was met by a deputation from Sepphoris. The metropolis of Galilee, notwithstanding the authority and the threats of Josephus, again made overtures to join the invader. Vespasian received the deputies with great courtesy, and sent them back with a strong body of 1000 horse and 6000 foot, to defend their city against any attack of the Jews.² These troops, under the command of Placidus, took up their position towards the great plain, the foot within the city, the cavalry encamped without the walls. From these quarters they ravaged the surrounding country. Josephus made one strong effort to recover the capital of Galilee, but was repulsed, and only the more exasperated the Romans, who spread fire and sword over the whole region; they

¹ Josephus says that Antioch was incontestably (*ἀδηνρίτως*) the third city in the Roman empire. This is important in Jewish as well as in Christian history. Compare Strabo, xvi. p. 1089. According to Strabo, the other two were Seleucia on the Tigris, and Alexandria. Of course Rome is excluded.

² B. J. iii. 4. 1.

slew all who were able to bear arms; the rest they carried off as slaves.

Titus, with expedition unusual during the winter season, sailed from Achaia to Alexandria. From thence he shipped his troops for Ptolemais, and joined his father. Vespasian was now at the head of three of the most distinguished legions of the Roman army, — the fifth, tenth, and fifteenth. Besides these, he had twenty-three cohorts, five of them from Cæsarea. Ten of these cohorts mustered 1000 men; the rest 600, with 150 horse each.¹ The allied force consisted of 2000 foot, all archers, and 1000 horse furnished by Antiochus, Agrippa, and Sohemus. Malchus, king of Arabia, sent 1000 horse and 5000 foot, the greatest part archers. The whole army amounted to 60,000 regulars, horse and foot, besides followers of the camp, who were also accustomed to military service, and could fight on occasion.²

The campaign was now formally opened: the forces of Placidus overspread the whole country. Josephus attempted no resistance in the open field. The inhabitants had been directed to fly to the fortified cities; all who were not expeditious or fortunate enough to escape were cut off or seized. But these were the unwarlike part of the people; the more active and courageous had all crowded into the cities. The strongest of all these was Jotapata, where Josephus commanded in person. Placidus concluded that, if, by an unexpected attack, he could make himself master of that important post, the blow would so terrify the rest

¹ "Additis igitur ad copias duabus legionibus, octo alis, cohortibus decem, atque inter Legatos majore filio assumto." Suet. Vesp. iv. "Bellum Judaicum Flavius Vespasianus . . . tribus legionibus administrabat." Tacit. Hist. i. 10.

² B. J. iii. 4. 2.

that they would immediately fall. He marched rapidly against Jotapata ; but the garrison had received timely information. They anticipated the assault by a daring sally, for which the Romans were entirely unprepared. The troops of Placidus were repulsed ; many wounded, but only seven killed ; for the legionaries retreated in good order, and being entirely covered with their defensive armor, seldom received mortal wounds. The Jews were only light-armed troops, who rarely ventured to fight hand to hand, but annoyed the enemy at a distance with their javelins. It was an inspiring commencement of the campaign.

At length the vast army of Vespasian began to move. Josephus describes the order of march with the accuracy of an eye-witness.¹ He must, indeed, have watched its stern and regular advance with the trembling curiosity of the sailor, who sees the tempest slowly gathering, which is about to burst, and perhaps wreck his weak and ill-appointed bark. The van was preceded by the light-armed allies and their archers, who scattered over the plain to observe any unexpected attack of the enemy, and to examine all the woods or thickets that might conceal an ambuscade. Then came part of the heavy-armed cavalry and infantry, followed by ten of each centenary, carrying the furniture and vessels of the camp. After these the pioneers, who were to straighten the winding roads, level the hills, or cut down the woods which might impede the march of the main army. Then came the baggage of the general and his officers, strongly guarded by cavalry. Next rode the general, with a picked troop of foot, horse, and lancers. After him the horse of his own legion, for to each legion there were 120

¹ B. J. iii. 6. 2.

cavalry attached. Then the mules which carried the military engines, and the besieging train. The lieutenant-generals, the commanders of cohorts, and the tribunes followed, each with a chosen band of men. Then the eagles, of which each legion had one. The standards were followed by the trumpeters. Behind came the phalanx itself, in files of six deep. A centurion, whose business it was to keep order, brought up the rear. Behind them were the servants with the baggage, on mules and other beasts of burden. After the Romans marched the mercenaries; a strong rear-guard of light and heavy-armed foot, and many horse, closed the procession. The host passed on in its awful magnificence. Vespasian halted on the frontier of Galilee, as if to give the revolted province time for repentance, or to strike terror into the more obstinate insurgents. The measure was not without effect. No sooner did the army of Josephus, which was encamped at Garis, not far from Sepphoris, hear of this tremendous invasion, than, before they had seen the enemy, they dispersed on all sides; and Josephus, left almost alone, began to despair of the war.¹ It was idle to think of opposing such an enemy with a few dispirited troops; he gathered, therefore, the wreck of his army, and fled to Tiberias.

Vespasian marched against Gabara;² the city was ungarrisoned, and the stern Roman proceeded to make a terrible example, and to wipe out the affront of Cestius with the blood of the enemy. The youth were put to the sword,—not a man escaped; the city, with every village and hamlet in the neighborhood, was

¹ B. J. iii. 6. 3.

² This must be the right reading. *Gadara* was on the eastern side of the Sea of Galilee

burned to the ground; the few villagers whose lives were spared were seized as slaves. The retreat of Josephus to Tiberias filled the city with consternation; they naturally construed it into a proof that he despaired of success. They were not wrong, for the manner in which the war was conducted made him consider resistance hopeless. Yet, though by his own account he could immediately have made terms with the Romans, he determined not to abandon the cause. He sent despatches to Jerusalem, strongly worded, in which he exhorted the people to make their immediate option, either of capitulating at once, or sending a powerful and effective army into the field.

Jotapata¹ was the city in which the greater part, and those the bravest, of the Galilean warriors had taken refuge. It was strongly situated in a rugged, mountainous district. The roads were scarcely practicable for infantry, quite impassable for horse. In four days the pioneers of Vespasian cut a practicable road right through the mountains, and, on the fifth, Jotapata lay open to the army. Josephus contrived to throw himself into the city. This was made known to Vespasian by a deserter; and he became the more eager for the capture of the town, when he heard that the general-in-chief was within the walls. It seemed as though the most prudent of the enemy had surrendered himself, as into a prison. Placidus and Æbutius, decurions of great merit, in whom Vespasian had the highest confidence, were sent with 1000 horse to surround the walls, and to cut off all possibility of escape.

The next day, May 15th, Vespasian advanced in

¹ Jotapata, of which Robinson is silent, seems first to have been discovered by Schulz: there are ruins on a jagged cliff called Dschebel Dschifat, which answers to the situation and description of Jotapata. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii. ii. p. 764.

person with his whole army. During all the day, till late in the evening, the defenders of Jotapata saw from their lofty battlements, the slow and endless files emerging from the straight and level road which led to the city-walls. It was on the strength of their position, amidst their rugged and precipitous mountains and their dark and impenetrable forests, that they had relied for their security. To their consternation they saw the woods falling before the axe of the pioneer, like grain before the sickle of the reaper; the lofty crests of their mountains, as it were, bowing down their heads before the resistless invader; and Nature herself giving up the custody of her unprotected fortress. Vespasian drew up his whole army on a hill, less than a mile to the north of the city; his object was to strike terror into the defenders by the display of his whole force, which lay encamped on the slope. He was not mistaken in the effect which it produced: the garrison cowered behind their walls; not a man ventured forth. The army, weary with their long march, did not advance to an immediate assault: they proceeded to draw a triple line of circumvallation round the city; and thus every chance of escape was cut off. This, however, instead of striking terror, drove the whole garrison to despair. They felt themselves cooped up like wild beasts in their lair; they had no course left but to fight gallantly to the utmost; and their first consternation gave place to the fiercest valor and most stubborn resolution.

The next day the attack began. The Jews, disdainful to be pent up within their walls, pitched their camp before the trenches, and went boldly forth to meet the enemy. Vespasian ordered the bowmen and slingers to gall them with their missiles, and himself

with the infantry began to ascend a declivity which led to the least defensible part of the wall. Josephus saw the danger, and with the whole strength of the garrison made a resolute sally, and drove the assailants down the hill. Great valor was displayed by both parties. On one side fought desperation; on the other the haughty shame of being defeated by such a foe: the Romans had skill in the use of their weapons; the Jews made up what they wanted in practice and experience with reckless bravery. Night separated the combatants, yet the slaughter was not great on either side. The Romans had lost thirteen killed, and many wounded; the Jews seventeen killed, but six hundred wounded.

On the following day they again attacked the Romans. They had become more resolute, since they found they could make head against their formidable enemies. Every morning added to the fury of the contest; for five days the Romans continued to make their assaults, and the Jews to sally forth or fight from the walls, with equal courage. The Jews had now lost all their terror of the Roman prowess; while the Romans, with their obstinate bravery, persisted in forcing their way to the walls.

Jotapata stood on the summit of a lofty hill, on three sides rising abruptly from the deep and impassable ravines which surrounded it. Looking down from the top of the walls the eye could not discover the bottom of these frightful chasms. It was so embosomed in lofty mountains that it could not be seen till it was actually approached. It could only be entered on the north, where the end of the ridge sloped more gradually down; on this declivity the city was built; and Josephus had fortified this part with a very strong wall.

Vespasian called a council of war. It was determined to raise an embankment (agger) against the most practicable part of the wall. The whole army was sent out to provide materials. The neighboring mountains furnished vast quantities of stone and timber. In order to cover themselves from the javelins and arrows of the garrison, the assailants stretched a kind of roof, made with wattles of wicker-work, over their palisades; under this pent-house they labored securely at their embankment. They worked in three divisions, one bringing earth, the others stone, or wood. The Jews were not idle; they hurled down immense stones and every kind of missile upon the workmen, which, although they did not do much damage, came thundering down over their heads with appalling noise, and caused some interruption to their labors.

Vespasian brought out his military engines, of which he had 160, in order to clear the walls of these troublesome assailants. The catapults began to discharge their hissing javelins, the balistas heaved huge stones of enormous weight, and balls of fire and blazing arrows fell in showers. The Arab archers, the javelinmen, and the slingers, at the same time, plied their terrible weapons, so that a considerable space of the wall was entirely cleared: not a man dared approach the battlements. But the Jews, who could not fight from above, began to attack from below. They stole out in small bands, like robbers, came secretly on the workmen, pulled down their breastworks, and struck at them as they stood naked and without their armor, which they had pulled off to work with greater activity. If the besiegers fled, they instantly demolished the embankment, and set fire to the timbers and the wattles. Vespasian, perceiving that the intervals between

the different breastworks, under which the separate parties were laboring, gave advantage to the assailants, ordered one to be carried all round, and, uniting all the working-parties, effectually prevented these destructive attacks.

The garrison at length beheld this vast embankment completed; it almost reached to the height of their battlements; it stood towering right opposite to them, as if another city had arisen beside their own, and from the equal heights of their respective walls they were to join in deadly conflict for the mastery. Josephus hastily summoned his workmen, and gave orders that the city-wall should be raised to a much greater height. The workmen represented that it was impossible, as long as the wall was thus commanded by the enemy, to carry on their labor. Josephus was not baffled; he ordered tall stakes to be driven on the top of the wall, upon which he suspended hides of oxen newly killed. On this yielding curtain the stones fell dead; the other missiles glided off without damage; and even the fire-darts were quenched by the moisture. Under this covering his men worked night and day, till they had raised the wall twenty cubits, — thirty-five feet. He likewise built a great number of towers on the wall, and surrounded the whole with a strong battlement. The Romans, who thought themselves already masters of the city, were not a little discouraged, and were astonished at the skill and enterprise of the defenders; but Vespasian was only the more enraged at the obstinacy of the garrison, and the subtlety of the commander. For the defenders, become confident in the strength of their bulwarks, began to renew their former sallies: they fought in small bands, with the courage of regular troops and all the tricks and cunning of robbers.

Sometimes they crept out and carried off whatever they could lay their hands on; sometimes, unperceived, set fire to the works. At length, Vespasian determined to turn the siege into a blockade; and, as he could not take the city by assault, to reduce it by famine. For, in a short time, the garrison would either desire to capitulate, or, if they were still obstinate in their resistance, would perish from want. At all events, if it was necessary to renew the attack, their men would be enfeebled by privation and suffering. Accordingly, he kept his troops in their quarters, and contented himself with strictly blockading every avenue to the city.

The besieged were very well supplied with grain, and every other necessary, excepting salt; but there was great want of water. There was no spring in the city; the inhabitants were obliged to be content with rain-water. But during the summer it rarely, if ever, rains in that region; and as the summer was the time of the siege, they began to be dreadfully dispirited, and to look forward in horrible apprehension to the period when their supply would entirely fail. Josephus commanded the water which remained to be rigidly measured out. This scanty doling forth of that necessary refreshment to men parched with fatigue, and many of them feverish with wounds, seemed worse even than absolute privation; the sense of want seemed to aggravate their thirst; and many began to faint, as if already at the worst extremity of drought. The Romans saw what was going on within the walls; and, as the inhabitants crept along with their pitchers to a particular spot to receive their daily allotment of water, they pointed their engines at them, and struck them down as they passed.

But the fertile mind of Josephus had not exhausted its store of schemes : he ordered a great number of his men to steep their clothes in water and hang them up from the battlements till the wall ran down with the dripping moisture. The Romans were confounded ; for men who could waste so much water out of mere wantonness could not possibly be in the wretched state of privation they had hoped. Vespasian, weary of thus blockading a city so amply supplied, returned to the assault, the mode of attack to which the Jews wished to drive him. For in their state it was better to perish at once by the sword than by thirst and famine.

Josephus had another stratagem by which he kept up intelligence with those without the city. There was one narrow and rugged path, down the dry bed of a torrent, which led into the valley to the south. It was so dangerous and seemingly impracticable that the Romans neglected to guard it. By this way the messengers of Josephus stole out of the city, bearing letters to and from the commander, and everything of small bulk of which the garrison stood in need. These men, in general, crept out on all fours, covered with the skins of beasts, that they might look like dogs. This went on for a long time, till at length the way was detected, and closed up by the enemy.

At this perilous juncture Josephus honestly confesses that he began to think of his own personal safety, and entered into deliberation with some of the chief leaders of the garrison as to the means of making their escape. Their counsel transpired, and they were environed by all the people of the city, earnestly entreating them not to abandon the wretched town to the fury of the enraged enemy ; for, so long as he and the garrison remained, there was some hope of resistance. Directly

they were gone, the city must inevitably fall; and merciless extermination was the only fate which they could expect. The crafty general endeavored to persuade them that his only object in leaving the town would be to provide more effectually for their safety; that he would raise all Galilee, and so harass the Romans as to force them to break up the siege; that his presence was of no real service, but only made Vespasian the more obstinate in his determination to capture the town. This language but the more inflamed the multitude; the women with their infants in their arms began to wail; boys and old men fell at his feet, and embracing them, besought him to remain and share their fate. "Not," Josephus adds, "from any jealousy lest I should save my life while theirs were in danger, but because they entertained some hope of saving their own through my means. As long as I remained, they were safe."¹

Partly moved by compassion, partly feeling that if he did not consent to their entreaties, he might be detained by force, Josephus determined to stand firm at his post, and seized the moment of excitement to lead his force to a desperate attack. "If then," he exclaimed, "there is no hope of safety, let us die nobly, and leave a glorious example to posterity." The bravest crowded round him, and some rushed suddenly forth, drove in the Roman guard, and carried their inroads even into the camp; they tore up the hides with which the works had been defended, and set fire to the lines in many places. A second and third day they continued these furious attacks; and for many nights and days kept up, without being wearied, a perpetual alarm.

¹ B J. iii. 7. 16.

Vespasian found the heavy armed legionaries ill-suited to this desultory warfare ; from the unwieldy weight of their armor they could not, from their pride they would not, retreat ; and, when they turned again in any force, the light-armed Jews in an instant disappeared within their walls. Besides, the valor of the Jews was mere desperation ; like a fierce fire, if unresisted it would burn out. He ordered therefore the regular troops to decline these attacks, and to repel the sallies of the besieged with the Arabian archers and Syrian slingers. The engines in the mean time never ceased discharging their showers of bolts and stones : these sorely distressed the Jews, but sometimes getting under the range of the engines, they fiercely attacked the Romans, never sparing their own lives, and new troops continually filling up the places of those who were fatigued or slain.

The Roman general found that he was, as it were, besieged in his turn ; and as the embankment had now reached close to the wall, he ordered the battering-ram to be advanced. This was the most formidable of all the besieging artillery used in ancient warfare. It was an immense beam, headed with iron, in the shape of a ram's head, from which it took its name ; it was suspended by cables from another beam, which was supported by strong tall posts ; it was drawn back by a great number of men, and then driven forward with so tremendous a recoil, that tower or wall could scarcely ever resist the shock. The Romans were accustomed to see the bulwarks of the strongest cities crumble as it were to dust, the instant they could bring that irresistible machine to work. As the heavy ram slowly advanced towards the walls, covered with a penthouse of wattles and hides, both for the protection of the engine

and of the men who were to work it, the catapults and other engines, with the archers and slingers, were commanded to play with increasing activity, to sweep the walls, and distract the besieged. The battlements were entirely cleared of the defenders, who lay crouching below, not knowing what was about to happen. At the first blow of the ram the wall shook as with an earthquake, and a wild cry rose from the besieged, as if the city were already taken.

The engine went on battering at the same place shock after shock : the wall already began to totter and crumble, when Josephus thought of a new expedient. He ordered a number of sacks to be filled with straw, and let down by ropes from the walls, to catch the hard blows of the ram, wherever it might strike. The Romans were perplexed, for their blows fell dead on this soft and yielding substance ; and in their turn they fastened the blades of scythes on long poles and cut asunder the ropes which held the sacks. Then the engine again began, without interruption, its work, when behold the Jews suddenly broke forth in three parties. They bore in their hands all the lighted combustibles they could find ; they swept everything before them, and set fire to the engines, the wattles, and the palisadoes of the besiegers. The Romans, confounded with this unexpected daring, and blinded by the fire and smoke driving in their faces, made less courageous defence than usual. The timbers of the embankment were all dry : a great quantity of bitumen, pitch, and even sulphur had been used as cement. The conflagration spread with the greatest rapidity, and thus one hour destroyed the labor of many days.

The daring exploit of one man among the Jews met with universal admiration : he was a Galilean of Saab,

named Eleazar, the son of Samaes. With an immense stone from the wall, he took such a steady aim that he struck off the iron head of the battering-ram; he then leaped down from the wall, secured his prize, and was bearing it back to the city. He was unarmed, and all the darts and arrows of the enemy were discharged at him. He was transfixed by five arrows; still, however, he pressed on, regained the walls, stood boldly up, displaying his trophy, in the sight of all, — and then, still clinging to it with convulsive hands, fell down and expired. Two other Galileans, Netiras and Philip of Ruma, greatly distinguished themselves, breaking through the ranks of the tenth legion, and driving in all who opposed them.

Josephus and the rest followed this heroic example, and all the engines and the breastwork of the fifth and of the tenth legions, which were driven in, were entirely consumed. Others followed the first rank of the assailants, and heaped the earth over what was destroyed as fast as they could.

Still, towards the evening, the Romans again set up the ram, and began to batter the wall at the same place. But while Vespasian himself was directing the assault, he was wounded in the heel by a javelin from the wall, slightly indeed, for the javelin was spent; but the greatest alarm spread through the army. Many gave up the attack to crowd around the general, who was bleeding. Titus showed the most affectionate solicitude. But Vespasian, suppressing the pain of his wound, speedily relieved their fears; and, to revenge the hurt of their commander, the whole army rushed on with a loud shout to the walls: all that night the awful conflict lasted. The Jews fell in great numbers; for though the missiles poured around them like hail,

they would not abandon the walls, but continued heaving down great stones, and flinging fiery combustibles on the wattles which protected those that worked the ram. They fought at disadvantage, for the light of their own fires made the walls as light as day, and the enemy were thus enabled to take steady aim, while the black engines lay in shadow in the distance, and they could not distinguish when the bolts were about to be discharged. The scorpions and catapults raged more and more fiercely, and swept the walls; the stones from the other engines shattered the pinnacles and the corners of the turrets, which kept falling with a fearful crash. The stones penetrated right through dense masses of men, making as it were a furrow as they passed, and reaching to the rearmost man. Strange stories are reported of the force of these engines: one man was struck on the head, and his skull hurled, as by a sling, to the distance of three stadia, about three furlongs; a pregnant woman was hit in the lower part, and the child cast to the distance of half a stadium. It was a night of unexampled confusion. The clattering of the bolts, the shouts of the army, the heavy fall of the huge stones, the thundering shocks of the battering-ram, were mingled with the frantic shrieks of women, and the screams of children; the whole space about the walls was like a pool of blood, and men could mount the wall upon the bodies of their slaughtered friends. All this deafening din was echoed back and multiplied by the surrounding mountains. Many fell, many more were wounded, but till the morning watch the wall stood firm: it then yielded: still, however, those who were well provided with defensive armor, labored with all their might to form new buttresses and bulwarks, wherever a breach

was threatened, before the machines, by which the enemy were to mount the breach, could be advanced.

Towards the morning Vespasian allowed his troops a short time for refreshment. In order to repel the besieged from the breach, he made the bravest of his horsemen dismount, and divided them into three parties. They were completely cased in armor, and had long pikes in their hands, to be ready to charge, instantly that the machines for mounting the breach were fixed. Behind these he stationed the flower of the infantry. The rest of the horse were extended all over the mountains, which encircled the town, that none might make their escape ; behind the foot were the archers, the slingers, and engineers ; and others with scaling-ladders, which were to be applied to such parts of the walls as were yet uninjured, to call off the attention of the defenders from the breach. When Josephus discovered this, he selected the old, the infirm, the fatigued, and the wounded to defend those parts of the wall. The bravest he chose to man the breach ; six, of whom himself was one, formed the first line. He addressed them in a few words, enjoining them not to be alarmed at the shout of the legionaries ; to kneel down and cover their heads with their bucklers, and retreat a little, till the bowmen had exhausted their quivers ; when the Romans had fixed the mounting machines, to leap down upon them and fight, remembering that they could now scarcely be thought to fight for safety, for of that they had no hope, but for a brave revenge ; finally, to set before their eyes their fathers and children massacred, their wives defiled, and anticipate a just vengeance for these, now inevitable, calamities.

While this was going on, the idle multitude, with

the women and children, saw the city still surrounded by triple lines, for the Romans did not withdraw any part of their guards for the approaching conflict, — the appalling force standing with their drawn swords before the breach, — the whole mountain gleaming with the lances of the cavalry, and the Arabian archers with their bows already levelled, — they were seized with universal consternation ; one shrill and agonizing shriek ran through the whole city, as if the horrors of the capture were not only dreaded, but actually begun. Josephus, lest they should dispirit his men, ordered all the women to be locked up in the houses, and threatened all others with exemplary punishment if they raised any disturbance. He then took his post in the breach. At once the trumpets of the legions sounded, and the whole Roman host raised one terrific shout. At that instant the sun was darkened with the clouds of arrows. The Jews closed their ears to the noise, and, shrouded under their bucklers, avoided the arrows. The moment that the mounting engines were fixed, the Jews were upon them before the assault, fighting hand to hand with the most resolute courage ; till at length the Romans, who could continually pour new troops upon them, while the besieged had none to supply their place when weary, formed a solid phalanx, and moving on as one man, drove back the Galileans, and were already within the walls. Still Josephus had a last expedient. He had prepared an immense quantity of boiling oil, and, at a signal, this was poured, vessels and all, which burst with the heat, upon the ascending phalanx. The ranks were broken, and the men rolled down, wild with agony ; for the boiling oil, which kindles easily and cools slowly, trickled within their armor. They had not time to tear off their breastplates

and bucklers before it had penetrated to the skin ; but they leaped about and writhed with anguish, or plunged headlong from the bridges ; or, if they attempted to fly, were pierced through their backs, the only part which was without defensive armor. Yet the steady courage of the Romans was not thus to be repelled. However those behind might pity their suffering companions, they still pressed forward, and sternly rebuked them for standing in their way, and for impeding braver men in the performance of their duty. But the Jews had still another stratagem. They poured boiled fenn-greek, a kind of herb, upon the planks on which the enemy were mounting the breach, and made them so slippery that no one could gain a firm footing, either to ascend or retreat. Some fell on their faces, and were trampled down by those who followed ; others rolled back upon the embankment. The Jews struck at them as they lay and grovelled ; or, the close combat being thus interrupted, discharged their javelins, and heaped darts and stones upon them. At length, about the evening, the general recalled his worsted men, with considerable loss in killed and wounded. Those of Jotapata had six killed, and three hundred wounded.¹

Vespasian found his troops rather exasperated than disheartened by this obstinate resistance ; but yet it was necessary to proceed by more slow and cautious approaches. He gave orders that the embankment should be raised considerably ; and that fifty towers should be built upon it, strongly girded with iron, both that the weight might make them more firm, and to

¹ *ἔϊδος ὀσπρίον, ἥτις ἐ θῆ ἐπιχεομένη ὀλισθον ἐμπυῖει τοῖς ποσὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπισφαλῇ, ὅπερ Ἰώσηπος πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐμηχύνεσθαι. Suidas in voce. Confer Plin. xviii. 16; Col. ii. 10. 10. "Mibi quidem (ait Lipsius, Polior. v. 3) hoc novum et alibi non lectum." Cardwell, note on 1 J.*

secure them against fire. In these he placed his javelin-men, his slingers, and archers, and the lighter engines for the discharge of missiles. These, being concealed by the height and the breastworks of their towers, might take deliberate aim at all who appeared upon the walls. This was a fatal measure to the Jews. The darts and arrows came pouring from above, so that they could not shift and avoid them. They could have no revenge against these invisible foes; for their own arrows could not reach to the height of the towers, and the towers, being solid and compact with iron, could not be set on fire. All they could do was to abandon their walls, and, when any party approached, make a rapid and desperate sally to beat them off. Thus their own loss was considerable, — that of the Romans very slight. Still, however, they kept up a manful resistance, and constantly repelled the enemy from the walls.

But now the fall of a neighboring fortress was a dreadful omen, and a warning of their own approaching fate to the defenders of Jotapata. A city called Japha,¹ at no great distance, emboldened by the vigorous defence of Jotapata, closed its gates against the Romans. Vespasian detached Trajan, the father of the Emperor, with 2000 foot and 1000 horse, to reduce the place.² The city was strongly situated, and surrounded by a double wall. The men of Japha came boldly forth to meet the enemy; but this hardihood was their ruin. They were repulsed and chased to the walls. The pursuers and pursued entered pell-mell within the outer gates. Those who defended the inner wall instantly

¹ Japha (see above, p. 240), the most populous *κώμη* in Galilee. B. J. iii. 7. 31. Jafa is thought to be the Japha of Josephus: it was visited by Mr. Wolcot. *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1843. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, p. 701.

² Plin. *Panegyri*. c. 89. Spanheim, *de Usu Numm.*, Diss. xi. p. 323. Basche, *Lexicon*, ii. i. 378.

closed their gates, and shut out the flower of their own garrison as well as the enemy. The fugitives, hotly pursued, were cooped up between the two walls, and mowed down with horrible carnage. They rushed to the gates, called upon their fellow-citizens by name, and entreated them to open and let them in, — but in vain ; to admit them, was to admit the conquering enemy. Totally disheartened, not only by the terror of the foe, but by the apparent treachery of their friends, they had no courage to resist ; but either stood still to be tamely butchered, reproaching, as it were, those who looked down from the walls with their miserable end, — or, in desperate frenzy, rushed on each other's swords, or fell upon their own ; and so they died, execrating their fellow-citizens rather than the enemy. In the flight and in the suburb 12,000 perished ; and those who had thus, either out of panic or miscalculating prudence, betrayed their fellow-citizens, obtained only a brief respite ; for Trajan, rightly concluding that the garrison must be greatly enfeebled by this loss, formed the blockade of the city, — and with courtier-like reserve, as if he already anticipated the imperial destiny of the Flavian family, sent despatches to Vespasian to request that his son Titus might be detached to complete the victory. Titus speedily arrived with 1000 foot and 500 horse. He took the command, and, placing Trajan at the head of the left wing, and himself leading the right, gave orders for a general assault. No sooner had the soldiers fixed the scaling-ladders than the Galileans, after a feeble resistance, abandoned the walls. Titus and his soldiers leaped down into the city, and, the Galileans rallying, a furious conflict ensued ; for the citizens blocked up the narrow streets and lanes, and fought desperately,

while the women, from the roofs of the houses, hurled down everything on which they could lay their hands. The battle lasted for six hours, when all who could bear arms were slain; and the rest, old and young, — part in the public streets, part in the houses, — were indiscriminately put to the sword. The women alone and infants were reserved as slaves: 15,000 were killed, 2130 taken.

It is remarkable that the Samaritans, who are generally accused by the Jews as disclaiming their kindred in every period of danger, made common cause in this insurrection. Roman oppression must indeed have weighed heavily, if the indignation it excited could overpower the rooted animosity of Samaritan and Jew, and set them in arms together against the same enemy. The Samaritans had not openly joined the revolt, but stood prepared with a great force on the sacred mountain of Gerizim, — for most of their strong cities were garrisoned by the Romans. Vespasian determined to anticipate and suppress the insurrectionary spirit which was manifestly brooding in the whole region. Cerealis¹ was sent with 600 horse, and 3000 infantry, who suddenly surrounded the foot of the mountain. It was the height of summer, and the Samaritans, who had laid in no provision, suffered grievously from the want of water: some actually died of thirst; others deserted to the Romans. As soon as Cerealis supposed that they were sufficiently enfeebled, he gradually drew his forces up the side of the mountain, enclosing the enemy in a narrower compass, as in the toils of a skilful hunter. He then sent to them to throw down their arms, and promised a general amnesty. On their re-

¹ Petilius Cerealis, who commanded the ninth legion. Tac. Ann. xiv. 32; Hist. iv. 71; Vit. Agric. 8. 17; Dion, lxxv. 18; lxxvi. 30, with Reimar's note.

fusal, he charged them with irresistible fury, and slew the whole, to the number of 11,600.

And now the end of Jotapata drew near. For forty-seven days its gallant inhabitants had resisted the discipline and courage of the whole Roman army, under their most skilful general ; they had confronted bravery with bravery, and stratagem with stratagem. They were now worn out with watching and fatigue, with wounds and thirst. Their ranks were dreadfully thinned, and the overwearied survivors had to fight all day and watch all night. A deserter found his way to the camp of Vespasian, and gave intelligence of the enfeebled state of the garrison, urging him to make an assault at the early dawn of morning, when the sentinels were apt to be found sleeping on their posts. Vespasian suspected the traitor, for nothing had been more striking during the siege than the fidelity of the Jews to their cause. One man who had been taken had endured the most horrible torments, and though burnt in many parts of his body, steadily refused to betray the state of the town, till at length he was crucified. Still the story bore marks of probability ; and Vespasian, thinking that no stratagem could inflict great injury on his powerful army, prepared for the assault.

A thick morning mist enveloped the whole city, as at the appointed hour the Romans, with silent step, approached the walls. Titus was the first to mount, with Domitius Sabinus, a tribune, and a few soldiers of the fifteenth legion. They killed the sentinels, and stole quietly down into the city. Sextus Cerealis, and Placidus, followed with their troops. The citadel was surprised ; it was broad day, yet the besieged, in the heavy sleep of fatigue, had not discovered that the enemy were within the walls ; and even now, those

who awoke saw nothing through the dim and blinding mist. But by this time the whole army was within the gates, and the Jews were awakened to a horrible sense of their situation by the commencement of the slaughter. The Romans remembered what they had suffered during the siege, and it was not a time when mercy and compassion, foreign to their usual character, could arrest the arm of vengeance. They charged furiously down from the citadel, hewing their way through the multitude, who, unable to defend themselves, stumbled, and were crushed in the uneven ways; or were suffocated in the narrow lanes, or rolled headlong down the precipices. Nothing was to be seen but slaughter; nothing heard but the shrieks of the dying and the shouts of the conquerors. A few of the most hardy had gathered round Josephus, and mutually exhorted each other to self-destruction; as they could not slay the enemy, they would not be tamely slain by them. A great number fell by each other's hands. A few of the guard who had been at first surprised, fled to a tower on the northern part of the wall, and made some resistance. At length they were surrounded, and gave themselves up to be quietly butchered. The Romans might have boasted that they had taken the city without the loss of a man, had not a centurion, named Antonius, been slain by a stratagem. There were a great number of deep caverns under the city, in which many took refuge; one of these, being hotly pursued, entreated Antonius to reach his hand to him, as a pledge of accepting his surrender, as well as to help him to clamber out. The incautious Roman stretched out his hand; the Jew instantly pierced him in the groin with a lance, and killed him.

That day all were put to the sword who appeared in

the streets or houses; the next, the conquerors set themselves to search the caverns and underground passages, still slaughtering all the men, and sparing none but infants and women. 1200 captives were taken. During the siege and capture 40,000 men fell. Vespasian gave orders that the city should be razed to the ground, and all the defences burnt. Thus fell Jotapata, on the 1st day of Panemus (July).

But among all the dead, the Romans sought in vain for the body of their obstinate and subtle enemy, Josephus.¹ Vespasian himself expressed great anxiety for his capture; but all their search was baffled, and they began to fear that the wily chieftain had, after all, withdrawn himself from their vengeance. During the confusion of the massacre, Josephus had leaped down the shaft of a dry well, from the bottom of which a long cavern led off, entirely concealed from the sight of those above. There he, unexpectedly, found himself among forty of the most distinguished citizens of Jotapata, who had made this their hiding-place, and furnished it with provisions for several days. He lay hid all the day, while the enemy were prowling about, and at night crept out, and endeavored to find some way of escape from the city; but the Roman guards were too vigilant, and he was obliged to return to his lair. Two days he remained without detection; on the third, a woman who had been with those within the cavern, being captured, betrayed the secret. Vespasian immediately dispatched two tribunes, Paulinus² and Gallicanus, to induce Josephus, by a promise of his life, to surrender. Josephus, while he lay quiet in his cavern, was suddenly startled by hearing himself called

¹ B. J. iii. 8. 1.

² Probably Valerius Paulinus, not the famous Suetonius Paulinus.

on by name. It was the voice of the tribune with the message of Vespasian. But Josephus had no great confidence in Roman mercy, and refused to come forth, till Vespasian sent another tribune, Nicanor, with whom he had been well acquainted. Nicanor stood at the mouth of the well, and enlarged on the natural generosity of the Romans, and their admiration of so gallant an enemy; he assured the suspicious Josephus that Vespasian had no intention against his life, but was anxious to save a man who had displayed such noble self-devotion; and strongly urged that his delay would be of little use, as they might easily take him by force. He even added that Vespasian would not have employed the friend of Josephus on such a mission, if he had any secret or treacherous design.

The Roman soldiers would have settled the affair in a much more summary manner: they were with difficulty restrained by their commander from throwing fire into the cavern, which would either have suffocated those within, or forced them to make their way out. At this moment Josephus remembered his dream, which had so precisely foretold all the calamities of the Jews, and all which was to happen to the future emperor of Rome. Now, Josephus was an adept in the interpretation of dreams: as a priest he had deeply studied the prophecies of the Holy Books. He was suddenly and, doubtless, most opportunely seized with divine inspiration, which inwardly assured him that it was the will of Heaven that his country should fall, and Rome triumph, and he himself save his life. So, if he passed over to the Roman party, he would do so, not as a renegade, but as an obedient servant of God.

Saying this within himself, he consented to the terms of Nicanor. But, unhappily, a new difficulty occurred.

However satisfactory to his own conscience this determination of humbly submitting to the will of God, the companions of Josephus were not religious enough to enter into his motives. They reproached him with the vulgar desire of saving his life, and with cowardly defection from the laws of his country. They reminded him of his own eloquent exhortations to despise death in such a noble cause, — exhortations with which so many had generously complied. They intimated somewhat plainly that they would assist his failing patriotism, and enable him to obtain all the honors of martyrdom ; in short, that their hands and swords were ready to enable him to die, not as a renegade, but as the chieftain of the Jews. At the same time they showed their zealous interest in his character by surrounding him with drawn swords, and threatening to put him to death if he stirred. Josephus was in great embarrassment, for he felt that it would be impious resistance to the will of God if he should thus submit to die. He began (in his own words) to *philosophize* to them. It is not very probable that at this perilous instant Josephus should have the self-command to make, or his fierce assailants the patience to listen to, a long set speech ; but his oration, as it stands in the History, is so curious, that we must insert the chief topics on which he dwelt. “Why, my friends,” he began, “should we be so eager for self-murder ? why should we separate associates so dear to each other as the soul and body ? It is noble to die in war, true ! but according to the legitimate usage of war, by the sword of the enemy. If I had supplicated for mercy, I should have deserved to die ; but if the Romans freely offer to spare us, why should we not spare ourselves ? For what have we been fighting all this time ? — to save our

lives ; and now we are to be such fools as to throw our lives away. It is noble, indeed, to die for our liberty, yes, in battle : — that man is equally a coward who fears to die when death is necessary, and he who chooses to die when there is no necessity. Why do we refuse to surrender ? In fear lest the Romans should kill us ; and therefore we would kill ourselves. In fear lest we be made slaves ? at present, indeed, we enjoy great liberty ! ” He then entered at large into the commonplace arguments against self-murder ; the disgrace of abandoning the helm when the bark is in danger ; the natural fondness of all animals for life, and their aversion to death ; above all, the sin of throwing away the most precious gift of God. “ Our bodies are mortal, and made of perishable matter ; but the soul is immortal ; as a part of the Divinity it dwells within our bodies. He is base and treacherous who betrays that with which he is intrusted by man ; how much more he who basely gives up the precious trust which God has confided to him ! We punish slaves even if they desert the service of a cruel master, yet we have no scruple to desert the service of a good and merciful Deity. Know ye not that those who depart this life according to the law of nature, and pay the debt when it is demanded by God, obtain everlasting glory ? their houses and families prosper ; their souls remain pure and obedient, and pass away to the holiest mansions in heaven ; from whence, in the revolution of ages, they again take up their dwelling in pure bodies. But for those who have madly lifted their hands against their own lives, the darkest pit of hell receives their souls, and God avenges their crime upon their children’s children. Hence God and our wise lawgiver have enacted a severe punishment against the suicide : his

body is cast forth at sunset without burial ; the guilty hand, which dared to separate the soul from the body, is cut off." (Here Josephus seems to have calculated on the ignorance of his audience, and boldly ingrafted a Grecian superstition on the Mosaic Law.) He concluded with protesting that he had no thought of deserting to the ranks of the Romans, but that he rather looked forward to their putting him to death, in which case he should die gladly, having affixed the stain of the basest treachery on the enemy. But, unfortunately, these subtle arguments, these sublime doctrines and magnanimous sentiments were lost on the dull ears of the obstinate Galileans ; they only became more enraged ; they ran at him with their swords, they reproached him with his cowardice, and every one of them was ready to plunge his sword to the heart of the craven. Josephus stood like a wild beast at bay, constantly turning to the man that was rushing at him ; one he called familiarly by his name ; at another he looked sternly, as if he were still his commander ; here he clasped a hand, there he entreated ; at all events determined to save his life, if possible. At length his distress so wrought upon them that some out of respect, some out of attachment, perhaps some out of contempt, dropped their swords ; those of not a few, he says, fell out of their hands, others were quietly returned into their sheaths. The wily leader marked his time, and had a stratagem ready on the instant. "If we must die, then, let us not die by our own, but by each other's hands. Let us cast lots, and thus fall one after another ; for if the rest perish, it would be the deepest disgrace for me to survive." They all readily agreed, thinking that Josephus would inevitably share their fate. How the lots were cast, we are not informed, or

whether, among his other soldierlike and noble qualities, the worthy commander had some skill in sleight-of-hand. But it so happened (by good fortune or the will of Providence) that they all, one after another, as the lots came up, offered their breasts to the sword. Josephus found himself left, with one other, to the last. Not in the least inclined that the lot should fall on himself, and with a nice and scrupulous reluctance to imbrue his hands in the blood of a fellow-creature, Josephus persuaded this man to accept of the offered terms; and so they both came out together, leaving their dead friends in the cavern. Nicanor immediately led him to Vespasian. The Romans crowded from all parts to see this redoubted chieftain. A great rush and uproar ensued. Some were rejoicing at his capture, others threatening him with vengeance; all pressing forward to get a sight of him: those who were at a distance cried out that he should be put to death; those near him were seized with admiration and remembrance of his noble actions. Not one of the officers, who had been most furious against him, but inclined to mercy directly they saw him, particularly Titus, who was struck with his dignified fortitude and vigor of manhood. He was thirty years old at the beginning of the war. The influence of Titus was of great weight with Vespasian to dispose him to lenity; the prisoner was ordered to be closely guarded, with the design that he might be sent to Nero at Rome.

Josephus instantly demanded to be admitted to a private conference with Vespasian. All, excepting Titus and two friends, retired. Josephus assumed at once the air and language of a prophet: he solemnly protested that nothing would have tempted him to avoid the death which became a noble Jew, but the con-

viction that he was a messenger of God, to announce to Vespasian that he and his son would speedily assume the imperial dignity:¹ — “Send me not to Nero : bind me, and keep me in chains, as thy own prisoner ; for soon wilt thou be the sovereign lord of earth and sea, and of the whole human race.” Vespasian naturally mistrusted the adroit flatterer ; but, before long, permitted himself to be fully persuaded of his prophetic character. Josephus appealed to the inhabitants of Jotapata, whether he had not predicted the taking of the city, and their own capture at the end of forty-seven days. The captives, who could only have been women, as all the men were put to the sword, readily avouched his story ; and the prophet, though still kept in chains, was treated with great distinction, and received presents of raiment and other valuable donatives.

This is a strange adventure. It is impossible not to admire the dexterity with which the historian extricates himself from all the difficulties of his situation, which, however highly colored, must have been one of the greatest peril. What secrets that dark cavern may have concealed, can never be known ; but we should certainly have read with deep interest the account of these transactions, and indeed of the whole Galilean administration of Josephus, in the work of his rival, Justus of Tiberias, unhappily lost. But, after every deduction for his love of the marvellous, and the natural inclination to paint highly where he was the hero of his own story, the valor and skill displayed in the defence of Jotapata, and the singular address with which he insinuated himself into the favor of Vespasian

¹ Tacitus observes with his bitter shrewdness, “Occultâ lege fati, et ostentis, ac responsis, destinatum Vespasianum liberisque ejus imperium, post fortunam credidimus.” Hist. i. 10 ; compare Suet. Vesp. c. iv.

and his son, give a very high impression of the abilities of Josephus. As to the sincerity of his belief in his own inspiration, it would more easily have obtained credit, if he had shown himself, on other occasions, either more scrupulous, or less addicted to stratagem. The prediction itself was far from requiring any great degree of political sagacity. It was impossible to suppose that the bloody Nero would be allowed to burden the throne much longer. The imperial family was all but extinct. The empire would, in all probability, fall to the lot of the boldest and most ambitious of the great military leaders, among whom Vespasian stood, if not confessedly the first, yet certainly, with few competitors, in the first rank. It was therefore no very bold hazard to designate him as the future sovereign: at all events, and perhaps Josephus looked no further, the prediction served his immediate turn; and, if it had not eventually proved true, yet the life of the prophet was secure, and his history, if ever written, might have preserved a prudent silence with regard to a prediction which the event had not justified.¹

The progress of this year's campaign was not according to the usual career of the Roman arms: a powerful army had marched to subdue a rebellious and insignificant province; two months had nearly elapsed, and

¹ The interest which attaches to the siege of Jotapata, the extraordinary minuteness of the description in Josephus, the character of Josephus himself, with its strange power and still stranger inconsistency, the perplexing problem as to his veracity as well as his patriotism, with the extraordinary fact that with no instruction or experience in military affairs he should have acted here with the skill of a consummate general, there with the obstinate courage, fertility of resources, craft, and readiness of the guerrilla partisan, — all this tempted me perhaps to draw out this siege and this personal history to a disproportionate length. Having done so, I am not inclined to shorten it, so significant does it still appear to me of the state of the Jewish mind, and the nature of the conflict of the Jews with the Roman supremacy, against which, in the wide circle of the Empire, they were the last desperate combatants for freedom.

they were little beyond the frontier. Now, however, they proceeded with greater rapidity. Vespasian returned to Ptolemais, from whence he marched along the coast to Cæsarea. The Greek inhabitants of that city had now, by the massacre of their Jewish competitors, the whole region at their command. They threw open their gates, went forth to receive the Romans with the loudest and most sincere demonstrations of joy; for their vengeance was not yet satiated with Jewish blood. They sent a petition for the execution of Josephus; but Vespasian did not condescend to reply.¹ He took possession of Cæsarea, as pleasant winter-quarters for two of his legions; for though very hot in summer, the climate of Cæsarea was genial in winter: he fixed on Scythopolis for the station of the other legion, the fifteenth.

Cestius Gallus, during his flight, had abandoned Joppa. A strong body of insurgents had collected from all quarters, and taken possession of the town, where they had built a great number of barks, with which they made piratical excursions, and plundered all the rich merchant-vessels which traded between Syria, Phœnicia, and Egypt. Vespasian sent a considerable force against this city. The troops reached Joppa by night; and the walls being unguarded, entered at once. The inhabitants made no resistance, but fled to their ships, and moored for the night out of the reach of the enemy's darts and arrows. Joppa is a bad harbor: the shore is steep and rugged, making a kind of semicircular bay, the extreme headlands of which approach each other. These headlands are formed by precipitous rocks and breakers, which extend far into the sea; when the north-wind blows, there is a tremendous

¹ B. J. iii. 9. 3.

surge, which makes the port more dangerous than the open sea. In the morning this wind, called by the sailors of Joppa the black north-wind, began to blow furiously; it dashed the ships against each other, or against the rocks. Some endeavored to push to sea against the swell; for they dreaded alike the lee-shore breakers and the enemy: but all these, unable to stem the rolling of the swell, foundered. The rest the wind drove towards the city, which the Romans would not let them enter. The shrieks of the men, the crashing of the vessels, made an awful din; many were drowned; many were seen swimming on broken pieces of wreck; many, to escape drowning, fell on their own swords. The whole shore was strewn with mutilated bodies; those who struggled to the beach were slain by the Romans: 4200 lives were lost. The Romans razed the city, but garrisoned the citadel, lest it should again become a nest of pirates.

At first, vague rumors of the fall of Jotapata reached Jerusalem: not a man had escaped to bear the fatal intelligence. But bad tidings are apt to travel fast; and, as is usual, when the truth became known, it was accompanied with many circumstances of falsehood. Josephus was said to have fallen; and all Jerusalem united in lamenting his loss: his death was a public calamity. There was scarcely a family which had not to deplore some private affliction; they bewailed those who had been their guests, (probably at the great festivals,) or relations, or friends, or brothers: but all deplored Josephus. For thirty days, wailings were heard in the city; and musicians were hired to perform funeral chants. When, however, the news arrived that Josephus was not merely alive, but treated with distinction by Vespasian, sorrow gave place to the

fiercest indignation. By some he was called a dastard, by others a traitor; his name was execrated; and to their motives for fierce and obstinate resistance to the Romans was added an eager desire to revenge themselves on the apostate. But they were yet left for some time to exhale their fury in words, and display their bravery, not against the enemy, but against each other.

Vespasian — whether his army had been too severely handled at Jotapata, or whether, as is possible, he wished, in case any effort should be made at Rome to rid the world of the tyrant, to find himself at the head of a powerful and unbroken force — turned aside from the direct road of victory, and declined to advance upon the rebellious capital. He accepted the invitation of Agrippa, who earnestly solicited his presence, in order that the king might make a splendid display of his devotion to the Roman cause, and, by the terror of the Roman arms, quell the spirit of revolt in his own dominions. From Cæsarea by the sea, Vespasian passed to Cæsarea Philippi, where the army reposed for twenty days. Tarichea and Tiberias, though on the western coast of the Lake of Gennesaret, belonged to the dominions of Agrippa. Evident symptoms of insurrection appeared in both these cities. Titus was ordered to concentrate all the forces on Scythopolis, which is at no great distance from Tiberias: there Vespasian met him; and they advanced to a place on an eminence, within half a mile of Tiberias, named Sennabris. From thence he sent forward a decurion, named Valerian, with fifty horse, to exhort the inhabitants to surrender; for the people were peaceably disposed, but forced into war by a small turbulent party. Valerian, when he came near the city, dismounted, that his troop might not appear like a body

of skirmishers ; but before he could utter a word, the insurgents, headed by Jesus, the son of Saphat, charged him with great fury. Valerian, though he might easily have dispersed them, had no orders to fight ; and, astonished at the boldness of the Jews, fled on foot, with five of his companions. The captured horses were led in triumph into the city. The senate of Tiberias took the alarm, and fled to the Roman camp : they entreated Vespasian not to act precipitately against a city almost entirely disposed to the Roman interest, and not to visit the crime of a few desperate insurgents on the unoffending people. Vespasian had given orders for the plunder of the city ; but partly in compliance with their supplication, partly from respect for Agrippa, who trembled for the fate of one of the fairest towns in his dominions, he accepted their submission. The insurgents, under Jesus, fled to Tarichea. The people opened their gates, and received the Romans with acclamations. As the entrance to the city was too narrow for the army to march in, except in very slender files, Vespasian commanded part of the wall to be thrown down ; but he strictly prohibited all plunder or outrage against the inhabitants ; and, at the intervention of Agrippa, left the rest of the wall standing.

Not only the insurgents from Tiberias, but from all the adjacent country, assembled in Tarichea, which likewise stood, south of Tiberias, on the shore of Genesaret. This beautiful lake has been compared by travellers with that of Geneva. In those days the shores were crowded with opulent towns, which lay embowered in the most luxuriant orchards, for which the whole district was celebrated. Such was the temperature of the climate that every kind of fruit-tree flourished in the highest perfection, — nuts, which

usually grow in a colder climate, with the palm of the sultry desert, and the fig and olive, which require a milder air. "Nature," says Josephus, "is, as it were, ambitious of bringing together the fruits of different climates, and there is a strife among the seasons of the year, each claiming this favored country as its own: for not only do fruits of every species flourish, but continue to ripen; the grapes and figs for ten months, and other kinds throughout the year. The water of the lake is remarkably salubrious, milder than that of fountains, and as cool as snow. It abounds in fish of several kinds, peculiar to its waters." This lake had been the chief scene of the miracles and preaching of Jesus Christ. Its blue and quiet waters were now to be broken by other barks than those of the humble fishermen who spread their nets upon its surface; and to reflect, instead of the multitudes who listened to the peaceful Teacher, the armor of embattled squadrons and the glittering pride of the Roman eagles. Tarichea had been carefully fortified by Josephus; not indeed so strongly as the more important town of Tiberias, but still every part that was not washed by the lake had been surrounded with a substantial wall. The inhabitants had a great number of vessels in their port, in which they might escape to the opposite shore, or, if necessary, fight for the naval command of the lake. The Romans pitched their camp under the walls; but while they were commencing their works, Jesus, at the head of the Tiberians, made a vigorous sally, dispersed the workmen, and when the legionaries advanced in steady array, fled back without loss. The Romans drove a large party to their barks; the fugitives pushed out into the lake, but still remained within the range of missiles, cast anchor, and drawing up their barks,

like a phalanx, began a regular battle with the enemy on the land.

Vespasian heard that the Galileans were in great force on the plain before the city. He sent Titus with 600 picked horse to disperse them. The numbers were so immense that Titus sent to demand further succors; but before they arrived, he determined to charge the enemy. He addressed his men, exhorting them not to be dismayed by numbers, but to secure the victory before their fellow-soldiers could come up to share their glory. He then put himself at their head, and his men were rather indignant than joyful at beholding Trajan, at the head of 400 horse, make his appearance in the field. Vespasian had likewise sent Antonius Silas with 2000 archers to occupy the side of a hill opposite to the city, in order to divert those who were on the walls. Titus led the attack; the Jews made some resistance, but overpowered by the long spears and the weight of the charging cavalry, gave way, and fled in disorder towards Tarichea. The cavalry pursued, making dreadful havoc, and endeavored to cut them off from the city. The fugitives made their way through by the mere weight of numbers. When they entered the city, a tremendous dissension arose. The inhabitants, anxious to preserve their property, and dismayed by their defeat, urged capitulation. The strangers steadily and fiercely refused compliance. The noise of the dissension reached the assailants, and Titus immediately cried out, "Now is the time for a resolute attack, while they are distracted by civil discord." He leaped upon his horse, dashed into the lake, and, followed by his men, entered the city. Consternation seized the besieged; they stood still, not attempting resistance. Jesus and his insur-

gents, at the alarm, fled with others towards the lake, and came right upon the Romans. They were killed endeavoring to reach the shore ; the inhabitants without resistance, the strangers fighting gallantly, for the former still cherished a hope that their well-known peaceful disposition might obtain them mercy. At length Titus, having punished the ringleaders, gave orders that the carnage should cease. Those who had before fled to the lake, when they saw the city taken, pushed out to sea as far as possible. Titus sent information to his father of this signal victory, and gave orders that vessels might instantly be prepared to pursue the fugitives. When these were ready, Vespasian embarked some of his troops, and rowed into the centre of the lake. The poor Galileans in their light fishing-boats could not withstand the heavy barks of the Romans, but they rowed round them, and attacked them with stones, — feeble warfare, which only irritated the pursuers ! for if, thrown from a distance, they did no damage, only splashing the water over the soldiers or falling harmless from their iron cuirasses ; if those who threw them approached nearer, they could be hit in their turn by the Roman arrows. All the shores were occupied by hostile soldiers, and they were pursued into every inlet and creek ; some were transfixed with spears from the high banks of the vessels, some were boarded and put to the sword ; the boats of others were crushed or swamped, and the people drowned. If their heads rose as they were swimming, they were hit with an arrow, or by the prow of the bark ; if they clung to the side of the enemy's vessel, their hands and heads were hewn off. The few survivors were driven to the shore, where they met with no more mercy. Either before they landed, or in the act of landing,

they were cut down or pierced through. The blue waters of the whole lake were tinged with blood, and its clear surface exhaled for several days a foetid steam. The shores were strewn with wrecks of boats and swollen bodies that lay rotting in the sun, and infected the air, till the conquerors themselves shrank from the effects of their own barbarities. Here we must add to our bloody catalogue the loss of 6000 lives.

These, however, were the acts of an exasperated soldiery against enemies with arms in their hands. But Vespasian tarnished his fame forever, by a deed at once of the most loathsome cruelty and deliberate treachery. After the battle, his tribunal was erected in Tarichea, and he sat in solemn judgment on those of the strangers who had been taken captives, and had been separated from the inhabitants of the city. According to his apologist, Josephus, his friends encircled the seat of justice, and urged the necessity of putting an end to these desperate vagabonds, who, having no home, would only retreat to other cities, forcing them to take up arms. Vespasian, having made up his sanguinary resolution, was unwilling to terrify the inhabitants of Tarichea by commanding the massacre in their streets; he feared that it might excite insurrection; nor did he wish the whole city to be witness of his open violation of that faith which had been pledged when they surrendered. But his friends urged that every act was lawful against the Jews, and that right must give way to expediency. The insurgents received an ambiguous assurance of amnesty, but were ordered to retreat from the city only by the road to Tiberias. The poor wretches had implicit reliance on Roman faith. The soldiers immediately seized and blockaded the road to Tiberias; not one was allowed to leave the

suburbs. Vespasian, in person, pursued them into the stadium ; he ordered 1200 of the aged and helpless to be instantly slain, and drafted off 6000 of the most able-bodied to be sent to Nero, who was employed in a mad scheme of digging through the Isthmus of Corinth ; 30,400 were sold as slaves, besides those whom he bestowed on Agrippa, who sold his portion also. The greater part of these, if we may believe Josephus, were desperate and ferocious ruffians, from Trachonitis, Gaulonitis, Gadara, and Hippos, men who sought to stir up war that they might escape the punishment of the crimes they had committed during peace. Had they been devils, it could not excuse the base treachery of Vespasian.

This terrible example appalled the whole of Galilee, and most of the towns capitulated at once to avoid the same barbarities ; three cities alone still defied the conqueror, Gamala, Gischala, and Itabyrium, the city which Josephus had fortified on Mount Tabor. Though the inhabitants of Gamala, situated on the side of the Lake of Gennesaret, opposite to Tarichea, at no great distance from the shore, might have inhaled the tainted gales, which brought across the waters the noisome and pestilential odors of the late massacre ; though probably some single fugitive may have escaped, and hastening to the only city of refuge, have related the dreadful particulars of those still more revolting deeds which had been perpetrated in the stadium of Tarichea ; yet Gamala, proud in the impregnable strength of its situation, peremptorily refused submission. Gamala was the chief city of Lower Gaulonitis, and belonged to the government of Agrippa. It was even more inaccessible than Jotapata. It stood on a long and rugged ledge of

mountains, which sloped downward at each end, and rose in the middle into a sudden ridge, like the hump of a camel, from which the town had its name Gamala. The face and both sides of the rock ended in deep and precipitous chasms or ravines; it was only accessible from behind, where it joined the mountain ridge. On this side a deep ditch had been dug right across, so as to cut off all approach. The houses rose one above another on the steep declivity of the hill, and were crowded very thick and close. The whole city seemed as if hanging on a sharp precipice, and threatening constantly to fall and crush itself. It inclined to the south, but on the southern crag, of immense height, was the citadel, and above this was a precipice without a wall, which broke off sheer and abrupt, and sank into a ravine of incalculable depth. There was a copious fountain within the walls. This impregnable city, Josephus had still further strengthened by trenches and watercourses. The garrison was neither so numerous nor so brave as that of Jotapata, but still confident in the unassailable position of their city. It was crowded with fugitives from all parts, and had already for seven months defied a besieging force which Agrippa had sent against it. Vespasian marched to Emmaus, celebrated for its warm baths, and then appeared before Gamala. It was impossible to blockade the whole circuit of a town so situated. But he took possession of all the neighboring heights, particularly of the mountain which commanded the city. He then took up a position behind and to the east, where there was a lofty tower. There the fifteenth legion had their quarters; the fifth threw up works opposite to the centre of the city; the tenth was employed in filling up the ditches and ravines.

Agrippa ventured to approach the walls to persuade the inhabitants to capitulation. He was struck by a stone from a sling on the right elbow, and carried off with all speed by the followers. This insult to the native king exasperated the Roman soldiery. The embankments were raised with great expedition by the skilful and practised soldiers. Directly they were ready, the engines were advanced. Chares and Joseph commanded in the city; they had some misgivings of the event, for they were but scantily supplied with provisions and water. Still, however, they manned the wall boldly, and for some time vigorously resisted the engineers who were fixing the machines; but, at length, beat off by the catapults and other engines for throwing stones, they drew back into the city. The Romans immediately advanced the battering-rams in three places, and beat down the wall. They rushed in through the breaches, and broke into the city amid the clang of their trumpets, the clashing of their arms, and the shouting of their men.

The Jews thronged the narrow streets, and bravely resisted the advance of the assailants. At length, overpowered by numbers, who attacked them on all sides, they were forced up to the steep part of the city. There they turned, and charging the enemy with great fury, drove them down the declivities, and made great havoc among them, as they endeavored to make their way up the narrow streets, and along the rugged and craggy paths. The Romans, who could not repel their enemy, thus hanging as it were over their heads, nor yet break through the throngs of their own men, who forced them on from beneath, took refuge in the houses of the citizens, which were very low. The crowded houses could

not bear the weight, and came crashing down. One, as it fell, beat down another, and so all the way down the hill. The situation of the Romans was tremendous. As they felt the houses sinking, they leaped on the roofs, and fell with the tumbling buildings. Many were totally buried in the ruins; many caught by some part of their bodies, as in a trap; many were suffocated with the dust and rubbish. The Gamalites beheld the hand of God in this unexpected calamity of the foe. They rushed on, regardless of their own lives, struck at the enemy on the roofs, or as they were slipping about in the narrow ways, and, aiming steadily from above, slew every one who fell. The ruins furnished them with stones, and the slain of the enemy with weapons. They drew the swords of the dead to plunge into the hearts of the dying. Many of the Romans who had fallen from the houses killed themselves. Flight was impossible, from their ignorance of the ways and the blinding dust; many slew each other by mistake, and fell among their own men. Those who could find the road retreated from the city. Vespasian himself, who had shared in the labors of his men, was deeply afflicted to see the city rolling down in ruins upon the heads of his soldiers. Neglectful of his own safety, he had ascended by degrees, without perceiving it, to the upper part of the city. He found himself in the thick of the danger, with but few followers, for Titus was absent on a mission to the prefect of Syria. It was neither safe nor honorable to fly. With the readiness of an old and experienced soldier, he called to those who were with him to lock their shields over their heads in the form of a testudo. The storm of darts and of the falling ruins crashed about them without doing them any injury. They perse-

vered. The Gamalites, according to Josephus, who now loses no opportunity of flattering his protector, thinking the Romans' presence of mind little less than divine, relaxed the fury of their attack. The troops retreated with their faces to the enemy, and did not turn till they were safe beyond the walls. The loss of the Romans was great. The brave centurion Æbutius was particularly lamented. A decemvir named Gallus, with ten men, in the tumult, crept into a house and concealed himself there. The good citizens, at supper, sat quietly conversing on the exploits of the day; Gallus, who was a Syrian, understood every word they said. At night he broke out, cut all their throats, and came safe off to the Roman camp.

The soldiers were dispirited with their defeat, and with the shame of having left their general in so perilous a situation. Vespasian addressed them in language of approbation and encouragement: he attributed their recent repulse to accident, and to their own too impetuous ardor, which had led them to fight with the frantic fury of their antagonists, rather than with the steady and disciplined courage of Roman legionaries. The Gamalites, in the mean time, were full of exultation at their unexpected success. But before long, pride gave way to melancholy foreboding, for their provisions began to fail. Their spirits sank, for now they had no hope of being admitted to capitulation. Yet they did not entirely lose their courage and activity. They repaired the shattered walls, and strictly guarded the parts that were still unshaken. When at length the Romans had completed their works, and threatened a second assault, many fled through the sewers, and passages which led into the ravines, where no guard was stationed. The rest of the inhabitants wasted

away with hunger in silence ; for the scanty provisions that remained were kept for the use of the garrison alone.

In the mean time Itabyrium had fallen. This town had been strongly fortified by Josephus. The ascent to the hill of Tabor is on the north, but extremely difficult.¹ The level area on the top, three miles and a quarter in circuit, occupied by the troops, was surrounded in forty days by a strong wall. The lower part of the hill had copious fountains, but the town depended on the cisterns of rain-water. Against this city Placidus was sent with 600 horse. The hill seemed absolutely inaccessible. But the garrison, endeavoring to outgeneral the Roman commander, were themselves caught by their own stratagem. Each party pretended a desire to come to terms. Placidus used mild language ; and the Itabyrians descended the hill as if to treat, but with a secret design of assailing the Romans unawares. At this unexpected assault Placidus feigned flight, to lure them into the plain. They pursued boldly, when he suddenly wheeled round, routed them with dreadful slaughter, and cut off their retreat to the mountain. Those who escaped fled to Jerusalem. The inhabitants of Itabyrium, distressed for want of water, surrendered.

In the mean time the garrison of Gamala still made a vigorous resistance, while the people pined away with hunger. At length, two soldiers of the fifteenth

¹ The height of this mountain, according to the numbers as they stand in Josephus, would be three miles and three quarters. Maundrell ascended it in an hour. The circumference of the town three miles and a quarter. Yet Maundrell states the area on the top to be only two furlongs in length, and one broad. Three miles and a quarter of wall and trench, built in forty days, seems rather beyond credibility.

legion contrived by night to creep under one of the highest towers, where they began to undermine the foundations. By the morning-watch they had got, unperceived, quite under it. They then struck away five of the largest stones, and ran for their lives. The tower came down, guards and all, with a tremendous crash. The rest of the sentinels on the wall fled on all sides. Some were killed as they ran out of the city, among them Joseph, one of the valiant defenders. The whole city was in confusion, men running up and down, with no one to take the command; for the other leader, Chares, lay in the last paroxysm of a fever, and, in the agitation of the alarm, expired.

But all that day the Romans, rendered cautious by their former repulse, made no attempt. Titus had now returned to the camp, and eager to revenge the insult on the Roman arms, with 200 horse and a number of foot entered quietly into the city. As soon as the Galilean guards perceived him, they rushed to arms. Some catching up their children, and dragging their wives along, ran to the citadel, shrieking and crying; others, who encountered Titus, were slain without mercy. Those who could not make their escape to the citadel rushed blindly on the Roman guard. The steep streets ran with torrents of blood. Vespasian led his men immediately against the citadel. The rock on which it stood was rugged and impracticable, of enormous height, and surrounded on all sides by abrupt precipices. The Jews stood upon this crag, the top of which the Roman darts could not reach, striking down all their assailants, and rolling stones and throwing darts upon their heads. But a tremendous tempest completed their ruin. They could not stand on the points of the rock, nor see the enemy as

they scaled the crag. The Romans reached the top, and surrounded the whole party. The memory of their former defeat rankled in their hearts. They slew as well those who surrendered as those who resisted. Numbers threw themselves headlong, with their wives and children, down the precipices. Their despair was more fatal than the Roman sword. 4000 were killed by the enemy; 5000 bodies were found of those who had cast themselves from the rock. Two women alone escaped, the sisters of Philip, Agrippa's general, and they only by concealing themselves, for the Romans spared neither age nor sex; they seized infants and flung them down from the rock. Thus fell Gamala on the 23d of September.¹

Gischala² alone remained in arms. The inhabitants of this town were an agricultural people, and little inclined to war. But the subtle and ambitious John, the son of Levi, the rival of Josephus, commanded a strong faction in the city, headed by his own desperate bandits. The town, therefore, notwithstanding the desire of the people to capitulate, assumed a warlike attitude. Vespasian sent Titus against it with 1000 horse. The tenth legion moved to Scythopolis; he himself with the other two went into winter-quarters at Cæsarea. When he arrived before Gischala, Titus perceived that he might easily take the city by assault. But desirous of avoiding unnecessary bloodshed, and probably well acquainted with the disposition of the people, he sent to offer terms of capitulation. The walls were manned by the faction of John; not one of the people was allowed to approach them while the

¹ B. J. iv. 1. 10.

² Reland and Ritter place Gischala at El Jisch, a short distance north-west of Safed. Ritter, pp. 771, 783.

summons of Titus was proclaimed. John answered, with the greatest temper and moderation, that the garrison accepted with the utmost readiness the generous terms that had been offered; but that the day being the Sabbath, nothing could be concluded without a direct infringement of the Law. Titus not merely conceded this delay, but withdrew his troops to the neighboring town of Cydoessa.

At midnight, John, perceiving that no Roman guard was mounted, stole quietly with all his armed men out of the city, followed by many others, with their families, who had determined on flying to Jerusalem.¹ To the distance of twenty stadia, about two miles and a half, the women and children bore on steadily: their strength then began to fail. They dropped off by degrees, while the men pressed rapidly on, without regarding them. They sat down weeping by the wayside; and the more faint and distant seemed the footsteps of their departing friends, the more near and audible they thought the hurried trampling of the enemy. Some ran against each other, each supposing the other the foe; some lost their way; many were trampled down by other fugitives. Those who kept up longest, as they began to fail, stood calling on the names of their friends and relations, but in vain. The unfeeling John urged his men to save themselves, and make their escape to some place where they might have their revenge on the Romans. When Titus appeared the next day before the gates, the people threw them open, and with their wives and children received him as their deliverer. He sent a troop of horse in pursuit of John. They slew 6000 of the fugitives, and brought back 3000

¹ In his implacable enmity to John of Gischala, Josephus represents this desperate but skilful retreat of John to Jerusalem as a cowardly flight.

women and children to the city. Titus entered Gischala amidst the acclamations of the people ; and conducted himself with great lenity, only threatening the city in case of future disturbance, throwing down part of the wall, and leaving a garrison to preserve the peace. Gischala was the last city in Galilee which offered any resistance ; and the campaign ended soon after, when Vespasian, having made a rapid march against Jamnia and Azotus, both which surrendered, and admitted Roman garrisons, returned to Cæsarea, followed by a vast multitude from all quarters, who preferred instant submission to the Romans to the perils of war.¹

But while the cities of Galilee thus arrested the course of the Roman eagles, — while Jotapata and Gamala set the example of daring and obstinate resistance, — the leaders of the nation in Jerusalem, instead of sending out armies to the relief of the besieged cities, or making an effort in their favor, were engaged in the most dreadful civil conflicts, and were enfeebling the national strength by the most furious collision of factions. It must be allowed that the raw and ill-armed militia of Judæa, if it had been animated by the best and most united spirit, could scarcely have hoped to make head in the open field against the experience and discipline of the Roman legions. Their want of cavalry, perhaps, prevented their undertaking any distant expedition, so that it may be doubted whether it was not their wisest policy to fight only behind their walls, in hopes that siege after siege might weary the patience, and exhaust the strength, of the invading army. But Jerusalem was ill preparing herself to assume the part which became the metropolis of the nation, in this slow

¹ B. J. iv. 3. 2

contest; and better had it been for her, if John of Gischala had perished in the trenches of his native town, or been cut off in his flight by the pursuing cavalry. His fame had gone before him to Jerusalem, perhaps not a little enhanced by the defection of his rival Josephus.¹ The multitude poured out to meet him, as well to do him honor, as to receive authentic tidings of the disasters in Galilee. The heat and the broken breathing of his men showed that they had ridden fast and long; yet they assumed a lofty demeanor, declared that they had not fled, but retreated to maintain a better position for defence, — that for Gischala, and such insignificant villages, it was not worth risking the blood of brave men, — they had reserved all theirs to be shed in the defence of the capital. Yet to many their retreat was too manifestly a flight, and from the dreadful details of massacre and captivity, they foreboded the fate which awaited themselves. John, however, represented the Roman force as greatly enfeebled, and their engines worn out before Jotapata and Gamala; and urged, that, if they were so long in subduing the towns of Galilee, they would inevitably be repulsed with shame from Jerusalem. John was a man of the most insinuating address, and the most plausible and fluent eloquence. The young men listened with eager interest and vehement acclamation; the old sat silent, brooding over their future calamities. The metropolis now began to be divided into two hostile factions; but the whole province had before set them the fatal example of discord. Every city was torn to pieces by civil animosities; wherever the insurgents had time to breathe from the assaults of the Romans, they turned their swords against each other. The war and the

¹ B. J. iv. 3. 1.

peace factions not only distracted the public councils, but in every family, among the dearest and most intimate friends; this vital question created stern and bloody divisions. Every one assembled a band of adherents, or joined himself to some organized party. As in the metropolis, the youth were everywhere unanimous in their ardor for war; the older in vain endeavored to allay the frenzy by calmer and more prudent reasoning. First individuals, afterwards bands of desperate men, began to spread over the whole country, spoiling either by open robbery, or under pretence of chastising those who were traitors to the cause of their country. The unoffending and peaceful, who saw their houses burning, and their families plundered, thought they could have nothing worse to apprehend from the conquest of the Romans than from the lawless violence of their own countrymen. The Roman garrisons in the neighboring towns, either not considering it their business to interfere, or rejoicing, in their hatred to the whole race, to behold their self-inflicted calamities, afforded little or no protection to the sufferers. At length, an immense number of these daring ruffians, satiated with plunder, by degrees, and in secret, stole into Jerusalem, where they formed a great and formidable troop. The city had never been accustomed to exclude strangers from its walls, — it was the national metropolis; and all of Jewish blood had a right to take up their temporary or permanent residence in the Holy City. They thought too that all who entered their gates would strengthen their power of resistance, and that it would be impolitic to reject any who came to offer their lives for the defence of the capital. But even had they not brought sedition and discord in their train, this influx of strangers would rather have weak-

ened than strengthened the defence of Jerusalem ; for the provisions, which ought to have been reserved for the soldiers, were consumed by an inactive and useless multitude, and famine was almost immediately added to the other evils which enfeebled and distracted the city.

These men, of fierce and reckless dispositions, and already inured to marauding habits, though gathering from all quarters, soon learned to understand each other, and grew into a daring and organized faction. They began to exercise their old calling ; robberies, and burglaries, and assassinations, perpetually took place, not secretly, or by night, or of the meaner people, but openly in the face of day, of the most distinguished characters in Jerusalem. The first victim was Antipas, a man of royal blood, and a citizen of such high character as to be intrusted with the charge of the public treasury. They seized and dragged him to prison. The next were Levias, and Saphias the son of Raguel, both of the Herodian family, with many others of the same class. The people looked on in dismay, but, so long as their own houses and persons were safe, they abstained from interference.

Having gone so far in their daring course, the robbers did not think it safe to proceed farther. They dreaded the families of those whom they had imprisoned, for they were both numerous and powerful ; they even apprehended a general insurrection of the people. They sent a ruffian named John, the son of Dorcas, a man ready for the worst atrocities, with ten others like him, and under their warrant a general massacre of the prisoners took place. The ostensible pretext of this barbarity was the detection of a conspiracy to betray the city to the Romans. They gloried

in this act, and assumed the titles of Saviors and Deliverers of their country, for having thus executed condign vengeance on those who were traitors to the common liberty.¹

The people still cowered beneath the sway of these Zealot robbers. Their next step was even more daring. They took upon themselves the appointment to the Chief Priesthood, — that is, probably, to nominate the members of the Sanhedrin. They annulled at once all claim from family descent, and appointed men unknown, and of ignoble rank, who would support them in their violence. Those whom they had raised by their breath, their breath could degrade. Thus all the leaders of the people were the slaves and puppets of their will. They undermined the authority of some who were before at the head of affairs by propagating false rumors, and by ascribing to them fictitious speeches — so that by their dissensions among each other they might increase the power of the Zealots, thus united for evil. At length, satiated with their crimes against men, they began to invade the sanctuary of God with their unhallowed violence.

After some time, the populace were at last goaded to resistance. Ananus, the oldest of the chief priests,² had been long the recognized head of the more peaceful party. He was a man of great wisdom, and in the

¹ The acts of these Septembrisers of Jerusalem are related, it must be remembered, by an enemy. This fatal schism between the more timid and prudent who would have submitted to Rome, and the braver and more desperate determined to fight to the last for their liberties, was inevitable: only we should wish to have heard the other side.

² These ἀρχιερεῖς, whom we now meet with in the plural number, instead of the one ἀρχιερεὺς, were probably the chiefs of the 24 sacerdotal classes. Those too who had held the High-Priesthood retained the title. Compare Selden, de Success. in Pontif. i. 12; Casaubon, in Baron. xiii. 5; Krebs and Wetstein, in Matt. ii. 4.

opinion of Josephus, had he not been cut off by untimely death, might have saved the city. At his incitement, murmurs and threats of resistance spread among the people, and the robber-Zealots immediately took refuge in the Temple of God, which they made their garrison and headquarters. They pretended to proceed according to a mockery of law, which was more galling to the popular feeling than their licentious violence. They declared that the High Priest ought to be appointed by lot, not according to family descent. They asserted that this was an ancient usage; but, in fact, it was a total abrogation of the customary law, and solely intended to wrest the supreme power into their own hands. Matthias, the son of Theophilus, was the rightful High Priest; but the Zealots assembled, for this purpose, one family of the priestly race, that of Eliachim,¹ and from this chose a High Priest by lot. It happened that the choice fell on one Phanas, the son of Samuel, a man not merely unworthy of that high function, but a coarse clown, who had lived in the country, and was totally ignorant even of the common details of his office. They sent for him, however, decked him in the priestly robes, and brought him forth as if upon the stage. His awkwardness caused them the greatest merriment and laughter; while the more religious priests stood aloof, weeping in bitter but vain indignation at this profanation of the holy office.

The people could endure everything but this. They rose as one man, to revenge the injured dignity of the sacred ceremonies. Joseph, the son of Gorion, and Simon, the son of Gamaliel, went about, both in private and public, haranguing the multitude, and exhorting them to throw off the yoke of these desperate ruffians,

¹ This is Reland's reading for Eniachim, as in 1 Chron. xxiv. 12.

and to cleanse the Holy Place from the contamination of their presence. The most eminent of the priestly order, Jesus, son of Gamala, and Ananus, remonstrated with the people for their quiet submission to the Zealots, which had now become a name of opprobrium and detestation.

A general assembly was summoned. All were indignant at the robberies, the murders, and sacrileges of the Zealots, but still they apprehended their numbers and the strength of their position. Ananus came forward and addressed them; and as he spoke, he continually turned his eyes, full of tears, towards the violated Temple. He reproached them with their tame endurance of a tyranny more cruel and disgraceful than that of the Romans. Would they, who could not endure the yoke of the masters of the world, bear the tyranny of their countrymen? ¹ He reproached them for their abandonment of the Temple of their God to profane and lawless men. It was a cause for bitter tears to see the offerings of the heathen in the Holy Place: how much worse to see the arms of murderers, the murderers of the flower of the city, whom the Romans even, if conquerors, would have spared! The Romans remained reverently without, in the court of the Gentiles: those who were bound to the Law — who called themselves Jews, trod the very Holy of Holies, their hands reeking with the blood of their brethren. His long and animated harangue was heard with the deepest interest, and the people demanded with loud outcries to be immediately led to battle. The Zealots had their partisans in the assembly, and speedily received intelligence of what was going on. While

¹ τοὺς τῆς οἰκουμένης δεσπότας μὴ φέροντες, τῶν σιμυφύλων τυράννων ἀνεξιδμεθα.

Ananus was organizing his force, they began the attack. But Ananus was not less active; and though the people were inferior in discipline, unused to act together in bodies, and inexperienced in the management of their arms, yet they had vast superiority in numbers. Thus a fierce civil war broke out in a city against whose gates a mighty enemy was preparing to lead his forces. Both parties fought with furious valor; many were slain; the bodies of the people were carried off into their houses; those of the Zealots into the Temple, dropping blood, as they were hurried along, upon the sacred pavement. The robbers had always the better in a regular conflict, but the people at length increasing in numbers, those that pressed behind prevented those in front from retreating, and urged forward in a dense and irresistible mass, till the Zealots were forced back into the Temple, into which Ananus and his men broke with them. The first quadrangle, that of the Gentiles, being thus taken, the Zealots fled into the next, and closed the gates. The religious scruples of Ananus prevented him from pressing his advantage; he trembled to commit violence against the sacred gates, or to introduce the people, unclean, and not yet purified from slaughter, into the inner court of the Temple. He stationed 6000 chosen and well-armed men in the cloisters, and made arrangements that this guard should be regularly relieved.¹

In this state of affairs, the subtle and ambitious John of Gischala, who had not long arrived in Jerusalem,

¹ B. J. iv. 3. 12.

The more wealthy, however, betrayed their want of spirit. They hired substitutes among the poor to keep guard for them. πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν ἀξιώμασιν, ἀφελθέντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρχων δοκούντων, μισθοῦμενοι πενιχροτέρους ἀνθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ἐπεμπον. Such a party was not likely to succeed against such antagonists. Ibid.

pursued his own dark course.¹ Outwardly, he joined the party of Ananus ; no one could be more active in the consultations of the leaders, or in the nightly inspection of the guards. But he kept up a secret correspondence with the Zealots, and betrayed to them all the movements of the assailants. To conceal this secret he redoubled his assiduities, and became so extravagant in his protestations of fidelity to Ananus and his party, that he completely overacted his part, and incurred suspicion. The people could not but observe that their closest consultations were betrayed to the enemy, and they began gradually to look with a jealous eye on their too obsequious servant. Yet it was no easy task to remove him ; he was much too subtle to be detected, and had a formidable band of adherents, by no means of the lowest order, in the council itself. The people acted in the most unwise manner possible. They betrayed their suspicions of John by exacting from him an oath of fidelity. John swore readily to all they demanded, that he would remain obedient to the people, never betray their counsels, and entirely devote both his courage and abilities to the destruction of their enemies. Ananus and his party laid aside their mistrust, admitted him to their most secret councils, and even deputed him to treat with the Zealots. John undertook the mission, and proceeded into the court of the Temple. There he suddenly threw off his character, and began to address the Zealots as if he had been their ambassador, rather than that of the people. He represented the dangers he had incurred in rendering them secret service, informed them that negotiations were going on

¹ It must be remembered that this description of the acts of John comes from his deadly foe. Salvador is inclined to make a hero of John, but somewhat cautiously and irresolutely.

for the surrender of the city to the Romans, that their ruin was resolved, for Ananus had determined either to enter the Temple by fair means, under the pretext of worship, and with that view had purified the people, or by main force; they must either submit, or obtain succors from some external quarter; and he solemnly warned them against the danger of trusting to the mercy of the people. John, with his characteristic caution, only intimated the quarter from which this succor was to be sought. The chieftains of the Zealots were Eleazar, the Son of Simon, the old crafty antagonist of Ananus, and Zacharias, the son of Phalec. They knew that they were designated for vengeance by the adherents of Ananus; their only hope was in driving their own partisans to desperation. The mention of negotiations, according to Josephus the malicious invention of John, inflamed the whole party of the Zealots to madness. A despatch was instantly sent to call the Idumæans to their assistance, by messengers who were noted for their swiftness of foot and promptitude of action.

These Idumæans, who, since the conquest of Hyrcanus,¹ had been incorporated with the Jews as a people, were a fierce and intractable tribe; some of the old Arab blood seemed to flow in their veins; they loved adventure, and thronged to war as to a festivity. No sooner was the welcome invitation of the Zealots made known through the country, than they flew to arms, and even before the appointed day had assembled an immense force, proclaiming as they went, that they were marching to the relief of the metropolis. They were 20,000 in number, under John and James, the sons of Susa, Simon, son of Cathla, and Phineas, son

¹ Compare Joseph. Ant. xiii. 9. 1; B. J. ii. 3. 1.

of Clusoth. The messengers of the Zealots had escaped the vigilance of Ananus; and the vast army came suddenly, though not quite unexpectedly, before the walls. The gates were closed, and Ananus determined to attempt expostulation and remonstrance with these formidable invaders. Jesus, the next in age of the chief priests to Ananus, addressed them from a lofty tower on the wall. He endeavored to persuade them to follow one of three lines of conduct: either to unite with them in the chastisement of these notorious robbers and assassins; or to enter the city unarmed, and arbitrate between the conflicting parties; or, finally, to depart, and leave the capital to settle its own affairs.¹ Simon, the son of Cathla, sternly answered, that they came to take the part of the true patriots and defenders of their country against men who were in a base conspiracy to sell the liberties of the land to the Romans. This charge the party of Ananus had always steadily disclaimed; with what sincerity it is impossible to decide.

At the words of the son of Cathla, the Idumæans joined in the loudest acclamations, and Jesus returned in sadness to his dispirited party, who now, instead of being the assailants, found themselves, as it were, besieged between two hostile armies. The Idumæans were not altogether at their ease. Though enraged at their exclusion from the city, they were disappointed at receiving no intelligence from the Zealots, who were closely cooped up in the Temple, and some began to repent of their hasty march. So they encamped, uncertain how to act, before the walls. The night came on, and with the night a tempest of unexampled violence, wind and pouring rain, frequent lightnings,

¹ B. J. iv. 4. 3.

and long rolling thunders. The very earth seemed to quake. All parties, in this dreadful state of suspense, sat trembling with the deepest awe, and construed the discord of the elements either as a sign of future calamity, or as a manifestation of the instant wrath of the Almighty. The Idumæans saw the arm of God revealed to punish them for their assault on the Holy City, and thought that Heaven had openly espoused the cause of Ananus. Mistaken interpreters of these ominous signs ! which rather foreboded their own triumph, and the discomfiture of the Jewish people. Yet they locked their shields over their heads, and kept off the torrents of rain as well as they could. But the Zealots, anxious about their fate, looked eagerly abroad to discover some opportunity of rendering assistance to their new friends. The more daring proposed, while the fury of the storm had thrown the enemy off their guard, to fight their way through the bands stationed in the cloisters of the outer court, and to throw open the gates to the Idumæans. The more prudent thought it in vain to resort to violence, because the sentinels in the cloisters had been doubled, and the walls of the city would be strongly manned for fear of the invading army; and they expected Ananus every hour to go the round of the guards. That night alone, trusting perhaps to the number and strength of his doubled party, Ananus neglected all precaution. The darkness of the night was increased by the horrors of the tempest ; some of the guard stole off to rest. The watchful Zealots perceived this, and taking the sacred saws, began to cut asunder the bars of the gates. In the wild din of the raging wind and pealing thunder, the noise of the saws was not heard. A few stole out of the gate, and along the streets to the wall. There

applying their saws to the gate which fronted the Idumæan camp, they threw it open. The Idumæans, at first, drew back in terror, for they suspected some stratagem of Ananus ; they grasped their swords, and stood awaiting the enemy, whom they expected every instant to break forth. But when they recognized their friends, they entered boldly ; and so much were they exasperated, that, if they had turned towards the city, they might have massacred the whole people. But their guides earnestly besought them first to deliver their beleaguered companions. Not only did gratitude, but prudence likewise, advise this course : for if the armed guard in the porticos were surprised, the city would speedily fall ; if it remained entire, the citizens would rally round that centre, speedily collect an irresistible force, and cut off their ascent to the Temple. They marched rapidly through the city, and mounted the hill of Moriah. The Zealots were on the watch for their arrival, and as they attacked the guard in front, fell upon them from behind. Some were slain in their sleep ; others, awaking at the din, rushed together, and endeavored to make head against the Zealots. But when they found that they were attacked likewise from without, they perceived at once that the Idumæans were within the city. Their spirits sank, they threw down their arms, and uttered wild shrieks of distress. A few bolder youths confronted the Idumæans, and covered the escape of some of the older men, who ran shrieking down the streets, announcing the dreadful calamity. They were answered by screams and cries from the houses, and the shrill wailing of the women. On their side, the Zealots and Idumæans shouted, and the wind howled over all, and the black and flashing sky pealed its awful thunders. The

Idumæans spared not a soul of the guard whom they surprised, being naturally men of bloody character, and exasperated by having been left without the gates exposed to the furious pelting of the storm; those who supplicated, and those who fought, suffered the same fate: it was in vain to appeal to the sanctity of the Temple; even within its precincts they were hewn down. Some were driven to the very ledge of the rock on which the Temple stood, and in their desperation precipitated themselves headlong into the city. The whole court was deluged with human blood, and when day dawned, 8500 bodies were counted. But the carnage ended not with the night. The Idumæans broke into the city, and pillaged on all sides. The High Priests, Ananus, and Jesus, the son of Gamala, were seized, put to death, and—an unprecedented barbarity among a people so superstitious about the rites of sepulture, that even public malefactors were buried before sunset!—the bodies of these aged and respected men, who had so lately appeared in the splendid sacred vestments of the priests, were cast forth naked to the dogs and carrion-birds.¹

With the death of Ananus, all hopes of peace were extinguished, and from that night Josephus dates the ruin of Jerusalem. The historian gives him a high character. He was a man of rigid justice, who always preferred the public good to his own interest, and a strenuous lover of liberty, of popular address, and of great influence over all the lower orders. Though vigilant and active in placing the city in the best post-

¹ *κίπτο, τοσαύτην Ἰουδαίων περὶ τὰς ταφὰς πρόνοιαν ποιουμένων, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ καταδικῆς ἀνασταυρουμένους πρὸ δύντοσ ἡλλοῦ καθελεῖν τε καὶ θάπτειν.* I cite this passage as illustrating the crucifixion of our Lord, and because it shows how the Jewish mind had now become familiar with this Roman mode of execution.

ure of defence, yet he always looked forward, in eager hope, to a peaceable termination of the contest. In this respect, perhaps, he followed the wisest policy, considering the state of his country, and the strength of the enemy;¹ yet we cannot wonder that a man with such views, at such a crisis, should be vehemently suspected of traitorous intentions by the more rash and zealous of his countrymen, who preferred death and ruin rather than submission to the tyrannous yoke of Rome. Jesus, the son of Gamala, was likewise a man of weight and character.

The vengeance of the Zealots and their new allies was not glutted by the blood of their principal enemies. They continued to massacre the people, in the words of Josephus, like a herd of unclean animals. The lower orders they cut down wherever they met them; those of higher rank, particularly the youth, were dragged to prison, that they might force them, by the fear of death, to embrace their party. No one complied; all preferred death to an alliance with such wicked conspirators. They were scourged and tortured, but still resolutely endured, and at length were relieved from their trials by the more merciful sword of the murderer. They were seized by day, and all the night these horrors went on; at length their bodies were cast out into the streets, to make room for more victims in the crowded prisons. Such was the terror of the people, that they neither dared to lament nor bury their miserable kindred; but retired into the farthest part of their houses to weep, for fear the enemy should detect their sorrow; for to deplore the dead was to deserve death. By night they scraped

¹ ἄμαχα γὰρ ἦδεν τὰ Ρωμαίων is the expression of Josephus, with a sympathy of opinions prudent or base (as different minds might judge). B. J. iv. 5. 2.

up a little dust with their hands, and strewed it over the bodies ; none but the most courageous would venture to do this by day. Thus perished 12,000 of the noblest blood in Jerusalem.¹

Ashamed, at length, or weary of this promiscuous massacre, the Zealots began to affect the forms of law, and set up tribunals of justice. There was a distinguished man, named Zacharias, the son of Baruch,² whose influence they dreaded, and whose wealth they yearned to pillage, for he was upright, patriotic, and rich. They assembled, by proclamation, seventy of the principal men of the populace, and formed a Sanhedrin. Before that court they charged Zacharias with intelligence with the Romans. They had neither proof nor witness, but insisted on their own conviction of his guilt. Zacharias, despairing of his life, conducted himself with unexampled boldness ; he stood up, ridiculed their charges, and, in a few words, clearly established his own innocence. He then turned to the accusers, inveighed with the most solemn fervor against their iniquities, and lamented the wretched state of public affairs. The Zealots murmured, and some were ready to use their swords ; but they were desirous of seeing whether the judges were sufficiently subservient to their will. The seventy unanimously acquitted the prisoner, and preferred to die with Zacharias rather than be guilty of his condemnation. The furious Zealots raised a cry of indignation ; two of them rushed forward, and struck him dead, where he

¹ B. J. iv. 5. 3.

² The singular coincidence between this man and the Zacharias, son of Barachias, mentioned by Christ (St. Matt. xxiii. 35), is explained in very different ways. Some go so far as to interpret it as a prophecy of this event, and cite instances of an aorist used in a future sense. This is to me very improbable. I should be inclined to suppose "the son of Barachias" a gloss crept into the text of the Gospel, or an error of a copyist.

stood, in the Temple court, shouting aloud, "This is our verdict! This is our more summary acquittal!" Then dragging the body along the pavement, they threw it into the valley below. The judges they beat with the flat blades of their swords, and drove them, in disgrace, back into the city.

At length the Idumæans began to repent of this bloody work: they openly declared that they had advanced to Jerusalem to suppress the treason of the leaders, and to defend the city against the Romans; that they had been deceived into becoming accomplices in horrible murders; no treason was really apprehended, and the Roman army still suspended their attack. They determined to depart; first, however, they opened the prisons, and released 2000 of the people, who instantly fled to Simon the son of Gioras, of whom we shall hereafter hear too much. Their departure was unexpected by both parties. The populace, relieved from their presence, began to gain confidence; but the Zealots, as if released from control, rather than deprived of assistance, continued their lawless iniquities. Every day new victims fell by rapid and summary proceedings; it seemed as if they thought their safety depended on the total extermination of the higher orders. Among the rest perished Gorion, a man of the highest birth and rank, and the greatest zeal for liberty: incautious language caused his ruin. Even Niger of Peræa, their most distinguished soldier, who had escaped from the rout at Ascalon, was dragged along the streets, showing in vain the scars which he had received for his ungrateful country. He died with fearful imprecations, summoning the Romans to avenge his death, and denouncing famine and pestilence, and civil massacre, as well as war, against this

accursed city. Niger was the last whose power they dreaded. After that deed they carried on their sanguinary work without scruple; none could escape. He who paid them no court, was stigmatized as haughty; he who spoke boldly, as one who despised them; he who merely flattered them, as a traitor; they had but one punishment for great or small offences — death; none but the very meanest in rank and fortune escaped their hands.¹

In this state of the city, many of the Roman leaders strongly urged Vespasian to march immediately on Jerusalem, and put an end to the rebellion. The more politic general replied, that nothing would extinguish these feuds which were wasting the strength of the rebels, or unite their forces, but an attack from the Romans; he determined to allow them, like wild beasts, to tear each other to pieces in their dens. Every day deserters came in; not but that the roads were closely guarded, yet those who had the power to bribe largely, and those alone, were sure to find their way; yet some, such was the attachment to the very soil of Jerusalem, after they had got off, returned of their own accord, only in hopes that they might find burial in the Holy City. Hopes too often baffled; for, so hardened were all hearts become, that even the reverence for that sacred rite was extinct. Both within the city, and in the villages, lay heaps of bodies rotting in the sun. To bury a relative, was death; thus compassion itself was proscribed and eradicated from the heart. Such was the state of the people that the survivors envied the dead as released from suffer-

¹ B. J. iv. 6. 1. Thus writes Josephus — perhaps here as elsewhere, rather with the vehemence of an orator than with the cautious accuracy of a historian.

ing; those who were tormented in prisons even thought them happy whose bodies were lying unburied in the streets. Religion seemed utterly abolished; the Law was scorned, the oracles of the prophets were treated with ridicule, as the tricks of impostors. "Yet by these men," says Josephus, "the ancient prediction seemed rapidly drawing to its fulfilment; that when civil war should break out in the city, and the Temple be profaned by the hands of native Jews, the city would be taken, and the Temple burned with fire."

During all this horror and confusion, John of Gischala steadily pursued his path of ambition. From the most desperate of these desperate men, he attached a considerable party to his own person; and, though suspected by all as aiming at kingly power, and watched with jealous vigilance, yet such was his craft and promptitude, that he imperceptibly centred all real authority and influence in his single person. In the public councils he contradicted every one, and delivered his own sentiments with a sort of irresistible imperiousness. Some were cajoled by his subtlety, others awed by his decision, till at length his adherents almost threw off the mask, and formed, as it were, a body-guard around their leader. Thus the Zealots were divided. In one part John ruled like a king; in the other a kind of democratical equality prevailed. Yet the factions only watched each other, and contending but in occasional skirmishes, combined readily for the persecution of the people, and vied with each other in the quantity of plunder they could extort.

Thus the miserable city was afflicted by the three great evils, war, tyranny, and sedition; a fourth was soon added to complete their ruin. The Sicarii or Assassins, it may be remembered, had seized the

strong fortress of Masada, near the Dead Sea. They had hitherto been content to subsist on the adjacent country. Encouraged by the success of the daring robbers who had thus become masters of Jerusalem, they surprised Engeddi during the night of the Passover, dispersed all who resisted, and slew about 700, chiefly women and children. They brought away great quantities of corn, and followed up the blow by wasting the whole region. Other bands collected in other parts, and the province became a scene of plunder and confusion.

It was now the spring — the commencement of a new campaign. The refugees in the camp of Vespasian earnestly besought him to march at once upon the capital; but the wary Roman chose rather to reduce the rest of the country. The first place against which he moved was Gadara, the chief city of Peræa. The more wealthy inhabitants sent a deputation to Vespasian. The opposite party, surprised by the rapid advance of the Romans, after revenging themselves on some of those who had treated for surrender, withdrew, and Gadara received the conqueror with open gates, and with joyful acclamations. Vespasian granted the inhabitants a garrison for their protection, for they had destroyed their walls of their own accord.

Vespasian having dispatched Placidus, with 500 horse and 3000 foot, to pursue the fugitives from Gadara, returned to Cæsarea. They had taken possession of a large village named Bethanabris, which they armed in their defence. Placidus attacked them, and employing his usual stratagem, a feigned retreat, to allure them from their walls, then faced round, and cut off the greater part. Some forced their way back, and Placidus had wellnigh entered the village with

them. Before night it was taken and laid waste with the usual carnage. Those who escaped, raised the country as they passed, and grown again to a considerable body, fled towards Jericho, the populous and strongly fortified city on the other side of the river. Placidus pursued them to the Jordan; the river was swollen and impassable. They were obliged to turn and fight. It must have been near the place where the waters, of old, receded at the word of Joshua, but now the deep and rapid flood rolled down in unchecked impetuosity. The Romans charged with their accustomed vigor. Multitudes fell, multitudes were driven into the stream, others plunged in of their own accord. Not only the river, but the Dead Sea also, was almost choked with bodies, which lay floating upon its dark and heavy waters. 15,000 were killed, 2500 taken prisoners, with an immense booty from all that pastoral region, asses, sheep, camels, and oxen. Placidus followed up his victory, reduced the whole country of Peræa, and the coast of the Dead Sea as far as Machærus.

In the mean time the state of the Roman empire began to command the attention of Vespasian. Vindex had revolted in Gaul, and Vespasian was anxious to put an end to the war in Palestine, in order that his army might be at liberty for any further service. He advanced from Cæsarea, took successively Antipatris, Lydda, and Jamnia, and blockaded Emmaus, which made resistance. He then moved southward through the toparchy of Bethleptepha, to the frontier of Idumæa, wasting as he went with fire and sword, and leaving garrisons in all the defensible castles. In Idumæa he took two large villages, Betharis and Cephartoba, put to the sword above 10,000 men, and brought away 1000 captives. Leaving there a strong

force to waste the country, he returned to Emmaus, passed by Samaria and Neapolis, encamped in Corea, and at length appeared before Jericho, where the troops which had subdued Peræa met him. The insurgents of Jericho fled to the wilderness of Judæa, which lay to the south along the shores of the Dead Sea. The city was deserted, and the Roman soldiery reposed among the delicious gardens and palm-groves in the neighborhood, before they encountered the dreary and mountainous wilderness which lay between them and Jerusalem.

Vespasian sent to reduce all the neighboring country. Lucius Annius was detached against Gerasa, where 1000 of the youth were put to the sword, the rest made captives, and the city pillaged by the soldiery. And now Jerusalem already beheld the Roman at her gates; every approach to the city was cut off, and every hour they expected to see the plain to the north glitter with the arms and eagles of the fated enemy. Suddenly intelligence came from Rome which checked the march of Vespasian, and Jerusalem had yet a long period either to repent and submit, or to prepare for a more orderly and vigorous resistance. The first event was the death of Nero; and during the whole of the year 68-9, in which Galba, Otho, and Vitellius successively attained and lost the imperial crown, Vespasian held his troops together, without weakening, by unnecessary exertions against the enemy, that force by which he might eventually win the sovereignty of the world.

But Jerusalem would not profit by the mercy of the Almighty in thus suspending for nearly two years the march of the avenger. An enemy more fatal than the Roman immediately rose up to complete the sum of her

misery, and to add a third party to those which already distracted her peace. Simon, son of Gioras, a native of Gerasa, was a man as fierce and cruel, though not equal in subtlety to John of Gischala. He had greatly distinguished himself in the rout of Cestius. Since that time, it has been seen that he pillaged Acrabatene, and being expelled from that region by Ananus, entered Masada, where by degrees he became master of the town. His forces increased; he had wasted all the country towards Idumæa, and at length began to entertain designs upon Jerusalem. The Zealots marched out in considerable force against him, but were discomfited and driven back to the city. Simon, instead of attacking Jerusalem, turned back and entered Idumæa at the head of 20,000 men. The Idumæans suddenly raised 25,000, and after a long and doubtful battle Simon retreated to a village called Nain, the Idumæans to their own country. Simon a second time raised a great force and entered their border. He encamped before Tekoa, and sent one of his adherents named Eleazar to persuade the garrison of Herodium, at no great distance, to surrender. The indignant garrison drew their swords upon him; he leaped from the wall and was killed. On the other hand the Idumæans, betrayed by one of their leaders, were struck with a panic and dispersed. Simon entered the country, took Hebron, and wasted the whole region. His army consisted of 40,000 men, besides his heavy-armed troops. They passed over the whole district like a swarm of locusts, burning, destroying, and leaving no sign of life or vegetation behind them.

The Zealots in the mean time surprised the wife of Simon, and carried her off in triumph to Jerusalem. They hoped that by this means they should force Simon

to terms. Simon came raging like a wild beast before the walls of Jerusalem. The old and unarmed people who ventured out of the gates were seized and tortured. He is said scarcely to have refrained from mangling their bodies with his teeth. Some he sent back with both hands cut off, vowing that unless his wife were returned, he would force the city, and treat every man within the walls in the same manner. The people, and even the Zealots themselves, took the alarm; they restored his wife, and he withdrew.

It was now the spring of the second year, 69, and Vespasian once more set his troops in motion. He reduced the toparchies of Gophnitis and Acrabatene. His cavalry appeared at the gates of Jerusalem. Cerealis in the mean time had entered Idumæa, and taken Caphethra, Capharabis, and Hebron; nothing remained to conquer but Herodium, Masada, Machærus, and Jerusalem itself.

Still no attempt was made on Jerusalem; it was left to its domestic enemies. Simon had remained in Masada, while Cerealis wasted Idumæa. He then broke forth again, entered Idumæa, drove a vast number of that people to Jerusalem, and again encamped before the walls, putting to the sword all the unfortunate stragglers who quitted the protection of the city.

Simon thus warred on the unhappy city from without, and John of Gischala within. The pillage and license of the opulent capital had totally corrupted his hardy Galileans, who had been allowed to commit every excess. Pillage was their occupation, murder and rape their pastime. They had become luxurious and effeminate; they had all the cruelty of men with the wantonness of the most abandoned women. Glutted with plunder and blood, and the violation or

women, they decked their hair, put on female apparel, painted their eyes, and in this emasculate garb wandered about the city, indulging in the most horrible impurities, yet, on an instant, reassuming their character of dauntless ruffians, drawing their swords, which were concealed under their splendid clothes, and fighting fiercely or stabbing all they met without mercy. Thus was the city besieged within and without. Those who stayed were tyrannized over by John; those who fled, massacred by Simon.

At length the party of John divided. The Idumæans, who were still in considerable numbers in Jerusalem, grew jealous of his power; they rose and drove the Zealots into a palace built by Grapte, a relation of King Izates. This they entered with them, and thence forced them into the Temple. This palace was the great treasure-house of John's plunder, and was now in turn pillaged by the Idumæans. But the Zealots assembled in overwhelming force in the Temple, and threatened to pour down upon the Idumæans and the people. The Idumæans did not dread their bravery so much as their desperation, lest they should sally and set the whole city on fire over their heads. They called an assembly of the chief priests, and that counsel was adopted which added the final consummation to the miseries of the city. "God," says Josephus, "overruled their wills to that most fatal measure." They agreed to admit Simon within the gates. The High Priest, Matthias, a weak, but, from his rank, an influential man, supported this new proposition; he was sent in person to invite Simon within the walls, and amid the joyful greetings of the misguided populace the son of Gioras marched through the streets, and took possession of all the upper city.

Simon immediately proceeded to attack the Zealots in the Temple, but the commanding situation of the building enabled them to defend themselves with success. They fought with missiles from the porticos and pinnacles, and many of Simon's men fell. To obtain still further advantage from the height of their ground, they reared four strong towers, one on the northeast corner, one above the Xystus, one at another corner opposite the lower city, and one above the Pastophoria, where the priests were accustomed to sound the silver trumpet to announce the commencement and termination of the Sabbath. On these towers they placed their military engines, their bowmen and slingers, which swept the enemy down at a great distance ; till at length Simon in some degree relaxed his assaults.

Vespasian had now assumed the purple ; the East declared in his favor ; Josephus received the honor and reward of a prophet, and was delivered from his bonds. After the defeat and death of Vitellius, the new Cæsar was acknowledged at Rome, and the whole empire hailed in joyful triumph the accession of the Flavian dynasty. At the commencement of the ensuing year the Emperor had time to think of the reduction of the rebellious city which had long resisted his own arms. His son Titus was sent to complete the subjugation of Palestine by the conquest of the capital.

BOOK XVI.

SIEGE OF JERUSALEM.

State of the City — Advance of the Roman Army — Danger of Titus — Capture of the first Wall — Of the second — Famine — Murders within the City — Crucifixions without — The City encircled with a Trench and Wall — Antonia taken — Capture — Conflagration of the Temple — Capture and Demolition of the City — Fate of John and Simon — Numbers slain and taken Prisoners — Triumph of Vespasian and Titus.

A. C. 69, 70.

THE last winter of Jerusalem passed away in the same ferocious civil contests; her streets ran with the blood of her own children; and instead of organizing a regular defence against the approaching enemy, each faction was strengthening its own position against the unintermitting assaults of its antagonists. The city was now divided into three distinct garrisons, at fierce and implacable hostility with each other.¹ Eleazar, the son of Simon, the man who was the first cause of the war, by persuading the people to reject the offerings of the Roman emperors, and who afterwards had set himself at the head of the Zealots, and seized the Temple, saw, with deep and rankling jealousy, the superiority assumed by John of Gischala. He pretended righteous indignation at John's sanguinary proceedings, and at length, with several other men of influence, Judas, the son of Hilkiah, Simon, the son of Ezron, and Hezekiah, the son of Chobar, he openly

¹ Joseph. B. J. v.

"Nam pervicacissimus quisque illuc perfugerat, eoque seditiosius agebant. Tres Duces, totidem exercitus." Tac. Hist. v. 12.

seceded from the great band of Zealots who remained true to John, and seized the inner court of the Temple. And now the arms of savage men, reeking with the blood of their fellow-citizens, were seen to rest upon the gates and walls of the Holy of Holies. The sacred songs of the Levites gave place to the ribald jests of a debauched soldiery. Instead of the holy instruments of music, were heard the savage shouts of fighting warriors ; and among the appointed victims, men, mortally wounded by the arrows of their own brethren without, lay gasping on the steps of the altar. The band of Eleazar was amply supplied with provisions ; for the stores of the Temple were full, and the Zealots were not troubled with religious scruples. But they were few, and could only defend themselves within, without venturing to sally forth against the enemy. The height of their position gave them an advantage over John, whose numbers were greatly superior ; yet, though he suffered considerable loss, John would not intermit his attacks ; clouds of missiles were continually discharged into the inner court of the Temple, and the whole sacred pavement was strewn with dead bodies.

Simon, the son of Gioras, who occupied the upper city, attacked John the more fiercely, because the strength of John was divided, and he was likewise threatened by Eleazar from above. But John had the same advantage over Simon, which Eleazar had over John. It was a perilous enterprise to scale the ascent to the Temple, and on such ground the Zealots had no great difficulty in repelling the incessant assaults of Simon's faction. Against Eleazar's party they turned their engines, the scorpions, catapults, and balistas, with which they slew not a few of their enemies in the upper court, and some who came to sacrifice. For it

was a strange feature in this fearful contest, that the religious ceremonies still went on upon the altar, which was often encircled with the dead. Beside the human victims which fell around, the customary sacrifices were regularly offered. Not only the pious inhabitants of Jerusalem constantly entreated and obtained permission to offer up their gifts and prayers before the altar of Jehovah ; but even strangers from distant parts would still arrive, and, passing over the pavement slippery with human blood, make their way to the Temple of their fathers, where they fondly thought the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob still retained his peculiar dwelling within the Holy of Holies. Free ingress and egress were granted ; the native Jews were strictly searched, the strangers were admitted with less difficulty ; but often in the very act of prayer, or sacrifice, the arrows would come whizzing in, or the heavy stone fall thundering on their heads ; and they would pay with their lives the price of kneeling and worshipping in the sacred place.

The contest raged more and more fiercely ; for the abundant stores within the Temple so unsparingly supplied the few adherents of Eleazar, that, in their drunkenness, they would occasionally sally out against John. When these attacks took place, John stood on the defensive ; from the outer porticos repelled Simon, and with his engines within harassed Eleazar. When the drunken or over-wearied troops of Eleazar gave him repose, he would sally forth against Simon, and waste the city. Simon, in his turn, would drive him back ; and thus the space around the Temple became a mass of ruin and desolation ; and in these desultory conflicts, the granaries, which, if carefully protected and prudently husbanded, might have maintained the city in

plenty for years, were either wantonly thrown to waste, or set on fire by Simon, lest they should be seized by John.

The people in the mean time, particularly the old men and the women, groaned in secret ; some uttered their prayers, but not aloud, for the speedy arrival of the Romans, to release them from the worse tyranny of these fierce strangers. In one point the three parties concurred : the persecution of the citizens, and in the condign punishment of every one whom they suspected of wishing well to the Roman army as their common enemy. It was dreadful to witness the deep and silent misery of the people ; they dared not utter their griefs ; their very groans were watched, and stifled in their hearts. But it was even more dreadful to see the callous hard-heartedness which had seized all ranks. All were alike become reckless from desperation ; there was no feeling for the nearest kindred, their very burial was neglected. All the desires, the hopes, the interests of life were extinguished ; death was so near, it was scarcely worth while to avoid it. Men went trampling over dead bodies as over the common pavement ; and this familiarity with murder, as it deadened the hearts of the citizens, so it increased the ferocity of the soldiers. Yet, even in the midst of all this, the old religious prejudices were the last to yield. Among the atrocities of John, the promiscuous spoliations and murders, one act made still a deep impression upon the public mind, — his seizing some sacred timbers of great size and beauty, which Agrippa had brought from Lebanon for the purpose of raising the Temple twenty feet, and his converting them to the profane use of raising military towers to annoy the faction of Eleazar in the inner Temple. He erected these towers on the

west side, where alone there was an open space, the others being occupied by flights of steps.¹ The force of the three factions was as follows : Simon had 10,000 Jews and 5000 Idumæans ; John, 6000 ; Eleazar, 2400.²

At length, after this awful interval of suspense, the war approached the gates of Jerusalem. Titus, having travelled from Egypt, arrived at Cæsarea, and began to organize his forces. In addition to the three legions which Vespasian had commanded, the twelfth returned to Syria, burning with revenge for its former disgraceful defeat under Cestius Gallus. The Syrian kings sent large contingents. The legions were full, the men who had been drafted off by Vespasian having been replaced by 2000 picked troops from Alexandria, and 3000 of those stationed on the Euphrates. Tiberius Alexander, who was distinguished not only by his wisdom and integrity, but by the intimate friendship of Titus, was appointed to a high command. He had been the first, in the recent political changes, to espouse the party of Vespasian ; and his experience in arms, and his knowledge of the country which he had once governed, added weight to his counsels. The army advanced in its customary order of march : first the allies ; then the pioneers ; the baggage of the principal officers, strongly guarded ; then Titus himself, with a select guard of spearmen ; then the horse attached to the legions ; the military engines next, also strongly guarded ; the eagles and the trumpeters followed ; then the legionaries in their phalanx, six deep ; the slaves

¹ B. J. v. 6. 1.

² The general suspicion which attaches to the enormous numbers of killed and prisoners, given by Josephus, is increased by observing the comparatively small force of fighting-men at this period, which rests on the same authority.

with their baggage ; last of all, the mercenaries with the rear-guard to keep order. The host moved slowly through Samaria into Gophna, and encamped in the valley of Thorns, near a village called Gaboth Saul, the Hill of Saul, nearly four miles from Jerusalem. Titus himself, with 600 horse, went forward to reconnoitre. As they wound down the last declivities which sloped towards the walls, the factious and turbulent city seemed reposing in perfect peace. The gates were closed ; not a man appeared. The squadron of Titus turned to the right, filed off and skirted the wall towards the tower of Psephina.

On a sudden the gate behind him, near the tower of the Women, towards the monument of Helena, burst open, and countless multitudes threw themselves, some across the road on which Titus was advancing, some right through his line, separating those who had diverged from the rest of the party.¹ Titus was cut off with only a few followers. To advance was impossible ; the ground was covered with orchards and gardens, divided by stone walls and intersected by deep trenches and watercourses, which reached to the city-walls. To retreat was almost as difficult, for the enemy lay in thousands across his road. Titus saw that not a moment was to be lost ; he wheeled his horse round, called to his men to follow him, and charged fiercely through. Darts and javelins fell in showers around him ; he had ridden forth to reconnoitre, not to battle, and had on neither helmet nor breastplate. Providentially not an arrow touched him. Clearing his way with his sword on both sides, and trampling down the enemy with his fiery steed, he continued to cleave his passage through the dense masses.

¹ B. J. v. 2. 2.

The Jews shouted with astonishment at the bravery of Cæsar, but exhorted each other to secure the inestimable prize. Yet still they shrank and made way before him. His followers formed around him as well as they could, and at length they reached their camp in safety. One man had been surrounded and pierced with a thousand javelins. Another, having dismounted, was slain, and his horse was led away into the city. The triumph of the Jews was unbounded. Cæsar himself had been seen to fly. It was the promise and presage of more glorious and important victories.

The legion from Emmaus now joined the camp, and advanced to Scopos, within a mile of the city, from which all its extent could be surveyed. A level plain lay between the army and the northern wall; the Romans encamped, two legions in front, the fifteenth three stadia behind. The tenth legion now likewise arrived from Jericho, and occupied a station at the foot of the Mount of Olives.

Each from his separate watch-tower, Eleazar from the summit of the Temple, John from the porticos of the outer courts, and Simon from the heights of Sion, beheld three camps forming immediately under the walls of the city. For the first time they felt the imperious necessity of concord. They entered into negotiations, and agreed on a simultaneous attack. Their mutual animosity turned to valiant emulation; they seized their arms, and rushing along the Valley of Jehoshaphat, fell with unexpected and irresistible impetuosity upon the tenth legion at the foot of the Mount of Olives. The legionaries were at work on their intrenchments, and many of them unarmed. They fell back, overpowered by the suddenness of the onset; many were killed before they could get to their

arms. Still more and more came swarming out of the city ; and the consternation of the Romans yet further multiplied their numbers. Accustomed to fight in array, the legionaries were astonished at this wild and desultory warfare ; they occasionally turned, and cut off some of the Jews, who exposed themselves in their blind fury ; but, overborne by numbers, they were on the verge of total and irreparable defeat, when Titus, who had received intelligence of the assault, with some picked men, fell as unexpectedly on the flank of the Jews, and drove them up the valley with great loss. Still the battle raged the whole day. Titus, having planted the troops who came with him in front across the valley, sent the rest to seize and fortify the upper part of the hill. The Jews mistook this movement for flight, their watchmen on the walls shook their garments violently as a signal ; it seemed as if the whole city poured forth, roaring and raging like wild beasts. The ranks of the Romans were shattered by the charge, as if by military engines ; they fled to the mountain. Titus was again left with but a few followers, on the declivity. With the advantage of the ground he defended himself resolutely, and at first drove his adversaries down ; but, like waves broken by a promontory, they went rushing up on both sides, pursuing the other fugitives, or turning and raking his party on both flanks. Those on the mount, as they saw the enemy swarming up the hill, were again seized with a panic, and dispersed on all sides, until a few, horror-struck at the critical situation of their commander, by a loud outcry raised an alarm among the whole legion, and bitterly reproaching each other for their base desertion of their Cæsar, with the resolute courage of men ashamed of their flight, rallied their

scattered forces, made head, and drove the Jews down the hill into the valley. The Jews contested every foot of ground, till at length they were completely repulsed; and Titus again having established a strong line of outposts, dismissed his wearied men to their works.

It was now the Passover, the period during which, in the earlier days of the Mosaic polity, or during the splendor of the Hebrew monarchy, the whole people used to come up with light and rejoicing hearts to the hospitable city, where all were welcome; where every house was freely opened and without reward; and the united voices of all the sons of Abraham blessed the Almighty for their deliverance from Egypt. Even in these disastrous days the Festival retained its reverential hold upon the hearts of the people. Not merely multitudes of Jews from the adjacent districts, but even from remote quarters, were assembled to celebrate the last public Passover of the Jewish nation. Dion Cassius states that many Jews came from beyond the Euphrates to join in the defence of the city; probably he meant those strangers who had come to the Festival.¹ These numbers only added to the miseries of the inhabitants, by consuming the stores and hastening the general distress and famine. Yet, even the day of sacrifice was chosen by John of Gischala for an act of treachery and bloodshed. When Eleazar opened the gates of the court to admit the worshippers, some of John's most desperate adherents, without having performed their ablutions, (Josephus adds this as a great aggravation of the crime,) stole in among the rest with their swords under their cloaks. No sooner were they

¹ δι' Ἰουδαίῳι, πολλοὶ μὲν ἀντόθεν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ὁμοήθων, οὐχ ὅτι ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν πέραν Ἑυφράτου προσβεβηκότιες. lxvi. 4.

within, than they threw away their cloaks, and the peaceful multitude beheld the swords of these dauntless ruffians flashing over their heads. The worshippers apprehended a general massacre. Eleazar's Zealots knew well on whom the attack was made. They leaped down and took refuge in the subterranean chambers of the Temple. The multitude cowered round the altar; some were slain out of wantonness, or from private animosity — others trampled to death. At length, having glutted their vengeance upon those with whom they had no feud, the partisans of John came to terms with their real enemies. They were permitted to come up out of their hiding-places, even to resume their arms, and Eleazar was still left in command; but one faction became thus absorbed in another, and two parties instead of three divided the city.

In the mean time Titus was cautiously advancing his approaches. The whole plain from Scopos to the outward wall was levelled. The blooming gardens with their bubbling fountains and cool watercourses, in which the inhabitants of Jerusalem had enjoyed sweet hours of delight and recreation, were ruthlessly swept away. The trees, now in their spring flower, fell before the axe, the landmarks were thrown down, the watercourses destroyed; even the deep and shady glens were levelled and filled up with the masses of rugged and picturesque rocks which used to overshadow them. A broad and level road led from Scopos to the tomb of Herod, near the pool of Serpents.

While this work was proceeding, one day, a considerable body of the Jews was seen to come, driven out, as it appeared, from the gate near the Tower of the Women. They stood cowering under the walls as if dreading the attack of the Romans. It seemed as

though the peace-party had expelled the fiercer insurgents, for many were seen upon the walls, holding out their right hands in token of surrender, and making signs that they would open the gates. At the same time they began to throw down stones on those without; the latter appeared at one moment to endeavor to force their way back, and to supplicate the mercy of those on the walls; at another to advance towards the Romans, and then retreat as if in terror. The unsuspecting soldiers were about to charge in a body, but the more wary Titus ordered them to remain in their position. A few, however, who were in front of the workmen, seized their arms and advanced towards the gates. The Jews fled, till their pursuers were so close to the gates as to be within the flanking towers. They then turned, others sallied forth and surrounded the Romans, while those on the walls hurled down stones and every kind of missile on their heads. After suffering great loss in killed and wounded, some of the Romans effected their retreat, and were pursued by the Jews to the monument of Helena. The Jews, not content with their victory, stood and laughed at the Romans for having been deceived by so simple a stratagem, clashed their shields, and assailed them with every ludicrous and opprobrious epithet. Nor was this the worst; they were received with stern reproof by their tribunes, and Cæsar himself addressed them in the language of the strongest rebuke. "The Jews," he said, "who have no leader but despair, do everything with the utmost coolness and precaution, lay ambushes, and plot stratagems; while the Romans, who used to enslave fortune by their steady discipline, are become so rash and disorderly as to venture into battle without command." He then threatened, and was actually

about to put into execution, the military law, which punished such a breach of order with death — had not the other troops surrounded him, entreating mercy for their fellow-soldiers, and pledging themselves to redeem the disaster by their future regularity and discipline. Cæsar was with difficulty appeased.

The approach to the city was now complete, and the army took up a position along the northern and western wall. They were drawn up, the foot in front, seven deep, the horse behind, three deep, with the archers between them. The Jews were thus effectually blockaded; and the beasts of burden, which carried the baggage, came up to the camp in perfect security. Titus himself encamped about a quarter of a mile from the wall, near the tower Psephina; another part of the army near the tower called Hippicus, at the same distance; the tenth legion kept its station near the Mount of Olives.

Jerusalem at this period was fortified by three walls, in all those parts where it was not surrounded by abrupt and impassable ravines; there it had but one. Not that these walls stood one within the other, each in a narrower circle running round the whole city; but each of the inner walls defended one of the several quarters into which the city was divided — or it might be almost said, one of the separate cities. Since the days in which David had built his capital on the rugged heights of Sion, great alterations had taken place in Jerusalem. That eminence was still occupied by the upper city; but in addition, first the Hill of Moriah had been taken in, on which the Temple stood; then Acra, which was originally, although a part of the same ridge, separated by a deep chasm from Moriah. This chasm was almost entirely filled up and the top

of Acra levelled by the Asmonean princes, so that Acra and Moriah were united, though on the side of Acra the Temple presented a formidable front, connected by several bridges or causeways with the lower city. To the south the height of Sion, the upper city, was separated from the lower by a ravine, which ran right through Jerusalem, called the Tyropæon, or the valley of the Cheesemongers: at the edge of this ravine, on both sides, the streets suddenly broke off, though the walls in some places must have crossed it, and it was bridged in more than one part. To the north extended a considerable suburb called Bezetha, or the new city.¹

The first or outer wall encompassed Bezetha. Agrippa the First had intended, as it has been mentioned, to make this of extraordinary strength. He had desisted from the work on the interference of the Romans; who appear to have foreseen that this refractory city would hereafter force them to take arms against it. Had this wall been built according to the plan of Agrippa, the city, in the opinion of Josephus, would have been impregnable. This wall began at the

¹ This topography and description of the walls is almost entirely from Josephus, whose authority on this subject is unquestionable. It may be compared with Mr. Fergusson's elaborate article in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible. Mr. Fergusson agrees with me in full reliance on the accuracy of Josephus: the difficulty is in adapting the description to the present state of the ground, and the traditionary sites of some of the towers and other landmarks. With Mr. Fergusson's view of the site of the Holy Sepulchre this History has no concern. My difficulty is in supposing a place of sepulture, with the Jews' deep feeling of the uncleanness of the dead, being permitted on the hill of the Temple. Still it may have been the site of Constantine's church; but I venture to doubt whether Constantine knew more of the actual site than we do. The only indication — the Temple of Venus, said to have been built by Hadrian, in contempt of the Christians — I am confident is utterly unhistoric, out of character with Hadrian and his times, and perhaps the fiction which has perplexed the question forever. That temple, if really built, was much more likely raised in scorn of the rebellious and hardly conquered Jews, in front of what had been their glorious Temple.

tower Hippicus, which stood, it seems, on a point at the extreme corner of Mount Sion; it must have crossed the western mouth of the valley of Tyropœon, and run directly north to the tower of Psephina, proved clearly by D'Anville to have been what was called during the Crusades Castel Pisano. It then bore towards the monument of Helena, ran by the royal caverns to the Fuller's monument, and was carried into the valley of Kedron or Jehoshaphat, where it joined the old or inner wall under the Temple. The wall, however it fell short of Agrippa's design, was of considerable strength. The stones were 35 feet long, so solid as not easily to be shaken by battering engines, or undermined. It was $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad; it had only been carried to the same height by Agrippa, but it had been hastily run up by the Jews to 35 feet; on its top stood battlements $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and pinnacles $5\frac{3}{4}$; so the whole was nearly 45 feet high.

The second wall began at a gate in the old or inner one, called Gennath, the gate of the gardens; it intersected the lower city, and having struck northward for some distance, turned to the east and joined the northwest corner of the citadel of Antonia. The Antonia stood at the northwest corner of the Temple, and was separated from Bezetha by a deep ditch, which probably protected the whole northern front of the Temple as well as of the Antonia.

The old or inner wall was that of Sion. Starting from the southwestern porticos of the Temple, to which it was united, it ran along the ridge of the Tyropœon, passed first the Xystus, then the Council-house, and abutted on the tower Hippicus, from whence the northern wall sprang. The old wall then ran southward through Bethso to the gate of the Essenes, all along the ridge of the valley of Hinnom, then eastward

again to the pool of Solomon, so on through Ophla, probably a deep glen: it there joined the eastern portico of the Temple. Thus there were, it might seem, four distinct towns, each requiring a separate siege. The capture of the first wall only opened Bezetha; the fortifications of the northern part of the Temple, the Antonia, and the second wall still defended the other quarters. The second wall forced, only a part of the lower city was won; the strong rock-built citadel of Antonia and the Temple on one hand, and Sion on the other, were not in the least weakened.

The whole circuit of these walls was guarded with towers, built of the same solid masonry with the rest of the walls. They were 35 feet broad, and 35 high; but above this height were lofty chambers, and above those again upper rooms, and large tanks to receive the rain-water. Broad flights of steps led up to them. Ninety of these towers stood in the first wall, fourteen in the second, and sixty in the third. The intervals between the towers were about 350 feet. The whole circuit of the city, according to Josephus, was 33 stadia — rather more than 4 miles. The most magnificent of all these towers was that of Psephina, opposite to which Titus encamped. It was 122½ feet high, and commanded a noble view of the whole territory of Judæa, to the border of Arabia, and to the sea: it was an octagon. Answering to this was the tower Hippicus, and, following the old wall, stood those of Mariamne and Phasaelis, built by Herod, and named after his brother and friend and his wife. These were stupendous even as works of Herod. Hippicus was square; 43¾ feet each way. The whole height of the tower was 140 feet — the tower itself 52½, a deep tank

or reservoir 35, two stories of chambers $43\frac{3}{4}$, battlements and pinnacles $8\frac{3}{4}$. Phasaelis was a solid square of 70 feet. It was surrounded by a portico $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, defended by breastworks and bulwarks; and above the portico was another tower, divided into lofty chambers and baths. It was more richly ornamented than the rest with battlements and pinnacles, so that its whole height was above 167 feet. It looked from a distance like the tall Pharos of Alexandria. This stately palace was the dwelling of Simon. Mariamne, though not equal in elevation, was more luxuriously fitted up; it was built of solid wall 35 feet high, and the same width: on the whole, with the upper chambers, it was about $76\frac{3}{4}$ feet high. These lofty towers appeared still higher from their situation. They stood upon the old wall, which ran along the steep brow of Sion. The masonry was perfect: they were built of white marble, cut in blocks 35 feet long, $17\frac{1}{2}$ wide, $8\frac{3}{4}$ high, so fitted that the towers seemed hewn out of the solid quarry.

Such was the strength of the city which Titus surveyed from the surrounding heights, if with something like awe at its impregnable strength, with still greater wonder and admiration at its unexampled magnificence: for within these towers stood the palace of the Kings, of the most extraordinary size and splendor. It was surrounded by a wall 35 feet high, which was adorned by towers at equal distances, and by spacious barrack-rooms with 100 beds in each. It was paved with every variety of rare marble; timbers of unequalled length and workmanship supported the roofs. The chambers were countless, adorned with all kinds of figures, the richest furniture, and vessels of gold and silver. There were numerous cloisters, of col-

umns of different orders, the squares within of beautiful verdure ; around were groves and avenues, with fountains and tanks, and bronze statues pouring out the water. There were likewise large houses for tame doves. Much of this magnificence, however, had already run to waste and ruin, during the conflict within the city. The beautiful gardens were desolate, the chambers plundered. A fire, that originated in the Antonia, had crossed over to the palace and injured a considerable part, even the roofs of the three towers.¹

The fortress Antonia stood alone, on a precipitous rock near 90 feet high, at the northwest corner of the Temple. It was likewise a work of Herod. The whole face of the rock was fronted with smooth stone for ornament, and to make the ascent so slippery as to be impracticable ; round the top of the rock there was first a low wall, rather more than 5 feet high. The fortress was 70 feet in height. It had every luxury and convenience of a sumptuous palace, or even of a city ; spacious halls, courts, and baths. It appeared like a vast square tower, with four other towers at each corner ; three of them between 80 and 90 feet high : that at the corner next to the Temple above 120. From this the whole Temple might be seen, and broad flights of steps led down into the northern and western cloisters or porticos of the Temple, in which, during the Roman government, their guard was stationed.

High above the whole city rose the Temple, uniting the commanding strength of a citadel with the splendor of a sacred edifice. According to Josephus, the

¹ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας ἤρξατο τὸ πῦρ, μετέβη δ' ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλεία, καὶ τῶν τριῶν πύργων τὰς στέγας ἀπενεμήθη. B. J. v. 4. This is rather difficult to comprehend, unless the roofs were of very combustible material, set in flames by flying sparks and flakes of fire.

esplanade on which it stood had been considerably enlarged by the accumulation of fresh soil, since the days of Solomon, particularly on the north side. It now covered a square of a furlong each side.¹ Solomon had faced the precipitous sides of the rock on the east, and perhaps the south, with huge blocks of stone; the other sides likewise had been built up with perpendicular walls to an equal height. These walls in no part were lower than 300 cubits, 525 feet; but their whole height was not seen, excepting on the eastern and perhaps the southern sides, as the earth was heaped up to the level of the streets of the city. Some of the stones employed in this work were of the size of 70 feet, probably in length.

On this gigantic foundation ran on each front a strong and lofty wall without; within, a spacious double portico or cloister $52\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad, supported by 162 columns, which supported a cedar ceiling of the most exquisite workmanship. The pillars were entire blocks hewn out of solid marble, of dazzling whiteness, $43\frac{3}{4}$ feet high. On the south side the portico or cloister was triple.

This quadrangle had but one gate to the east, one to the north, two to the south, four to the west; one of these led to the palace, one to the city, one at the corner to the Antonia, one down towards the gardens.

The open courts were paved with various inlaid marbles. Between this outer court of the Gentiles and the second court of the Israelites, ran rails of stone, but of beautiful workmanship, rather more than 5 feet high. Along these, at regular intervals, stood pillars with inscriptions in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin

¹ D'Anville, from an estimate of the present area of the hill, is inclined to suppose that the whole ought to be nearly ten instead of six stadia.

— warning all strangers, and Jews who were unclean, from entering into the Holy Court beyond. An ascent of 14 steps led to a terrace $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, beyond which arose the wall of the Inner Court. This wall appeared on the outside 70 feet, on the inside $43\frac{3}{4}$; for besides the ascent of 14 steps to the terrace, there were 5 more up to the gates. The Inner Court had no gate or opening to the west, but four on the north and four on the south, two to the east, one of which was for the women, for whom a portion of the Inner Court was set apart — and beyond which they might not advance; to this they had access likewise by one of the northern and one of the southern gates, which were set apart for their use. Around this court ran another splendid range of porticos or cloisters: the columns were quite equal in beauty and workmanship, though not in size, to those of the outer portico. Nine of these gates, or rather gateway towers, were richly adorned with gold and silver on the doors, the door-posts, and the lintels. The doors of each of the nine gates were $52\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and half that breadth. Within, the gateways were $52\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and deep, with rooms on each side, so that the whole looked like lofty towers: the height from the base to the summit was 70 feet. Each gateway had two lofty pillars 21 feet in circumference. But that which excited the greatest admiration was the tenth, usually called the Beautiful Gate of the Temple. It was of Corinthian brass of the finest workmanship. The height of the Beautiful Gate was $87\frac{1}{2}$, its doors 70 feet. The father of Tiberius Alexander had sheeted these gates with gold and silver; his apostate son was to witness their ruin by the plundering hands and fiery torches of his Roman friends. Within this quadrangle there was a further separation;

a low wall which divided the priests from the Israelites: near this stood the great brazen altar. Beyond, the Temple itself reared its glittering front. The great porch of Propyleon, according to the design of the last, or Herod's Temple, extended to a much greater width than the body of the Temple; in addition to the former width of 105 feet, it had two wings of 35 each, making in the whole 175. The great gate of this last quadrangle, to which there was an ascent of twelve steps, was called that of Nicanor. The gateway tower was $132\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, $43\frac{1}{2}$ wide: it had no doors, but the frontispiece was covered with gold, and through its spacious arch was seen the golden gate of the Temple glittering with the same precious metal, with large plates of which it was sheeted all over. Above this gate hung the celebrated golden vine. This extraordinary piece of workmanship had bunches, according to Josephus, as large as a man. The Rabbins add, that, "like a true natural vine, it grew greater and greater; men would be offering, some gold, to make a leaf, some a grape, some a bunch: and these were hung up upon it, and so it was increasing continually."

The Temple itself, excepting in the extension of the wings of the Propyleon, was probably the same in its dimensions and distribution with that of Solomon. It contained the same holy treasures, if not of equal magnificence, yet by the zeal of successive ages the frequent plunder to which it had been exposed was constantly replaced; and within, the golden candlestick spread out its flowering branches; the golden table supported the show-bread, and the altar of incense flamed with its costly perfume. The roof of the Temple had been set all over on the outside with sharp

golden spikes, to prevent the birds from settling, and defiling the roof; and the gates were still sheeted with plates of the same splendid metal. At a distance, the whole Temple looked literally like "a mount of snow, fretted with golden pinnacles."

Looking down upon its marble courts, and on the Temple itself, when the sun arose above the Mount of Olives, which it directly faced, it was impossible, even for a Roman, not to be struck with wonder, or even for a Stoic, like Titus, not to betray his emotion. Yet this was the city which in a few months was to lie a heap of undistinguished ruins; and the solid Temple itself, which seemed built for eternity, not "to have one stone left upon another."

Surveying all this, Titus, escorted by a strong guard of horse, rode slowly round the city. But if thoughts of mercy occasionally entered into a heart, the natural humanity of which seems to have been steeled during the whole course of the siege, the Jews were sure to expel them again by some new indication of their obstinate ferocity. As he passed along, Nicanor, an intimate friend of the Emperor, was so imprudent as to venture near the walls with Josephus, to parley with the besieged; he was answered by an arrow through the right shoulder. Titus immediately ordered the suburbs to be set on fire, and all the trees to be cut down to make his embankments. He determined to direct his attack against the part of the outer wall which was the lowest, on account of the buildings of Bezetha not reaching up to it, near the tomb of John the High Priest. As the approaches were made, and the day of assault was visibly drawing near, the people began to have some cessation of their miseries, as their worst enemies, those within the gates, were employed

against the Romans ; and they looked forward to a still further release when the Romans should force the city.

Simon, it has been before stated, had 10,000 of his own men, and 5000 Idumæans ; John, 6000 ; 2400 remained under the command of Eleazar. The cautious John would not venture forth himself from his lair in the Temple, not from want of valor or animosity against the enemy, but from a suspicion of Simon ; but his men went forth to fight in the common cause. The more open and indefatigable Simon was never at rest : he mounted all the military engines taken from Cestius on the walls ; but they did little damage, as his men wanted skill and practice to work them. But they harassed the Roman workmen by stones and missiles from the walls, and by perpetual sallies. Under their pent-houses of wicker-work, the Romans labored diligently ; the tenth legion distinguished itself, and having more powerful engines, both for the discharge of arrows and of stones, than the others, not merely repelled those who sallied, but threw stones, the weight of a talent, a distance of two furlongs, upon the walls. The Jews set men to watch the huge rocks, which came thundering down upon their heads. They were easily visible, from their extreme whiteness, (this, it seems, must have been by night ;) the watchmen shouted aloud in their native tongue, *The bolt is coming !* on which they all bowed their heads, and avoided the blow. The Romans found out this, and blackened the stones, which, now taking the Jews unawares, struck down and crushed, not merely single men, but whole ranks. Night and day the Romans toiled ; night and day, by stratagem, and force, the Jews impeded their progress. When the works were finished, the engineers measured the

space to the walls with lead and line, thrown from the engines, for they dared not approach nearer. Having first advanced the engines, which discharged stones and arrows, nearer the wall so as to cover the engineers, Titus ordered the rams to play. At three different places they began their thundering work ; the besieged answered with shouts, but shouts of terror. It became evident that nothing less than an united effort could now repel the foe. Simon proclaimed an amnesty to all John's followers who would descend to man the wall. John, though still suspicious, did not oppose their going ; and the two parties fought side by side from the walls with emulous valor, striving to set the engines on fire by discharging combustibles from above ; others sallied forth in troops, tore the defences from the engines, and killed the engineers. Titus, on his side, was indefatigable ; he posted horsemen and bowmen in the intervals between the machines, to repel the assailants. So the formidable machines, called Helepoleis, the takers of cities, pursued undisturbed their furious battering. At length a corner-tower came down, but the walls stood firm, and offered no practicable breach.

Whether awed by this circumstance, or weary with fighting, the Jews seemed on a sudden to desist from their ferocious sallies. The Romans were dispersed about the works and intrenchments. Suddenly, through an unperceived gate, near the tower of Hippicus, the whole united force of the besieged came pouring forth with flaming brands to set the machines on fire. They spread on to the edge of the intrenchments. The Romans gathered hastily, but Jewish valor prevailed over Roman discipline. The besiegers were put to flight, and then a terrible conflict took

place about the engines, which had all been set on fire but for the manful resistance of some Alexandrians, who gave Cæsar time to come up with his horse. Titus killed twelve men with his own hand, and the rest at length suddenly retreated; one Jew was taken prisoner, and crucified—the first instance of that unjustifiable barbarity—before the walls. John, the captain of the Idumæans, was shot by an Arab, during a parley with a Roman soldier; he was a man of courage and prudence, and his death was greatly lamented. Exhausted with the conflict of the day, the Roman army retired to repose. There was a total silence throughout the vast camp, broken only by the pacing of the sentinel; when suddenly a tremendous crash seemed to shake the earth, and the crumbling noise of falling stones continued for a few moments. The legionaries started to arms, and, half-naked, looked through the dim night, expecting every instant to see the gleaming swords and furious faces of their enemies glaring upon them. All was still and motionless. They stood gazing upon each other, and hastily passed the word; and as their own men began to move about, they mistook them for the enemy, and were wellnigh seized with a panic flight. The presence of Titus reassured them, and the cause of the alarm soon became known. They had built three towers upon their embankment, nearly ninety feet high; one of them had fallen with its own weight, and given rise to the confusion.

These towers did the most fatal damage to the Jews. Beyond the range of arrows from their height, from their weight they were not to be overthrown, and, being plated with iron, would not take fire. From the tops of these the men showered continually every kind of missile, till at length the defenders retired from the

walls, and left the battering engines to perform their work undisturbed. There was one of these Helepoleis, or battering engines, called by the Jews themselves Nico, the Victorious, for it beat down everything before it. Nico did not cease to thunder day and night, till at length the wall began to totter. The Jews, exhausted by fatigue, and harassed with passing the night far from their own houses within the city, began to grow careless and indifferent about the suburb; and at once, abandoning their posts, retreated to the second wall. The Romans entered Bezetha, and threw down a great part of the wall. Titus took up a position near what was called the Camp of the Assyrians, stretching as far as the brook Kedron, and he immediately gave orders for the attack of the second wall. Here the conflict became more terrible than ever; the party of John defended the Antonia and the northern cloister of the Temple; that of Simon, the rest of the wall to a gate through which an aqueduct passed to the tower Hippicus. The Jews made perpetual sallies, and fought with the most dauntless courage. Without the wall the Roman discipline in general prevailed, and they were driven back; from the walls, on the other hand, they had manifest advantage. Both parties passed the night in arms,—the Jews in fear of leaving their walls defenceless, the Romans in constant dread of a surprise. At dawn the battle began again; on the one hand, Simon acted the part of a most gallant commander, and his influence and example excited his men to the most daring exploits; on the other, the desire of speedily putting an end to the war, the confidence in their own superior discipline, the assurance that the Roman arms were irresistible, the pride of their first success, above all,

the presence of Titus, kept up the stubborn courage of the assailants. Longinus, a Roman knight, greatly distinguished himself by charging singly into a whole squadron of the Jews; he killed two men, and came safely off. But the Jews were entirely reckless of their own lives, and sacrificed them readily if they could but kill one of their enemies. Before long the great Helepoleis began to thunder against the central tower of the wall. The defenders fled in terror, except a man named Castor, and ten others. At first these men lay quiet; but as the tower began to totter above their heads, they rose, and stretched out their hands in an attitude of supplication. Castor called on Titus by name, and entreated mercy. Titus ordered the shocks of the engine and the discharge of arrows to cease, and gave Castor permission to speak. Castor expressed his earnest desire to surrender, to which Titus replied that he would the whole city were of the same mind, and inclined honorably to capitulate. Five of Castor's men appeared to take his part; the other five, with savage cries, to reproach them for their dastardly baseness. A fierce quarrel seemed to ensue. The attack was entirely suspended, and Castor sent secret notice to Simon, that he would amuse the Emperor some time longer. In the mean while he appeared to be earnestly expostulating with the opposite party, who stood upon the breastworks, brandishing their swords, and at length striking their own bosoms, seemingly fell dead. The Romans, who did not see very distinctly from below, were amazed at what they supposed the desperate resolution of the men, and even pitied their fate. During this, Castor was wounded in the nose by an arrow, which he drew out, and showed it indignantly to Cæsar, as if he had

been ungenerously treated. Titus sternly rebuked the man who had shot it, and desired Josephus to go forward and parley with Castor. But Josephus knew his countrymen too well, and declined the service. Upon this, one Æneas, a deserter, offered his services. Castor called him to come near to catch some money which he wished to throw down. Æneas opened the folds of his robe to receive it, and Castor immediately levelled a huge stone at his head; it missed Æneas, but wounded a soldier near him. Cæsar, furious at having been thus tricked, ordered the engines to be worked more vigorously than ever. Castor and his men set the tower on fire, and when it was blazing, appeared to leap boldly into the flames; in fact, they had thrown themselves into a subterraneous passage which led into the city.

The fifth day the Jews retreated from the second wall, and Titus entered that part of the lower city which was within it, with 1000 picked men. The streets of the wool-sellers, the braziers, and the clothiers, led obliquely to the wall.

Instead of throwing down the walls and burning as he went on, Titus, with a view of gaining the people, issued orders that no houses should be set on fire, and no massacre committed. He gave out that he was desirous of separating the cause of the people from that of the garrison; that to the former he would readily restore all their property. The fierce insurgents hailed this as a sign of weakness, threatened the people with instant death if they stirred, slew without mercy every one who uttered a word about peace, and then fell furiously on the Romans. Some fought on the houses, some from the walls; some along the narrow streets; others, sallying from the upper

gates, fell on the camp behind. The guards who were upon the walls leaped down, and totally abandoned their companions within the newly conquered part of the city. All was confusion; those who reached the wall were surrounded, and looked in vain for succor from their associates without, who had enough to do to defend their own camp. The Jews increased every instant in numbers; they knew every lane and alley of the city, they appeared on every side, and started up where they were the least expected. The Romans could not retreat, for the narrowness of the breach would only allow them to retire very slowly. Titus, at last, came to their assistance, and by placing archers at the ends of the lanes and streets, kept the assailants back, and at last brought off most of his men, but they had totally lost the fruits of their victory.

This success raised the spirits of the besieged to the highest pitch of elevation; they thought that whenever the Romans should venture again into the streets, if indeed they would be rash enough to do so, they would be repelled with the same loss and disgrace. But they thought not of the secret malady which was now beginning to sap their own strength—the want of provisions.¹ As yet, indeed, though many were absolutely perishing with hunger, as these were only the disaffected populace, they rather rejoiced at being rid of the burden than deplored the loss. As for the breach, they manned it boldly, and made a wall of their own bodies, fighting for three days without intermission. On the fourth they were forced to retire, and Titus, entering the wall a second time, threw down the whole northern part of it, and strongly garrisoned the towers towards the south.

¹ B. J. v. 9. 1.

Two walls had fallen, but still the precipitous heights of Sion, the impregnable Antonia, and the stately Temple, lowered defiance on the invaders. Titus determined to suspend the siege for a few days, in order to allow time for the terror of his conquests to operate on the minds of the besieged, and for the slow famine to undermine their strength and courage. * He employed the time in making a magnificent review of all his troops, who were to receive their pay in view of the whole city. The troops defiled slowly in their best attire, with their arms taken out of their cases and their breastplates on; the cavalry leading their horses, accoutred in their most splendid trappings. The whole suburbs gleamed with gold and silver. The Romans beheld the spectacle with pride, the Jews with consternation. The whole length of the old wall, the northern cloisters of the Temple, every window, every roof, was crowded with heads, looking down, some with stern and scowling expressions of hate and defiance; others in undisguised terror; some emaciated with famine, others heated with intemperance. The sight might have appalled the boldest; but the insurgents knew that they had offended too deeply to trust to Roman mercy, and that nothing remained but still to contend with the stubborn obstinacy of desperation. For four days this procession continued defiling beneath the walls; on the fifth, as no overtures for capitulation were made, Titus gave orders to recommence the siege. One part of the army was employed to raise embankments against the Antonia, where John and his followers fought; the rest against the monument of John the High Priest, on part of the wall defended by Simon. The Jews had now learned, by long practice, the use of their military engines, and plied them from

their heights with tremendous effect. They had 300 scorpions, for the discharge of darts; and 40 balistas, which threw enormous stones. Titus used every means to induce them to surrender, and sent Josephus to address them in their native language. Josephus with some difficulty found a place from whence he might be heard, and, at the same time, be out of arrow-shot. Whether his prudence marred the effect of his oratory or not, by his own statement he addressed to them a long harangue. He urged their own interest in the preservation of the city and Temple, the unconquerable power of the Romans, their mercy in offering terms of capitulation, and he dwelt on the famine which had begun to waste their strength. Neither the orator himself, nor his topics, were very acceptable to the fierce Zealots. They scoffed at him, reviled him, and hurled their darts against his head. Josephus then reverted to the ancient history of the nation; he urged that the Jewish people had never yet relied on such defenders, but ever on their God. "Such was the trust of Abraham, who did not resist when Necho, the Pharaoh of Egypt, took away his wife Sarah!" The orator seems here to have reckoned on the ignorance of his audience. He then recounted first the great deliverances, then the great calamities of the nation, and proceeded in a strain of vehement invective, little calculated to excite anything but furious indignation in the minds of the Zealots.¹ They, as might be expected, were only more irritated. The people, by his account, were touched by his expostulations; probably their miseries and the famine argued

¹ Josephus even appealed to miracles wrought in favor of the Romans: he asserted that the fountain of Siloam, and other water-springs, which had failed entirely while they were in the power of the Jews, no sooner came into the possession of the Romans than they began to flow abundantly.

more powerfully to their hearts ; they began to desert in numbers. Some sold their property at the lowest price ; others swallowed their more valuable articles, gold and jewels, and when they fled to the Romans, unloaded themselves of their precious burdens. Titus allowed them to pass unmolested. The news of their escape excited many others to follow their example, though John and Simon watched every outlet of the city, and executed without mercy all whom they suspected of a design to fly. This too was a convenient charge, on which they could put to death as many of the more wealthy as they chose.

In the mean time the famine increased, and with the famine the desperation of the insurgents.¹ No grain was exposed for public sale : they forced open and searched the houses ; if they found any, they punished the owners for their refusal ; if none was discovered, they tortured them with greater cruelty for concealing it with such care. The looks of the wretched beings were the marks by which they judged

¹ While the famine was thus grievous, the supply of water seems never to have failed. In this they had great advantage over the besiegers. Josephus indeed (see above) intimates a sort of miracle, that Siloam, and other sources of water, which had dried up when in possession of the Jews, began to flow again for the Romans. *Τίτῳ μὲν γὰρ πηγὰι πλουσιώτεραι ῥέουσιν, αἱ ξηρανθεῖσαι πρότερον ὑμῖν· πρὸ γοῦν τῆς αὐτῶν παρουσίας τὴν τε Σιλωὰμ ἐπιλιποῦσαν ἴστε, καὶ τὰς ἔξω τοῦ ἁστεος ὑπάρχουσας, ὥστε πρὸς ἀμφορεῖς ὠνεῖσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ· τὸ δὲ νῦν οὕτω πληθύνουσι τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑμῶν, ὥς μὴ μόνον αὐτοῖς καὶ κτήρεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κήποις διαρκεῖν.* Josephus would persuade us that he uttered this in the hearing of the besiegers, thus appealing to themselves for its truth. It is evidently a flower of later rhetoric. Strabo had before described Jerusalem as *ἐντὸς μὲν ἔνυδρον, ἐκτὸς δὲ παντελῶς ἀρηιρόν.* xvi. p. 763. So Tacitus: "*Fons perennis, cavati sub terrâ montes; et piscinæ cisternæque servandis imbris.*" Hist. v. 12. Dion Cassius is even more explicit: *τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ ἀνυδρίᾳ ἐκακοπάθουν, καὶ φαῦλον καὶ πόρρωθεν ὕδωρ ἐπαγόμενοι· οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι διὰ τῶν υπονόμων ἴσχυον.* Not only had they plenty of water, but at times they issued out through the subterraneous aqueducts, attacked the Romans when seeking water, and cut off stragglers. Vesp. lxvi. 3.

whether they had any secret store or not. Those who were hale and strong were condemned as guilty of concealment; the plunderers passed by only the pale and emaciated. The wealthy secretly sold their whole property for a measure of wheat, the poorer for one of barley, and shrouding themselves in the darkest recesses of their houses, devoured it underground; others made bread, snatched it half-baked from the embers, and tore it with their teeth. The misery of the weaker was aggravated by seeing the plenty of the stronger. Every kind feeling — love — respect — natural affection — were extinct through the all-absorbing want. Wives would snatch the last morsel from husbands, children from parents, mothers from children; they would intercept even their own milk from the lips of their pining babes. The most scanty supply of food was consumed in terror and peril. The marauders were always prowling about. If a house was closed, they supposed that eating was going on; they burst in, and squeezed the crumbs from the mouths and the throats of those who had swallowed them. Old men were scourged till they surrendered the food, to which their hands clung desperately, and even were dragged about by the hair, till they gave up what they had. Children were seized as they hung upon the miserable morsels they had got, whirled around and dashed upon the pavement. Those who anticipated the plunderers by swallowing every atom, were treated still more cruelly, as if they had wronged those who came to rob them. Tortures, which cannot be related with decency, were employed against those who had a loaf, or a handful of barley. Nor did their own necessities excuse these cruelties; sometimes it was done by those who had abundance of food, with a deliberate design of husbanding their own resources.

If any wretches crept out near the Roman posts to pick up some miserable herbs or vegetables, they were plundered on their return; and if they entreated, in the awful name of God, that some portion at least might be left them of what they had obtained at the hazard of their lives, they might think themselves well off if they escaped being killed as well as pillaged.¹

Such were the cruelties exercised on the lower orders by the satellites of the tyrants; the richer and more distinguished were carried before the tyrants themselves. Some were accused of treasonable correspondence with the Romans; others with an intention to desert. He that was plundered by Simon was sent to John; he that had been stripped by John was made over to Simon; so, by turns, they, as it were, shared the bodies and drained the blood of the citizens. Their ambition made them enemies; their common crimes united them in friendship. They were jealous if either deprived the other of his share in some flagrant cruelty; and complained of being wronged if excluded from some atrocious iniquity.

The blood runs cold, and the heart sickens, at these unexampled horrors; and we take refuge in a kind of desperate hope that they have been exaggerated by the historian: those which follow, perpetrated under his own eyes by his Roman friends, and justified under the all-extenuating plea of necessity, admit of no such reservation, — they must be believed in their naked and unmitigated barbarity. Many poor wretches, some

¹ Of all high-wrought descriptions of human suffering, what can surpass this paragraph in the history of the war? v. 10. 3. Josephus would console himself with the bold assertion that the men who perpetrated these enormities were not Jews of legitimate descent, but *δοῦλοι καὶ σύγκλυδες, καὶ νόθα τοῦ ἔθνους φθάρματα*. And yet these very men, for freedom (dare we say for faith?) did deeds of valor and daring equal to the famous Maccabees

few of them insurgents, but mostly the poorest of the people, would steal down the ravines by night, to pick up whatever might serve for food. They would, most of them, willingly have deserted, but hesitated to leave their wives and children to be murdered. For these Titus laid men in ambush; when attacked, they defended themselves; as a punishment, they were scourged, tortured, and crucified; and in the morning, sometimes 500, sometimes more, of these miserable beings were seen writhing on crosses before the walls. This was done because it was thought unsafe to let them escape, and to terrify the rest.¹ The soldiers added ridicule to their cruelty; they would place the bodies in all sorts of ludicrous postures; and this went on till room was wanting for the crosses, and crosses for the bodies.

These executions produced a contrary effect to that which was contemplated. The Zealots dragged the relatives of the deserters, and all they suspected as inclined towards peace, up to the walls, and bade them behold those examples of Roman mercy. This checked the desertion, excepting in those who thought it better to be killed at once than to die slowly of hunger. Titus sent others back to Simon and John, with their hands cut off, exhorting them to capitulate, and not to force him to destroy the city and the Temple. It cannot be wondered, that, as Titus went round the works, he was saluted from all parts, in contempt of

¹ Josephus is now become the steadfast flatterer of Titus. Not only does he color most highly the personal prowess of the son of Cæsar; in this he has the concurrence of Tacitus: "*Ipse, ut super fortunam crederetur, decorum se, promptumque in armis ostendebat, comitate et adloquiis officia provocans; ac plerumque in opere, in agmine, gregario militi mixtus, incorrupto ducis honore.*" Hist. v. 1.

Josephus would also attribute to Titus merciful compunction at these executions. I cannot but think that Bishop Heber's "stoic tyrant's philosophic pride" is more true to the character of Titus.

the imperial dignity, with the loudest and bitterest execrations against his own name and that of his father.

At this time a son of the king of Commagene, called Antiochus Epiphanes, a name of ominous sound to Jerusalem, joined the Roman camp with a chosen band of youths, dressed and armed in the Macedonian fashion. He expressed his wonder at the delay of the Romans in assaulting the wall. Titus gave him free leave to make the attempt, which he did with great valor, but with little success, notwithstanding his vaunting; for though he escaped, all his men were severely mutilated and wounded by the besieged.

After seventeen days' labor, on the 27th or 29th of May, the embankments were raised in four separate places. That of the fifth legion began near the Pool of the Sparrows; that of the twelfth, about thirty-five feet farther off; that of the tenth, on the north, near the Pool of the Almond Trees; and that of the fifteenth, on the east, near the Monument of John. All was prepared; the engines mounted, and the troops stood awaiting the assault, when suddenly the whole ground between the embankments and the wall was seen to heave and roll like a sea. Presently thick masses of smoke came curling heavily up, followed by dim and lurid flames; the whole then sank, the engines and the embankments rolled down together into the fiery abyss, and were either buried or consumed. John had undermined the whole, piled below an immense quantity of pitch, sulphur, and other combustibles, set fire to the wooden supports, and thus destroyed the labors of seventeen days.

The Jewish captains were rivals in valor as in guilt. Two days after, Simon, on his side, made a desperate attack on the engines, which had already begun to

shake the walls. Tepthaus, a Galilean, Megassar, formerly an attendant on Mariamne, and a man of Adiabene, the son of Nebat, called Chagiras, (the lame,) rushed fiercely out, with torches in their hands. These men were the bravest as well as the most cruel of the Zealots. They were not repelled till they had set fire to the Helepoleis. The Romans crowded to extinguish the fire ; the Jews from the walls covered their men, who, though the iron of the engines was red-hot, would not relax their hold. The fire spread to the other works, and the Romans, encompassed on all sides by the flames, retreated to their camp. The Jews followed up their success, and, all fury and triumph, rushed upon the trenches, and assailed the guards. By the Roman discipline it was death to desert such a post. The guards stubbornly resisted, and were killed in numbers. The scorpions and balistas of the Romans rained a shower of mortal missiles, but the Jews, utterly regardless of defending themselves, still pushed fiercely on, swarm after swarm pouring out of the city ; so that Titus, who had been absent reconnoitring the Antonia, in order to find a new spot to fix his engines, found the whole army besieged, and even wavering. He charged with his men resolutely against the Jews, who turned round and faced his attack. Such was the dust and the noise, that no one could see, hear, or distinguish friend from foe. The event of the contest left the Romans dispirited by the loss of their battering train, and with little hope of taking the city with the ordinary engines that remained. Titus summoned a council of war. Three plans were discussed : to storm the city immediately, to repair the works and rebuild the engines, or to blockade and starve the garrison to surrender. The last was preferred ; and the whole army

set to work upon the trench, each legion and each rank vying with the rest in activity. The trench ran from the "Camp of the Assyrians," where Titus was encamped, to the lower part of Bezetha, along the valley of Kedron, and the ridge of the Mount of Olives, to a rock called Peristereon, at the mouth of the valley of Siloam, and a hill which hangs over Siloe, thence to the west to the valley of the Fountain, thence ascending to the sepulchre of the High Priest Ananias, round the mountain where Pompey's camp was formerly pitched, by a village called that of Erebinth, or Pulse, then turned eastward again and joined the camp: the whole work was within a furlong of five miles; it was surmounted by thirteen garrison towers, and was entirely finished in three days.

It can scarcely be doubted that there must have been, within the walls of Jerusalem, many so closely connected with the Christians as to be well acquainted with the prophetic warning which had induced that people to leave the fated city. With what awful force must the truth of the disbelieved or disregarded words have returned to their remembrance, when their enemies had thus literally "cast a trench about them, and compassed them round, and kept them in on every side!" But the poor and the lowly would have little time to meditate even on such solemn considerations; for the instant effect of this measure was to increase the horrors of the famine so far that whole families lay perishing with hunger. The houses were full of dying women and children, the streets with old men, gasping out their last breath. The bodies remained unburied, for either the emaciated relatives had not strength for the melancholy duty, or, in the uncertainty of their own lives, neglected every office of

kindness or charity. Some, indeed, died in the act of burying their friends ; others crept into the cemeteries, lay down on a bier, and expired. There was no sorrow, no wailing ; they had not strength to moan ; they sat with dry eyes, and mouths drawn up into a kind of bitter smile. Those who were more hardy looked with envy on those who had already breathed their last. Many died, says the historian, with their eyes still steadily fixed on the Temple. There was a deep and heavy silence over the whole city, broken only by the robbers, as they forced open houses to plunder the dead, and in licentious sport dragged away the last decent covering from their limbs ; they would even try the edge of their swords on the dead. The soldiers, dreading the stench of the corpses, at first ordered them to be buried at the expense of the public treasury ; as they grew more numerous, they were thrown over the walls into the ravines below.

Titus, as he went his rounds, saw these bodies rotting, and the ground reeking with gore wherever he trod ; he groaned, lifted up his hands to heaven, and called God to witness that this was not his work.¹ The Roman camp, in the mean time, was abundantly supplied ; and Titus commanded timber to be brought from a distance, and recommenced his works in four places against the Antonia.

One crime remained of which the robbers had not yet been guilty, and that, Simon now hastened to perpetrate. The High Priest, Matthias, a man of feeble character, had passively submitted to all the usurpations of the robber leaders. He it was who admitted Simon to counterpoise the party of John. Matthias was accused, whether justly or not, of intelligence with

¹ B. J. v. 12. 4.

the Romans ; he was led out and executed in the sight of the Romans, with his three sons ; the fourth had made his escape. The inoffensive old man only entreated that he might be put to death first ; this was denied him, and his sons were massacred before his face by Ananus, the son of Bamad, the remorseless executioner of Simon's cruelties. Ananias, the son of Masambal, Aristeus, the secretary of the Sanhedrin, and fifteen of its members, were put to death at the same time. The father of Josephus was thrown into prison, and all access to him strictly forbidden. Josephus himself had a narrow escape ; he was struck on the head by a stone, and fell insensible. The Jews by a vigorous sally endeavored to make themselves masters of his body, but Titus sent troops to his rescue, and he was brought off, though with difficulty. The rumor of his death spread through the city, and reached his mother in her prison ; his speedy appearance under the walls reassured his friends, and was quickly imparted to his afflicted parents.

The murder of the High Priest, and of the Sanhedrin, at last excited an attempt to shake off the yoke of the tyrants. A certain Judas, the son of Judas, conspired with ten others to betray one of the towers to the Romans. They offered to surrender it, but the Romans, naturally suspicious, hesitated. In the mean time Simon, as vigilant as he was cruel, had discovered the plot ; the conspirators were put to death in the sight of the Romans, and their bodies tumbled from the walls. Still desertion became more frequent ; some threw themselves from the walls, and fled for their lives ; others, under pretence of issuing forth to skirmish, got within the Roman posts. Many of these famished wretches came to a miserable end. When they obtained food,

they ate with such avidity as was fatal to their enfeebled frames ; few had self-control enough to accustom their stomachs by degrees to the unusual food. Others perished from another cause. A man was seen searching his excrements for some gold which he had swallowed and voided. A report spread through the camp that all the deserters had brought off their treasures in the same manner. Some of the fierce Syrian and Arabian allies set on them and cut open their living bodies in search of gold ; two thousand are said to have been killed in this way during one night. Titus was indignant at the horrid barbarity ; he threatened to surround the perpetrators and to cut down their whole squadrons. The number of offenders alone restrained him from inflicting summary justice. He denounced instant death against any one detected in such a crime ; but still the love of gold was, in many instances, stronger than the dread of punishment, and that which was before done openly was still perpetrated secretly.

John, the Zealot, at this time committed an offence, in the opinion of the devout Jews even more heinous than his most horrible cruelties, that of sacrilege ; he seized and melted the treasures of the Temple, and even the dishes and vessels used in the service. Probably with revengeful satisfaction, he began with the offerings of the Roman Emperors. He openly declared that the holy treasures ought to assist in supporting a holy war. He distributed also to the famished people the sacred wine and oil, which were used and drunk with the greatest avidity. For this offence the historian, Josephus, has reserved his strongest terms of horror and execration : “ For such abominations, even if the Romans had stood aloof, the city would have been swallowed by an earthquake, or swept away by a

deluge, or would have perished, like Sodom, in a tempest of fire and brimstone."

But by his own account, such calamities would have been as tender mercies to the present sufferings of the Jews. A deserter, who at one time had been appointed to pay for the interment of the dead at a particular gate, stated that from the 14th of April, when the siege began, to the 1st of July, 115,880 bodies had been buried at the public charge, or thrown from the walls, not including those interred by their friends. Others said that 600,000 of the poorer people had perished; that when they could no longer bury them, they shut them up in some of the larger houses, and left them there. A measure of wheat was selling for a talent, and the people were raking the very dungheaps for sustenance. Yet still, though dead bodies actually impeded the way of the defenders to the walls, and though the city, like one vast sepulchre, seemed to exhale a pestilential stench, with unbroken resolution which might have become better men, the soldiers both of John and Simon went sternly trampling over those dead bodies as over the senseless pavement, and manned the walls with that wild desperation which familiarity with death is apt to engender.¹

The Romans, in the mean time, labored hard at their military engines. There was great scarcity of timber; they were obliged to bring it from a considerable distance, so that not a tree was left standing within above ten miles of the city. All the delicious gardens, the fruitful orchards, the shady avenues, where, in their days of peace and happiness, the inhabitants of the devoted city had enjoyed the luxury of their delicious climate, the temperate days of spring, and the cool

¹ B. J. vi. 1. 1.

summer nights, were utterly destroyed. It was a lamentable sight to behold the whole gay and luxuriant suburban region turned to a frightful solitude.

At length, the tall and fearful engines stood again menacing the walls. Both the Jews and Romans looked at them with apprehension: the Jews from experience of their tremendous powers; the Romans in the conviction that if these were burned, from the total want of timber it would be impossible to supply their places. Josephus confesses that at this period the Roman army was exhausted and dispirited; while their desperate enemies, notwithstanding the seditions, famine, and war, were still as obstinately determined as ever, and went resolutely and even cheerfully forth to battle. Before the engines could be advanced against the walls, the party of John made an attempt to burn them, but without success; their measures were ill combined, their attack feeble and desultory. For once, the old Jewish courage seemed to fail; so that, advancing without their customary fury, and finding the Romans drawn up in disciplined array, the engines themselves striking down their most forward men, they were speedily repelled, and the Helepoleis advanced to the wall, amid showers of stones and fire and every kind of missile. The engines began to thunder; and the assailants, though sometimes crushed by the stones that were hurled upon them from above, locked their shields over their heads, and worked at the foundation with their hands and with crow-bars, till at length they got out four large stones. Night put an end to the conflict.

During the night, the wall suddenly fell in with a terrific noise; for it happened to stand over that part which John had formerly undermined, in order to destroy the enemy's engines. But when the Romans

rushed, in the morning, to the breach, they found a second wall, which John, with true military foresight, had built within, in case of such an emergency. Still this was newly made, and comparatively weak. Titus assembled the officers of the army, and made them an energetic address; in which, among other topics, he urged the manifest interference of Divine Providence in their favor, in the unexpected falling of the wall. They listened in silence, till at length a common soldier, a Syrian named Sabinus, a man of great courage but slender make and very dark complexion, volunteered to lead a forlorn hope. He threw his shield over his head, grasped his sword, and advanced deliberately to the wall. Only eleven men had courage to follow him. Javelins, weapons of all kinds, and huge stones, came whizzing and thundering around him. Some of his companions were beaten down, but, though covered with darts, he still persisted in mounting, till the Jews, panic-stricken at his boldness, and supposing that he was followed by many more, took to flight. He had actually reached the top of the wall, when his foot slipped, and he fell. The Jews turned and surrounded him. He rose on his knees, still made a gallant defence, wounding many of the enemy, and at length expired, buried under a thousand spears. Of the eleven, three reached the top of the wall, and were killed by stones; eight were carried back, wounded, to the camp. This was on the 3d of July. Two days after, at the dead of night, twenty soldiers of the guard, with a standard-bearer of the fifth legion, two horsemen, and a trumpeter, crept silently up the breach, surprised and slew the watch, and gave orders to the trumpeter to blow with all his might. The rest of the sentinels, without waiting to see the number of the assailants, fled

in terror. Titus, directly he heard the sound of the trumpet, armed his men and scaled the Antonia. The Jews fled on all sides; some fell into the mines which John had dug under the Roman embankments; but Simon and John, uniting all their forces, made a resolute effort to defend the entrance to the Temple. A fierce battle ensued, with spears and javelins; the troops of both parties were so mingled and confused that no man knew where he was. The narrow passages were crowded with the dead, so that those engaged were obliged to scramble over heaps of bodies and of armor to get at each other. At length, after ten hours' hard fighting, Titus, contented with the possession of the Antonia, recalled his men. But a Bithynian centurion, named Julian, of uncommon strength and skill in the use of his weapons, sprang forward from the side of Titus, where he was standing, and singly charged the Jews with such extraordinary resolution that they fled on all sides; and Julian forced his way, committing dreadful slaughter as he went on, up to a corner of the Inner Court of the Temple. Unfortunately his shoes were full of nails, and slipping upon the smooth pavement, he fell with his armor clattering around him. The fugitives turned upon him. A loud shout of terror arose from the Romans in the Antonia, answered by a fierce and exulting cry from the Jews. They surrounded the gallant Julian, and though he covered himself with his shield, and repeatedly struggled to rise, he was overpowered by numbers. Still, however, his breastplate and helmet protected the vital parts, till at length, his limbs having been hewn off, he received a mortal wound and fell dead. The Jews, to the great grief of Cæsar, dragged the body into the Temple, and again drove back the Romans into the Antonia.

It was now the 5th of July.¹ Titus commanded that the fortress of Antonia should be razed to the ground. He had heard that the daily sacrifice was now intermitted, from want of persons to make the offering; and understanding the deep impression made on all the Jews by the suspension of that rite, he determined to try another attempt on their religious feelings. Josephus was sent to offer free egress to John if he would come forth to fight, that the Temple might escape defilement. Josephus placed himself so as to be heard by all the Jews; and communicated, in the Hebrew language, the offers of Titus. John replied in words of the fiercest bitterness, imprecating curses on the head of the renegade Josephus; and concluded that "he feared not the taking of the city, for it was the city of God." Josephus broke out into a vehement invective, but neither his words, nor the tears or sobs by which he was interrupted, had the slightest effect on John or his soldiers; they rushed out and endeavored to seize him. Some few, however, were moved.

There were certain men of distinction, who, from time to time, had seized an opportunity of desertion. Among these were Joseph and four chief priests; three sons of Ismael, the High Priest; four of Mathias; one of the other Matthias, whom Simon put to death with three of his sons. Titus had received the fugitives with kindness, promised them his protection, and dismissed them to Gophni. These men were sent for, and with Josephus attempted to persuade the people, if not to capitulate, at least to spare the Temple from

¹ There is here a difficulty about the day. This event is commemorated by the Jews on the 17th of July, the day indicated by Josephus, but it cannot easily be reconciled with the history.

inevitable defilement and ruin. But all in vain ! The sacred gates were blocked up with balistas and catapults ; the peaceful Temple, with its marble courts and gilded pinnacles, assumed the appearance of a warlike citadel. Its courts were strewn with the dead ; men with swords reeking with the blood of the enemy, or of their own countrymen, rushed to and fro along the Holy Place, or even the Holy of Holies. Even the Roman soldiers, it is said, shuddered at the profanation. Titus tried a last remonstrance. “ You have put up a barrier,” he said, “ to prevent strangers from polluting your Temple : this the Romans have always respected ; — we have allowed you to put to death all who violated its precincts. Yet ye defile it yourselves with blood and carnage. I call on your Gods — I call on my whole army — I call on the Jews who are with me — I call on yourselves — to witness that I do not force you to this crime. Come forth, and fight in any other place : and no Roman shall violate your sacred edifice.” But John and his Zealots suspected (it may be with justice) the magnanimity of Titus, and would not surrender a place the strength of which was their only trust. Perhaps they had still a fanatic confidence, that, reeking as they were with blood, steeped to the lips in crime, they were still the chosen people of Jehovah ; and that yet, even yet, the Power which smote Pharaoh, and Sennacherib, and the enemies of the Maccabees, would reveal himself in irresistible terror.

Titus, finding all his efforts of mercy rejected, determined on a night attack : as the whole army could not make the assault, on account of the narrowness of the approaches, thirty men were picked from each century, tribunes appointed over each 1000, and Cerealis chosen to command the whole. Titus himself announced that

he would mount a watch-tower which belonged to the Antonia, in order that he might witness and reward every act of individual bravery. They advanced when night was three parts over, but found the enemy on the watch. The battle began to the advantage of the Romans, who held together in compact bodies, while the Jews attacked in small troops or singly. In the blind confusion of the night, among the bewildering shouts on all sides, many fell upon each other, and those who were repelled were mistaken for the assailants, and killed by their own men ; so that the Jews lost more by their own swords than by the foe. When day dawned, the combat continued on more even terms ; after eight hours' contest, though the Romans were thus fighting as in a theatre, in view of the Emperor, they had not gained a foot of ground ; and the battle ceased, as it were, by common consent.

In the mean time, the Romans had levelled part of the Antonia, and made a broad way, by which they could bring their engines to bear upon the Temple. They erected their embankments, though with great difficulty from the scarcity of timber, against four places of the outer court ; one opposite the northeast corner of the inner court ; one against a building between the two northern gates, one against the western, and another against the northern cloisters. Still the indefatigable Jews gave them no rest ; if the cavalry went out to forage, and let their horses loose to feed, the Jews would sally out in squadrons and surprise them. They made one desperate assault on the outposts, near the Mount of Olives, in open day ; and, but for a charge of cavalry on their flank, had almost succeeded in forcing the wall. In this contest, a horseman, named Pedanius, stooped down, caught up a Jew,

with all his armor, carried him by main strength, and threw him down before the feet of Titus. Titus admired the strength of Pedanius, and ordered the captive to be put to death.

Overborne, exhausted, famine-stricken, still the Jews fought, inch by inch ; and, according to the historian, sternly sacrificed, as it were, their own limbs, cutting off every foot that the enemy had taken, as if to prevent the progress of the disease.¹ They set on fire the portico which led from the Antonia to the Temple, and made a breach of between twenty and thirty feet. Two days after, the Romans, in their turn, set fire to the cloister, and burned above twenty feet more. The Jews looked on calmly, and allowed the flame to spread, till the whole space between the Antonia and the Temple was cleared.

But if the holy precincts were thus to perish by fire, they determined that they should not fall unavenged. Along the whole western cloisters they filled the space between the beams and the roof with dry wood, sulphur, and bitumen ; they then retreated from the defence, as if quite exhausted. The more prudent of the assailants suspected some stratagem, but many immediately applied the scaling-ladders, and mounted boldly to the roof. At that instant the Jews below set fire to the train ; the flames rushed roaring and blazing up among the astonished assailants. Some flung themselves down headlong into the city, others among the enemy ; there they lay bruised to death, or with broken limbs : many were burnt alive, others fell on their own swords. In vain they looked to their companions below, in vain they beheld the sorrow of Cæsar himself, who, though they had acted without orders, commiserated

¹ B. J. vi. 2. 9.

their fate. Escape or succor was alike impossible ; a few on a broader part of the roof fought valiantly, and died to a man with their arms in their hands. The fate of a youth, named Longus, created general interest. The Jews offered to spare his life if he would go down and surrender ; on the other hand, his brother Cornelius, from below, entreated him not to disgrace the Roman character. The youth stabbed himself to the heart. One Artorius escaped by a singular stratagem : he called to one of his comrades, and offered to leave him his whole property if he would catch him as he fell. The man came below, Artorius jumped down, crushed his friend to death in his fall, and escaped unhurt. Thus a great part of the western cloister was burnt ; the Romans set fire to that of the north, and laid it in ashes as far as the northeast corner, near Kedron.

In the mean time the famine continued its fearful ravages. Men would fight, even the dearest friends, for the most miserable morsel. The very dead were searched, as though they might conceal some scrap of food. Even the robbers began to suffer severely ; they went prowling about like mad dogs, or reeling, like drunken men, from weakness ; and entered and searched the same houses twice or thrice in the same hour. The most loathsome and disgusting food was sold at an enormous price. They gnawed their belts, shoes, and even the leathern coats of their shields ; chopped hay and shoots of trees sold at high prices. Yet what were all these horrors to that which followed ? There was a woman of Perea, from the village of Beth-zob, Mary, the daughter of Eleazar. She possessed considerable wealth when she took refuge in the city. Day after day she had been plundered by the robbers, whom she had provoked by her bitter imprecations. No

one, however, would mercifully put an end to her misery ; and her mind maddened with wrong, her body preyed upon by famine, she wildly resolved on an expedient which might gratify at once her vengeance and her hunger. She had an infant that was vainly endeavoring to obtain some moisture from her dry bosom, — she seized it, cooked it, ate one half, and set the other aside. The smoke and the smell of food quickly reached the robbers ; they forced her door, and with horrible threats commanded her to give up what she had been feasting on. She replied with appalling indifference that she had carefully reserved for her good friends a part of her meal : she uncovered the remains of her child ! The savage men stood speechless, at which she cried out with a shrill voice, “ Eat, for I have eaten ; be ye not more delicate than a woman, more tender-hearted than a mother — or if ye are too religious to touch such food, I have eaten half already, leave me the rest.” They retired pale and trembling with horror. The story spread rapidly through the city, and reached the Roman camp ; where it was first heard with incredulity, afterwards with the deepest commiseration.¹ How dreadfully must the words of Moses have flashed and wrought upon the minds of all those Jews who were not entirely unread in their holy writings ! — *“The tender and delicate woman among you, which would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness, her eye shall be evil toward the husband of her bosom, and toward her son, and toward her daughter ; and toward her young one that cometh out from between her feet, and toward her children which she shall bear : for she shall eat*

¹ Josephus mars this piteous history by false rhetoric: he makes the mother utter a speech to the child, which he thinks pathetic.

them for want of all things, secretly in the siege and straitness wherewith thine enemy shall distress thee in thy gates."

The destruction of the outer cloisters had left the Romans masters of the great court of the Gentiles ; on the 8th of August the engines began to batter the western gate of the inner court. For six previous days the largest and most powerful of the battering-rams had played upon the wall ; the enormous size and compactness of the stones had resisted all its efforts. Other troops at the same time endeavored to undermine the northern gate, but with no better success ; nothing therefore remained but to fix the scaling-ladders and storm the cloisters. The Jews made no resistance to the Romans' mounting the walls ; but as soon as they reached the top, hurled them down headlong, or slew them before they could cover themselves with their shields. In some places they thrust down the ladders loaded with armed men, who fell back and were dashed to pieces on the pavement. Some of the standard-bearers had led the way ; they also were repelled, and the Jews remained masters of the eagles. On the side of the Romans fell many distinguished soldiers ; on that of the Jews, Eleazar, the nephew of Simon. Repulsed on all hands from the top of the wall, Titus commanded fire to be set to the gates.

In the mean time Ananus of Emmaus, the bloody executioner of Simon, and Archelaus, son of Magadat, deserted to the Romans. Titus at first intended to put them to death, but afterwards relented.

No sooner had the blazing torches been applied to the gates than the silver plates heated, the wood kindled, the whole flamed up and spread rapidly to the cloisters. Like wild beasts environed in a burning

forest, the Jews saw the awful circle of fire hem them in on every side ; their courage sank, they stood gasping, motionless and helpless ; not a hand endeavored to quench the flames, or stop the silent progress of the conflagration. Yet still fierce thoughts of desperate vengeance were brooding in their hearts. Through the whole night and the next day the fire went on consuming the whole range of cloisters. Titus at length gave orders that it should be extinguished, and the way through the gates levelled for the advance of the legionaries. A council of war was summoned, in which the expediency of destroying the magnificent building was solemnly discussed. It consisted of six of the chief officers of the army, — among the rest, of Tiberius Alexander, whose offerings had formerly enriched the splendid edifice. Three of the council insisted on the necessity of destroying forever this citadel of a mutinous people ; it was no longer a temple, but a fortress, and to be treated like a military stronghold. Titus inclined to milder counsels ; the magnificence of the building had made a strong impression upon his mind, and he was reluctant to destroy what might be considered one of the wonders of the Roman Empire. Alexander, Fronto, and Cerealis concurred in this opinion, and the soldiers were ordered to do all they could to quench the flames.¹ But higher counsels had

¹ "Fertur Titus, adhibito consilio, prius deliberasse an templum tanti operis everteret. Etenim nonnullis videbatur, ædem sacratam ultra omnia mortalia illustrem non debere deleri, quæ servata modestiæ Romanæ festinonium, diruta perennem crudelitatis notam præberet. At contra alii et Titus ipse evertendum templum imprimis censebant, quo plenius Judæorum et Christianorum religio tolleretur. Quippe has religiones, licet contrarias sibi, iisdem tamen auctoribus profectas; Christianos ex Judæis extitisse; radice sublatâ stirpem facile perituram. Ita Dei nutu, accensis omnium animis templum dirutum abhinc annos trecentos triginta et unum." This passage from Sulpicius Severus (*Chronicon*, xxx. 11. 6) might appear of itself to be of slight authority, directly contradicting, as it

otherwise decreed, and the Temple of Jerusalem was to be forever obliterated from the face of the earth. The whole of the first day after the fire began, the Jews from exhaustion and consternation remained entirely inactive. The next, they made a furious sally from the eastern gate against the guards who were posted in the Outer Court. The legionaries locked their shields together and stood the brunt of the onset; but the Jews still came pouring forth in such overbearing multitudes that Titus himself was forced to charge at the head of some cavalry, and with difficulty drove them back into the Temple.

It was the 10th of August, the day already darkened in the Jewish calendar by the destruction of the former Temple by the King of Babylon: that day was almost passed. Titus withdrew again into the Antonia, intending the next morning to make a general assault. The quiet summer evening came on; the setting sun shone for the last time on the snow-white walls and glistening pinnacles of the Temple-roof. Titus had retired to rest; when suddenly a wild and terrible cry was heard,

does, the statement of Josephus. But M. Jacob Bernays, in a remarkable dissertation (*über die Chronik des Sulpicius Severus*, Berlin, 1861), has shown, to my judgment conclusively, that these are, with but slight modifications, the words of Tacitus, from the lost portion of his History. M. Bernays has clearly proved that Tacitus was one of the chief authorities used by Sulpicius. There are several passages in which he adopts the express words of Tacitus, still extant, almost without alteration. The style of this passage, with the exception of a few words, is very Tacitus, a passage which none but Tacitus could write. For the "nonnulli" Tacitus wrote the names of the counsellors who were for mercy; for "ultra omnia mortalia illustrem," "inter omnes mortales nobilem," or "illustrem." He wrote, too, "superstitio," rather than "religio." The half-knowledge and half-ignorance of the relations between the Jews and Christians, the bitter prejudice against both, are quite in character with Tacitus. If then this be a fair conclusion, as I doubt not it is, of M. Bernays, it is a curious illustration of the adulatory tone towards his Roman patrons with which Josephus composed his History.

and a man came rushing in, announcing that the Temple was on fire. Some of the besieged, notwithstanding their repulse in the morning, had sallied out to attack the men who were busily employed in extinguishing the fires about the cloisters. The Romans not merely drove them back, but, entering the sacred space with them, forced their way to the door of the Temple. A soldier, without orders, mounting on the shoulders of one of his comrades, threw a blazing brand into a small gilded door on the north side of the chambers, in the outer building or porch.¹ The flames sprang up at once. The Jews uttered one simultaneous shriek, and grasped their swords with a furious determination of revenging and perishing in the ruins of the Temple. Titus rushed down with the utmost speed; he shouted, he made signs to his soldiers to quench the fire; his voice was drowned, and his signs unnoticed, in the blind confusion. The legionaries either could not or would not hear; they rushed on, trampling each other down in their furious haste, or, stumbling over the crumbling ruins, perished with the enemy. Each exhorted the other, and each hurled his blazing brand into the inner part of the edifice, and then hurried to his work of carnage. The unarmed and defenceless people were slain in thousands; they lay heaped like sacrifices, round the altar; the steps of the Temple ran with streams of blood, which washed down the bodies that lay about.

Titus found it impossible to check the rage of the soldiery; he entered with his officers, and surveyed the interior of the sacred edifice. The splendor filled them with wonder; and as the flames had not yet penetrated to the Holy Place, he made a last effort to

¹ θύραι. It may have been, and is usually described as a window.

save it, and springing forth, again exhorted the soldiers to stay the progress of the conflagration. The centurion Liberalis endeavored to force obedience with his staff of office ; but even respect for the Emperor gave way to the furious animosity against the Jews, to the fierce excitement of battle, and to the insatiable hope of plunder. The soldiers saw everything around them radiant with gold, which shone dazlingly in the wild light of the flames ; they supposed that incalculable treasures were laid up in the sanctuary. A soldier, unperceived, thrust a lighted torch between the hinges of the door ; the whole building was in flames in an instant. The blinding smoke and fire forced the officers to retreat, and the noble edifice was left to its fate.¹

It was an appalling spectacle to the Roman : what was it to the Jew ? The whole summit of the hill which commanded the city blazed like a volcano. One after another the buildings fell in, with a tremendous crash, and were swallowed up in the fiery abyss. The roofs of cedar were like sheets of flame ; the gilded pinnacles shone like spikes of red light ; the gate-towers sent up tall columns of flame and smoke. The neighboring hills were lighted up ; and dark groups of people were seen watching in horrible anxiety the progress of the destruction ; the walls and heights of the upper city were crowded with faces, some pale with the agony of despair, others scowling unavailing vengeance. The shouts of the Roman soldiery as they ran

¹ The curious reader may find in Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, i. 19, 20, some strange Rabbinical stories of the bitter sorrow of God at the destruction of his Temple. "When God departed from his Temple, he went back, embraced and kissed the walls and the pillars, wept, and said, 'Alas for the peace of my House, of my Holy of Holies !' The angels in vain endeavored to console the Almighty !!"

to and fro, and the howlings of the insurgents who were perishing in the flames, mingled with the roaring of the conflagration and the thundering sound of falling timbers. The echoes of the mountains replied or brought back the shrieks of the people on the heights: all along the walls resounded screams and wailings: men who were expiring with famine rallied their remaining strength to utter a cry of anguish and desolation.

The slaughter within was even more dreadful than the spectacle from without. Men and women, old and young, insurgents and priests, those who fought and those who entreated mercy, were hewn down in indiscriminate carnage. The number of the slain exceeded that of the slayers. The legionaries had to clamber over heaps of dead to carry on the work of extermination. John, at the head of some of his troops, cut his way through, first into the outer court of the Temple, afterwards into the upper city. Some of the priests upon the roof wrenched off the gilded spikes, with their sockets of lead, and used them as missiles against the Romans below. Afterwards they fled to a part of the wall, about fourteen feet wide; they were summoned to surrender; but two of them, Mair, son of Belga, and Joseph, son of Dalai, plunged headlong into the flames.

No part escaped the fury of the Romans. The treasures with all their wealth of money, jewels, and costly robes, — the plunder which the Zealots had laid up, — were totally destroyed. Nothing remained but a small part of the outer cloister, in which about 6000 unarmed and defenceless people, with women and children, had taken refuge. These poor wretches, like multitudes of others, had been led up to the Temple by

a false prophet, who had proclaimed that God commanded all the Jews to go up to the Temple, where he would display his Almighty power to save his people. The soldiers set fire to the building; every soul perished.

For during all this time false prophets, suborned by the Zealots, had kept the people in a state of feverish excitement, as though the appointed Deliverer would still appear. They could not, indeed, but remember the awful, the visible signs which had preceded the siege, — the fiery sword, the armies fighting in the air; the opening of the great gate, the fearful voice within the sanctuary, “Let us depart;” the wild cry of Jesus, son of Ananus, — *Woe, woe to the city!* which he had continued from the government of Albinus to the time of the siege, when he suddenly stopped, shrieked out — *Woe to myself!* and was struck dead by a stone. Yet the undying hopes of fierce fanaticism were kept alive by the still renewed prediction of that Great one, who would at this time arise out of Judæa, and assume the dominion of the world. This prophecy the flattering Josephus declared to be accomplished in the Roman, Vespasian; but more patriotic interpreters still, to the last, expected to see it fulfilled in the person of the conquering Messiah, who would reveal himself in the darkest hour, wither the Roman legions with one word, and then transfer the seat of empire from the Capitol to Sion.¹

The whole Roman army entered the sacred precincts, and pitched their standards among the smoking ruins;

¹ τὸ δὲ ἐπάραν αὐτοὺς μάλιστα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἣν χρήσιμος ἀμφίβολος, ὁμοίως ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐνρημένος γράμμασιν, ὡς κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας τις αὐτῶν ἄρξει τῆς ὀκουμένης. B. J. vi. 5. 4. Compare Tacitus, Hist. v. 13: and Suetonius, Vesp. 4.

they offered sacrifice for the victory, and with loud acclamations saluted Titus as Emperor. Their joy was not a little enhanced by the value of the plunder they had obtained, which was so great that gold fell in Syria to half its former value. The few priests were still on the top of the walls to which they had escaped. A boy emaciated with hunger came down on a promise that his life should be spared. He immediately ran to drink, filled his vessel, and hurried away to his comrades with such speed that the soldiers could not catch him. Five days afterwards the priests were starved into surrender; they entreated for their lives, but Titus answered that the hour of mercy was past; they were led to execution.

Still the upper city held out; but Simon and John, disheartened by the capture of the Temple, demanded a conference. It was granted, and Titus, stationing himself at the western verge of the hill, addressed them through an interpreter.¹ He offered to spare their lives on the condition of instant surrender. John and Simon demanded free egress with their wives and children, promising to evacuate the city, and depart into the wilderness. The terms were rejected, and Titus vowed the unsparing extermination of the whole people; his troops had immediate license to plunder and burn Acra.² The archives, the council-house, the whole of Acra and Ophla, were instantly set on

¹ This is the worst, most rhetorical, and most unsuited to the occasion, of all those speeches which Josephus, fondly supposing no doubt that he is following and rivalling Thucydides, ascribes to the Emperor; and all this, as he says, to be interpreted to the fierce warriors.

² The sons and brothers of King Izates, who, whether of their free will or from compulsion, had remained in the city (a singular fact), with several of the heads of the people, now surrendered: their lives were spared; they were sent prisoners to Rome, Titus no doubt anticipating the pride of his triumph.

fire. The insurgents took possession of the palace, where, from its strength, the people had laid up much of their wealth; they drove the Romans back, and put to death 8400 of the people who had taken refuge there, and plundered all the treasures.¹ They took two Roman soldiers alive; one they put to death, and dragged his body through the city; the other, pretending to have something to communicate to Simon, was led before him, but as he had nothing to say, he was made over to one Ardala, to be put to death. He was led forth with his hands bound, and his eyes bandaged, to be killed in sight of the Romans; but while the Jew was drawing his sword, the prisoner contrived to make his escape. Titus, unwilling to punish him with death after he had thus escaped, but wishing to show that it was unworthy of a Roman soldier to be taken alive, had him stripped of his armor, and dismissed him with disgrace. The next day the Romans entirely cleared the lower city, and set the whole on fire. The insurgents, cooped up in the upper city, lay in ambush near the outlets, and slew every one who attempted to desert. Their great trust was in the subterranean passages, in which they hoped to lie hid.

On the 20th of August, Cæsar at length raised his mounds against the steep cliffs of the upper city; he had the greatest difficulty in obtaining timber. But at last his works were ready in two places, one opposite the palace, the other near the Xystus. The Idumæan chieftains now endeavored secretly to make their terms. Titus reluctantly consented; but the vigilant Simon detected the plot, threw the leaders into prison, and intrusted the defence of the walls to more trusty

¹ This, of all the extravagant and incredible numbers in Josephus, seems the most extravagant and incredible.

soldiers. Still the guards could not prevent desertion ; though many were killed, yet many escaped. The Romans, weary of the work of slaughter, spared the people, but sold all the rest as slaves, though they bore but a low price, the market being glutted, and few purchasers found ; 40,000 were thus spared ; the number sold as slaves was incalculable. About the same time a priest named Jesus, son of Thebuth, obtained his life on condition of surrendering some of the treasures of the Temple which he had secured : two candlesticks, tables, goblets and vessels of pure gold, as well as the curtains and the robes of the High Priests. Another, who had been one of the treasurers, showed a place where the vests and girdles of the priests were concealed, with a great quantity of purple and scarlet thread, and an immense store of cinnamon, cassia, and other spices.

Eighteen days elapsed before the works were completed ; on the 7th of September the engines were advanced to batter down the last bulwark of the besieged. Some did not await the conflict, but crept down into the lower city ; others shrank into the subterranean passages ; others, more manfully, endeavored to beat down the engineers. The Romans advanced in the pride of victory ; the Jews were weary, famine-stricken, disheartened. A breach was speedily made, some of the towers fell ; the leaders did not display their customary valor and conduct ; they fled on all sides. Some who were accustomed to vaunt the most loudly, now stood pale, trembling, inactive ; others endeavored to break through the Roman works and make their escape. Vague rumors were spread abroad that the whole western wall had fallen, that the Romans were in the city ; the men looked around for their

wanted leaders ; they neither saw their active figures hurrying about in the thickest of the fray, nor heard their voices exciting them to desperate resistance. Many threw themselves on the ground and bitterly lamented their fate. Even John and Simon, instead of remaining in their three impregnable towers, where nothing but famine could have reduced them, descended into the streets, and fled into the valley of Siloam. They then made an attempt to force their way through the wall ; but their daring and strength seemed alike broken, they were repulsed by the guard, dispersed, and at length crept down into the subterranean vaults. The Romans ascended the wall with shouts of triumph at a victory so much beyond all hope, easy and bloodless ; they spread through the streets, slaying and burning as they went. In many houses where they expected rich plunder, they found nothing but heaps of putrid bodies, whole families who had died of hunger ; they retreated from the loathsome sight and insufferable stench. But they were not moved to mercy towards the living ; in some places the flames were actually retarded or quenched with streams of blood ; night alone put an end to the carnage. When Titus entered the city he gazed with astonishment at the massy towers, and recognized the hand of God in a victory which had thus made him master of such fortresses without a struggle. The multitudes of prisoners who pined in the dungeons, where they had been thrown by the insurgents, were released. The city was ordered to be razed, excepting the three towers, which were left as standing monuments of the victory.

The soldiers themselves were weary of the work of slaughter, and orders were issued to kill only those who resisted. Yet the old and infirm, as unsalable,

were generally put to death. The rest were driven into a space of the Temple, called the Court of the Women. There a selection was made; the noted insurgents were put to death, excepting some of the tallest and most handsome, who were reserved to grace the triumph of Titus. Of the rest, all above seventeen years old were sent to Egypt to work in the mines, or distributed among the provinces to be exhibited as gladiators in the public theatres, and in combats against wild beasts. Twelve thousand died of hunger, — part from want or neglect of supplies, part obstinately refusing food. During the whole siege the number killed was 1,100,000, that of prisoners, 97,000. In fact, the population not of Jerusalem alone, but that of the adjacent districts — many who had taken refuge in the city, more who had assembled for the feast of unleavened bread — had been shut up by the sudden formation of the siege.

Yet the chief objects of their vengeance, the dauntless Simon, son of Gioras, and John the Gischalite, still seemed to baffle all pursuit. The Roman soldiers penetrated into the subterranean caverns: wherever they went, they found incalculable treasures and heaps of dead, — some who had perished from hunger, others from their wounds, many by their own hands. The close air of the vaults reeked with the pestilential effluvia; most recoiled from these pits of death; the more rapacious went on, breathing death for the sake of plunder. At length, reduced by famine, John and his brethren came forth upon terms of surrender; his life was spared, — a singular instance of lenity, if indeed his conduct had been so atrocious as it is described by his rival Josephus. He was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and finally sent to Italy.¹

¹ B. J. vii. 2. 2.

Many days after, towards the end of October, when Titus had left the city, as some of the Roman soldiers were reposing amid the ruins of the Temple, they were surprised by the sudden apparition of a man in white raiment, and with a robe of purple,¹ who seemed to rise from the earth in silent and imposing dignity. At first they stood awe-struck and motionless: at length they ventured to approach him; they encircled him, and demanded his name. He answered, "Simon, the son of Gioras; call hither your general." Terentius Rufus was speedily summoned, and to him the brave, though cruel, defender of Jerusalem surrendered himself. On the loss of the city, Simon had leaped down into one of the vaults, with a party of miners, hewers of stone, and iron-workers. For some distance they had followed the natural windings of the cavern, and then attempted to dig their way out beyond the walls; but their provisions, however carefully husbanded, soon failed, and Simon determined on the bold measure of attempting to overawe the Romans by his sudden and spectral appearance. News of his capture was sent to Titus; he was ordered to be set apart for the imperial triumph.

Thus fell, and forever, the metropolis of the Jewish state. Other cities have risen on the ruins of Jerusalem, and succeeded, as it were, to the inalienable inheritance of perpetual siege, oppression, and ruin. Jerusalem might almost seem to be a place under a peculiar curse: it has probably witnessed a far greater portion of human misery than any other spot upon the earth.

¹ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ λεγδὸν ἦν πρόσθεν, ἐκ γῆς ἀνεφάνη. This may seem to imply that there was a subterranean connection between the upper city and the substructures of the Temple.

Terentius Rufus, or Turnus Rufus, (as his name appears in the Rabbinical traditions, ever coupled with the most rancorous expressions of hatred, and confounded with the no less obnoxious T. Annius Rufus, the governor of Judæa in the time of Hadrian,) executed the work of desolation, of which he was left in charge, with unrelenting severity. Of all the stately city—the populous streets, the palaces of the Jewish kings, the fortresses of her warriors, the Temple of her God—not a ruin remained, except the tall towers of Phasaelis, Mariamne, and Hippicus, and part of the western wall, which was left as a defence for the Roman camp. Titus having distributed praises and rewards to his army, and offered sacrifice to his gods, had departed. Wherever he went, miserable gangs of captives were dragged along, to glut the eyes and ears of the conquerors by their sufferings in those horrible spectacles which are the eternal disgrace of the Roman character. At Cæsarea Philippi, 2500 were slain in cold blood, either in combats with wild beasts, or fighting as bands of gladiators. This was in honor of the birthday of his brother Domitian,—an appropriate celebration for such an event. Vespasian's birthday was also commemorated at Berytus with the same horrible festivities. One act of mercy alone, towards the Jewish race, marked the journey of Titus. The inhabitants of Antioch, incited by a Jewish apostate, Antiochus, the son of the first man among the Jews in the city, had cruelly persecuted his brethren. This apostate had accused his kindred of a design of setting fire to the whole city. For this many were burnt alive, and the whole community threatened with destruction. An accidental fire happened afterwards to take place, which was again laid to the charge of the Jews. In

short, the whole Grecian population was so exasperated against the Jews, that they petitioned Titus for their expulsion from the city, or at least to cancel their privileges.¹ Titus at first gave no answer, but afterwards, on his return from the Euphrates, he refused their demands in these affecting words: "The country of the Jews is destroyed, — thither they cannot return: it would be hard to allow them no home to which they can retreat, — leave them in peace." As he passed from Antioch to Alexandria, he surveyed the ruins of Jerusalem, and is said to have been touched with pity at the total desolation of that splendid city. For this work of havoc, for the destruction of near a million and a half of human lives, and the reduction of above 100,000 to the most cruel servitude, Titus was considered as entitled to a splendid triumph. If the numbers in Josephus may be depended on, the fearful catalogue of those who lost their lives or their liberty in this exterminating war, and its previous massacres, stands as follows:²

¹ B. J. vii. 5. 2.

² I have ventured to doubt the vast numbers (in this respect the discrepancies in the sacred books are the most striking and most irreconcilable) in the earlier Jewish history. Josephus, as if it were a strange habit in the people, instead of confirming, in my judgment, by his boundless extravagance, only strengthens the doubtfulness of the whole. In one passage he gravely asserts that the smallest villages in Galilee had 15,000 inhabitants (B. J. iii. 3. 2), besides a great number of cities, *πόλεις πικνύαι*, of course with far larger populations.

The only approach to statistics is the calculation from the number of lambs sacrificed at the Passover, from which he would conclude that three millions of persons attended at Jerusalem during these festivals. (See ii. p. 226.) Though it cannot be asserted that these persons were not all together in the capital, that some were coming and going (for all, to keep the Law there, must have been present at least at the Great Day), yet we may fairly suppose that many found accommodation in the adjacent villages (as our Lord seems to have passed the nights at Bethany and on the Mount of Olives); and whoever has seen even a modern pilgrimage in the South will make fair allowance for the multitudes which, in such climates, sleep in the

BEFORE THE WAR, UNDER VESPASIAN.

At Jerusalem, killed by Florus	3,600	
At Cæsarea	20,000	
At Scythopolis	13,000	
At Ascalon	2,500	
At Ptolemais	2,000	
At Alexandria	50,000	
At Damascus	10,000	
At Joppa	8,400	
Upon the mountain Asamon	2,000	
The battle near Ascalon	10,000	
The Ambuscades	8,000	
		<hr/>
		129,500

DURING THE WAR IN GALILEE AND JUDÆA.

At Japha	15,000	
On Gerizim	11,600	
At Jotapata	40,000	
At Joppa	4,200	
At Tarichea	6,500	
At Gamala	9,000	
At Gischala	6,000	
In Idumæa	10,000	
At Gerasa	1,000	
Near the Jordan	15,000	
		<hr/>
		118,300
At Jerusalem		1,100,000

AFTER THE FALL OF JERUSALEM.

At Machærus	1,700	
At Jardes	3,000	
At Masada	960	
In Cyrene	3,000	
		<hr/>
		8,660
TOTAL KILLED		<hr/>
		1,356,460

open air. Still, taking the circuit of Jerusalem, I cannot conceive the possibility of crowding such numbers, even with the deductions suggested, within the walls.

It is right, however, to add a passage from Strabo confirmatory of the great populousness of part of Galilee. Jamnia and the adjacent villages furnished a levy of 40,000 armed men. *καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐνανόρησεν οὗτος ὁ τόπος, ὥστ' ἐκ τῆς πλησίον κώμης Ἰαμνείας, καὶ τῶν κατοικιῶν τῶν κυκλῶ τέτταρας μυριάδας ὀπλίξασθαι.* Lib. xvi. p. 759.

PRISONERS.

In Gischala	2,200
Near the Jordan	2,500
At Jerusalem	97,000

TOTAL PRISONERS 101,700

The loss in many skirmishes and battles — that of Itabyrium, for instance — is omitted, as we have not the numbers; besides the immense waste of life from massacre, famine, and disease, inseparable from such a war, in almost every district. The number of prisoners is only given from two places besides Jerusalem.

Nothing could equal the splendor of the triumph which Vespasian shared with his son Titus for their common victories. Besides the usual display of treasures, gold, silver, jewels, purple vests, the rarest wild beasts from all quarters of the globe, there were extraordinary pageants, three or four stories high, representing, to the admiration and delight of those civilized savages, all the horrors and miseries of war; beautiful countries laid waste, armies slain, routed, led captive; cities breached by military engines, stormed, destroyed with fire and sword; women wailing; houses overthrown; temples burning; and rivers of fire flowing through regions no longer cultivated or peopled, but blazing far away into the long and dreary distance. Among the spoils, the golden table, the seven-branched candlestick, and the book of the Law, from the Temple of Jerusalem, were conspicuous.¹

The triumph passed on to the Capitol, and there

¹ Was Pliny's remarkable expression that Jerusalem was the most famous city in the East ("in qua fuere Hierosolymæ, longe clarissima urbium Orientis non Judææ modo," l. v. c. viii.) the common sentiment of the times, or a skilful adulation of its conquerors, Vespasian and Titus, his special patrons?

paused to hear that the glory of Rome was completed by the insulting and cruel execution of the bravest general of the enemy. This distinction fell to the lot of Simon, the son of Gioras. He was dragged along to a place near the Forum, with a halter round his neck, scourged as he went, and there put to death.¹

The antiquary still endeavors to trace, among the defaced and mouldering reliefs of the arch raised to Titus, "the Delight of human-kind," and which still stands in the Forum of Rome, the representation of the spoils taken from the Temple of Jerusalem, — the golden table and candlestick, the censers, the silver trumpets, and even the procession of captive Jews.²

¹ B. J. vii. 5. 6.

² On the subsequent fate of these spoils compare a dissertation of Reland, *de Spoliis Templi*; Gibbon, c. xli.; Le Beau, *Bas Empire*, viii. p. 260.

BOOK XVII.

TERMINATION OF THE WAR.

Fall of Herodion — Machærus — Masada — Fate of Josephus — Agrippa — Berenice.

IT might have been expected that all hopes of resistance, even among the most stubborn of the Jews, would have been buried under the ruins of the Capital; that, after the fall of Jerusalem, with such dreadful misery and carnage, every town would at once have opened its gates, and laid itself at the mercy of the irresistible conqueror. Yet, when Lucilius Bassus came to take the command of the Roman army, he found three strong fortresses still in arms, — Herodion, Masada, and Machærus. Herodion immediately capitulated; but Machærus, beyond the Jordan, relying on its impregnable position, defied all the power of the enemy. Machærus stood on the summit of a lofty crag, surrounded on all sides by ravines of enormous depth, which could not easily be crossed, and could not possibly be filled up. One of these ravines, on the western side, ran down, a distance of nearly eight miles, to the Dead Sea. Those to the north and the south were less deep, but not less impassable; on the east the hollow was 175 feet to the bottom, beyond which arose a mountain which faced Machærus. The town had been built and strongly fortified by Alexander Jannæus, as a check upon the Arabian freebooters. It was a place of great beauty as well as strength, adorned

with noble palaces, and amply supplied with reservoirs of water. Bassus determined to form the siege on the eastern side ; the garrison took possession of the citadel, and forced the strangers, who had taken refuge there from all quarters, to defend the lower town. Many fierce conflicts took place under the walls ; the garrison sometimes surprising the enemy by the rapidity of their sallies ; sometimes, when the Romans were prepared for them, being repulsed with great loss. There happened to be a young man, named Eleazar, of remarkable activity and valor, who greatly distinguished himself in these attacks, being always the first to charge and the last to retreat, often by his single arm arresting the progress of the enemy, and allowing his routed compatriots time to make good their retreat. One day, after the battle was over, proudly confident in his prowess, and in the terror of his arms, he remained alone without the gates, carelessly conversing with those on the wall. Rufus, an Egyptian, serving in the Roman army, a man of singular bodily strength, watched the opportunity, rushed on him, and bore him off, armor and all, to the Roman camp. Bassus ordered the captive to be stripped and scourged in the sight of the besieged. At the sufferings of their brave champion the whole city set up a wild wailing. Bassus, when he saw the effect of his barbarous measure, ordered a cross to be erected, as if for the execution of the gallant youth. The lamentations in the city became more loud and general. Eleazar's family was powerful and numerous. Through their influence it was agreed to surrender the citadel, on condition that Eleazar's life should be spared. The strangers in the lower town attempted to cut their way through the posts of the besiegers ; a few of the bravest succeeded ;

of those who remained, 1700 perished. The treaty with the garrison was honorably observed.

Bassus proceeded to surround the forest of Jardeš, where a vast number of fugitives had taken refuge; they attempted to break through, but were repulsed, and 3000 put to the sword. During the course of these successes Bassus died, and Flavius Silva assumed the command in Palestine. Silva immediately marched against Masada, the only place which still held out.¹ Masada was situated on the southwestern side of the Dead Sea. Like the other hill-fortresses of Palestine, it stood on a high rock, girt with precipitous chasms, the sides of which a goat could scarcely clamber. It was accessible only by two narrow and very difficult paths, from the east and from the west. On the east, the path, or rather a rocky stair, led up from the shore of the Dead Sea, called the Serpent, from its winding and circuitous course. It ran along the verge of frightful precipices, which made the head giddy to look down; it was necessary to climb step by step; if the foot slipped, instant death was inevitable. After winding in this manner nearly four miles, this path opened on a level space, on which Masada stood, in the midst of a small and highly cultivated plain of extraordinary beauty and fertility. The city was girt with a wall, nearly a mile in circuit; it was twenty-two feet high, fourteen broad, and had thirty-seven lofty towers. Besides this wall, Masada had a strong and magnificent palace, with sixty towers, built by Herod, on the western cliff, and connected, by an underground way, with the citadel. The western ascent was commanded, in its narrowest part, by an impregnable tower.

¹ There is an engraving in Traill's Josephus from a drawing of Masada, which gives a striking impression of its sombre grandeur and strength.

The city was amply supplied with excellent water, and with provisions of all kinds, wine, oil, vegetables, and dates. According to the strange account of Josephus, the air of Masada was of such a temperature, that, although some of these fruits had been laid up for a hundred years, since the time of Herod, they were still sound and fresh. There were likewise armories sufficient to supply 10,000 men, with great stores of unwrought iron, brass, and lead. In fact, Masada had been the fortress which Herod the Great had always looked to as a place of security, either in case of foreign invasion, or the revolt of his own subjects. The town was now as strongly manned as fortified. Eleazar, the commander, was a descendant of Judas the Galilean, and inherited the principles of his ancestor in their sternest and most stubborn fanaticism. To yield to a foreign dominion, was to him and his zealous associates the height of impiety; death was far preferable to a treacherous dereliction of the sovereignty of God. They acted, to the end, up to their lofty tenets.

Silva, having blockaded the town, so that none could make their escape, seized a point of rock, called the White Promontory, to the westward. There he erected his works, a mound, 350 feet high, and above that a second bank of enormous stones; and at length he brought a battering-ram to bear upon the walls. After long resistance, a breach was made; but the besieged had run up another wall within, of great timbers laid parallel with each other, in two separate rows, the intervening space being filled with earth: this sort of double artificial wall was held together by transverse beams, and the more violently it was battered, the more solid and compact it became, by the

yielding of the earth. Silva ordered his men to throw lighted brands upon it; the timbers speedily kindled, and the whole became a vast wall of fire. The north wind blew the flames into the faces of the besiegers, and the Romans trembled for their own works and engines. On a sudden the wind shifted to the south, the flames burned inwards, and the whole fell down, a heap of smouldering ashes. The Romans withdrew to their camp, to prepare for the attack on the next morning, and stationed strong and vigilant outposts to prevent the flight of the garrison. But Eleazar was not a man either himself to attempt flight or to permit others to follow so dastardly a course. He assembled his followers in the palace, and reminded them that the time was now come when they must vindicate to the utmost their lofty principles. God had evidently abandoned his people; the fall of Jerusalem, the ruin of the Temple, too sadly proved this. The sudden change of the wind, on the day before, distinctly announced that they, too, were deserted by his protecting providence. Still it was better to fall into the hands of God than of the Romans; and he proposed that they should set the city on fire, and perish together, with their wives unviolated, their children yet free from captivity, on that noble funeral pile.

His men gazed on each other in wonder. Some were kindled at once with his enthusiasm; others thought of their wives and children, and tears were seen stealing slowly down their hardy cheeks. Eleazar saw that they were wavering, and broke out in a higher and more splendid strain. He spoke of the immortality, the divinity of the soul; its joyful escape from its imprisonment in its mortal tenement. He appealed to the example of the Indians, who bear life as a burden,

and cheerfully throw it off.¹ Perhaps with still greater effect he dwelt on the treatment of the conquered by the Romans, the abuse of women, the slavery of children, the murderous scenes in the amphitheatres. "Let us die," he ended, "unenslaved; let us depart from life in freedom with our wives and children. This our law demands, this our wives and children entreat; God himself has driven us to this stern necessity; this the Romans dread above all things, lest we should disappoint them of their victory. Let us deny them the joy and triumph of seeing us subdued, and rather strike them with awe at our death, and with enforced admiration of our indomitable valor."

He was interrupted by the unanimous voice of the multitude, vying with each other in eagerness to begin on the instant the work of self-devotion. On their intoxicated spirits no softer feelings had now the slightest effect. They embraced their wives, they kissed their children even with tears, and, at the moment, as though they had been the passive instru-

¹ Μέγα μὲν οὖν δύναται ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι συνδεδεμένη· ποιεῖ γὰρ αὐτῆς ὄργανον ἰσθινόμενον ὁρατῶς αὐτὸ κινουσα, καὶ θνητῆς φύσεως περαιτέρω προύγουσα ταῖς πράξεσιν. 'Ου μὲν ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴν ὑπολυθεῖσα τοῦ καθέλκοντος αὐτὴν βάρους ἐπὶ γῆν καὶ προσκρεμαμένον, χώρον ὑπολάβῃ τὸν οἰκεῖον, τότε δὴ μακαρίας ἰσχυρὸς καὶ παντύχουθεν ἀκωλύτου μέτεχει δυνάμεως, ὥρατος μένουσα τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνους ὁμμασιν, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ὁ Θεός. This is a fine passage, though one may doubt whether it was uttered by the fierce Sicarians: if it was, they were nobler fellows than Josephus represents them.* But the speech is sadly marred by its length. The long analogy with the Indians is very curious, but very tame. And who reported the speech? † for according to the History all were killed and burned, except two old women and five children who were in the caverns below.

* B. J. vii. 8.

† The reference of Eleazar to the Indians, even as ascribed, as it must be, to Josephus, is remarkable. One might almost suppose that he had read the Bhagavat Gita. See Wilkins's translation. "How can the man who believeth that this thing is incorruptible, eternal, inexhaustible, and without birth, think that he can either kill it or cause it to be killed?" Compare the whole passage in Wilkins's translation, p. 37, or the original in Schlegel's Bhagavat Gita, Lectio ii. p. xi

ments of another's will, they stabbed them to the heart. Not a man declined the murderous office. But they thought that they should wrong the dead if they survived them many minutes. They hastily drew together their most valuable effects, and, heaping them up, set fire to these sumptuous funeral piles. Then, ten men having been chosen by lot as the general executioners, the rest, one after another, still clasping the lifeless bodies of their wives and children, held up their necks to the blow. The ten then cast lots; nine fell by each other's hands; the last man, after he had carefully searched whether there was any more work for him to do, seized a lighted brand, set fire to the palace, and so, with resolute and unflinching hand, drove the sword to his own heart.

One old woman, another female who was a relative of Eleazar and distinguished for her learning, and five children, who had crept into an underground cavern, were all that escaped; 960 perished. The next morning the Romans advanced to the wall in close array and with the greatest caution. They fixed the scaling-ladders, mounted the wall, and rushed in. Not a human being appeared; all was solitude and silence, and the vestiges of fire all around filled them with astonishment. They gave a shout as they were wont when they drove the battering-ram, as if to startle the people from their hiding-places. The two women and the five children came creeping forth. The Romans would not believe their story, till, having partially extinguished the fire, they made their way into the palace, and, not without admiration, beheld this unexampled spectacle of self-devotion.

Thus terminated the final subjugation of Judæa. An edict of the Emperor to set up all the lands to sale

had been received by Bassus. Vespasian did not pursue the usual policy of the Romans, in sharing the conquered territory among military colonists. He reserved to the imperial treasury the whole profits of the sale. Only 800 veterans were settled in Emmaus, about seven miles and a half from Jerusalem. At the same time another edict was issued for the transfer of the annual capitation tax of two drachms, paid by the Jews in every quarter of the world, for the support of the Temple worship, to the fund for rebuilding the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which, as Gibbon observes, “by a remarkable coincidence, had been consumed by the flames of war about the same time with the Temple of Jerusalem.” Thus the Holy Land was condemned to be portioned out to strangers, and the contributions for the worship of the God of Abraham levied for the maintenance of a heathen edifice.

Yet, though entirely extinguished in Judæa, the embers of the war still burned in more distant countries. Some of the Assassins (the Sicarii) fled to Egypt, and began to display their usual turbulence, putting to death many of the more influential Jewish residents, who opposed their seditious designs, and exciting the rest to revolt. The Jews assembled in council, and determined to put down these dangerous enemies to their peace, by seizing and delivering them up to the Romans. Six hundred were immediately apprehended; a few, who fled to the Thebais, were pursued and captured. But the spirits of these men were still unsubdued; the most protracted and excruciating torments could not induce one of them, not even the tenderest boy, to renounce his Creed, or to own Cæsar as his Lord. On the news of this commotion, Vespasian sent orders that the Temple of Onias in Heliopolis

should be closed. Lupus, the Prefect, obeyed the order, took away part of the treasures, and shut up the Temple. The edict was executed with still greater rigor by Paulinus, the successor of Lupus, who entirely stripped the treasury, and made the way to the temple impassable.

The last of these fanatics, having previously endangered the peace of Cyrene, had almost involved in his own fate the few distinguished Jews who had escaped the ruin of their country. A certain turbulent weaver of Cyrene, named Jonathan, pretended to supernatural signs and visions, and led a multitude of the lower orders into the Desert. The chief Jews denounced him to Catullus, the governor of the Pentapolis. Troops of horse were sent out, the deluded multitude brought back, and the impostor, after having long baffled their search, was apprehended. Before the tribunal of the governor this man accused many of the chief Jews as accomplices in his plot. Catullus listened with greedy ear to his charges, and even suggested the names of those whom he was anxious to convict. On the evidence of Jonathan and a few of his comrades, a man named Alexander, and Berenice his wife, who had been on bad terms with Catullus, were seized and put to death. Three thousand more shared their fate; their property was confiscated to the imperial treasury. Jonathan went still further; he denounced, as the secret instigators of his revolt, some of the Jews of the highest rank who resided in Rome,—among the rest, Josephus the historian.¹

Catullus came to Rome with his witnesses. Vespasian ordered a strict investigation, the event of which was the exculpation of the accused, and the condemnation

¹ Joseph B. J. vii. cap. ult.

of Jonathan, who was first scourged and then burnt alive. Catullus escaped animadversion ; but Josephus, who spares no opportunity of recounting the judgments of Providence on his own personal enemies, gives a frightful picture of his end. He was seized with a dreadful malady of body and mind. Racked with remorse of conscience, he would rave, and scream out that he was environed by the ghosts of those whom he had murdered. He would then leap out of bed, and writhe and roll on the ground, as though on the rack, or burning alive in the flames. At length his entrails fell out, and death put an end to his agonies.

There were several persons who escaped from the general wreck of their country, whose fate may excite some interest. Josephus, the historian, after his surrender, married a captive in Cæsarea ; but, in obedience, it may be supposed, to the law which prohibited such marriages to a man of priestly line, he discarded her, and married again in Alexandria. We have seen that he was present during the whole siege, endeavoring to persuade his countrymen to capitulate. Whether he seriously considered resistance impossible, or, as he pretends, recognizing the hand of God, and the accomplishment of the prophecies, in the ruin of his country, esteemed it impious as well as vain ; whether he was actuated by the baser motive of self-interest, or the more generous desire of being of service to his miserable countrymen, he was by no means held in the same estimation by the Roman army as by Titus. They thought a traitor to his country might be a traitor to them ; and they were apt to lay all their losses to his charge, as if he kept up secret intelligence with the besieged. On the capture of the city, Titus offered him any boon he would request. He chose the sacred

books, and the lives of his brother and fifty friends. He was afterwards permitted to select 190 of his friends and relatives, from the multitudes who were shut up in the Temple to be sold for slaves. A little after, near Tekoa, he saw a number of persons writhing in the agonies of crucifixion, among the rest three of his intimate associates. He rode off with all speed to entreat their pardon. It was granted; but two of them expired as they were being taken down from the cross; the third survived. The estate of Josephus lying within the Roman encampment, Titus assigned him other lands in lieu of it. Vespasian also conferred on him a considerable property in land. Josephus lived afterwards in Rome, in high favor with Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. The latter punished certain Jews, and an eunuch, the tutor of his son, who had falsely accused him; exempted his estate from tribute, and advanced him to high honor. He was a great favorite with the Empress Domitia. He took the name of Flavius, as a dependant on the Imperial family.

By his Alexandrian wife Josephus had three sons: one only, Hyrcanus, lived to maturity. Dissatisfied with his wife's conduct, he divorced her likewise, and married a Cretan woman, from a Jewish family, of the first rank and opulence in the island, and of admirable virtue.

At Rome, Josephus first wrote the History of the Jewish War, in the Syro-Chaldaic language, for the use of his own countrymen in the East, particularly those beyond the Euphrates.¹ He afterwards translated the work into Greek, for the benefit of the Western Jews and of the Romans. Both King Agrippa

¹ Whiston assigns the Jewish War to about A. C. 75; the Antiquities to 93

and Titus bore testimony to its accuracy. The latter ordered it to be placed in the public library, and signed it with his own hand, as an authentic memorial of the times. Many years afterwards, about A. C. 93, he published his great work on the Antiquities of the Jews, of which the main object was to raise his nation in the estimation of the Roman world, and to confute certain calumnious accounts of their early history, which increased the hatred and contempt in which they were held. With the same view he wrote an answer to Apion, a celebrated grammarian of Alexandria; who had given currency to many of the ancient fictions of Egyptian tradition concerning the Jews. He likewise published his own Life, in answer to the statements of his old antagonist, Justus of Tiberias, who had sent forth a history of the war, written in Greek with considerable elegance. When he died is uncertain: history loses sight of him in his 56th or 57th year.¹

The last of the royal house of Herod who ruled in Palestine, King Agrippa, among the luxuries of the Roman capital, where he generally resided, forgot the calamities of his country and the ruin of his people. He died, as he had lived, the humble and contented

¹ The view taken by later Jewish writers of the character of Josephus and of his History is thus expressed by Jost: —

“Die Kriegsgeschichte, höchst merkwürdig in ihrer Art, erzählt der eitele, eigennützig und verrätherische Joseph, oft die Thatfachen entstellend, mit schauerhafter Kälte; nach ihm sind die freiheitsliebenden Genossen nur Verbrecher und Räuber, deren Ueberwindung und graussige Behandlung er in behaglichem Genuss seines Sündenlohnes mit sich'lichem Beifall schildert. Er hat mit seinen übrigens unschätzbaren Geschichtswerken sich selbst ein ewiges Brandmahl aufgedrückt.” *Judenthum*, i. p. 445.

I cannot quite assent to the coldness, though Josephus too often writes like a rhetorician, — certainly not to his taking delight in the sufferings of his countrymen.

vassal of Rome. He had received the honors of the prætorship, and an accession of territory, from Vespasian. In him the line of the Idumæan sovereigns was extinct.

His sister, Berenice, had nearly attained a loftier destiny. She was received with the highest honors at the Imperial court, where her beauty and attractions, notwithstanding that she had been twice married, and had no great character for virtue,¹ so inflamed the heir of the empire and the conqueror of Judæa, Titus, that Rome trembled lest a Jewish mistress should sit on the imperial throne.² The public dissatisfaction was so loud and unambiguous that Titus was constrained to dismiss her. She returned afterwards to Rome, but never regained her former favor. The time of her death, as well as that of her brother, is uncertain.

¹ The Roman satirist, Juvenal, has given currency to a report of a scandalous connection with her brother: —

“Deinde adamas notissimus, et Berenices
In digito factus pretiosior: hunc dedit olim
Barbarus incestæ, dedit hunc Agrippa sorori.” — Satir. vi. 156.

² “Propterque insignem reginæ Berenices amorem cui etiam nuptias pollicitus ferebatur. Berenicem statim ab urbe dimisit invitus invitam.” — Suet. in Tit. vii. Compare Dion Cassius. Aurelius Victor, in his *Epitome*, adds further scandal.

BOOK XVIII.

BARCOCHAB.

Character of the ensuing History — Reëstablishment of Jewish Communities — Origin and Growth of Rabbinism — History to the Time of Trajan — Insurrections in Egypt, Cyrene, Cyprus, Mesopotamia, Palestine — Rabbi Akiba — Barcochab — Fall of Bithur.

THE political existence of the Jewish nation was annihilated ; it was never again recognized as one of the states or kingdoms of the world. Judæa was sentenced to be portioned out to strangers, — the capital was destroyed — the Temple demolished — the royal house almost extinct — the High-Priesthood buried under the ruins of the Temple. Our history has lost, as it were, its centre of unity ; we have to trace a despised and obscure race in almost every region of the world, and connect, as we can, the loose and scattered details of their story. We are called back, indeed, for a short time to Palestine, to relate new scenes of revolt, ruin, and persecution. We behold the formation of two separate spiritual states, under the authority of which the whole nation seems to range itself in willing obedience. But in later periods we must wander over the whole face of the habitable globe to gather the scanty traditions which mark the existence of the Jewish people among the different states of Asia, Africa, and Europe, — where, refusing to mingle their blood with any other race of mankind, they dwell in their distinct families and communities, and still maintain, though sometimes long and utterly unconnected with each

other, the principle of national unity. Jews in the indelible features of the countenance, in mental character, in customs, usages, and laws, in language and literature, above all, in religion; in the recollections of the past, and in the hopes of the future; with ready pliancy they accommodate themselves to every soil, every climate, every gradation of manners and civilization, every form of government; with inflexible pertinacity they practise their ancient usages, circumcision, abstinence from unclean meats, eating no animal food which has not been killed by a Jew; rarely intermarry, except among each other; observe the fasts and festivals of their Church; and assemble, wherever they are numerous enough, or dare to do so, in their synagogues for public worship. Denizens everywhere, rarely citizens; even in the countries in which they have been the longest and most firmly established, they appear, to a certain degree, strangers or sojourners; they dwell apart, though mingling with their neighbors in many of the affairs of life. For common purposes they adopt the language of the country they inhabit; but the Hebrew remains the national tongue, in which their holy books are read, and their religious services conducted,—it is their literary and sacred language, as Latin was that of the Christian Church in the Dark Ages.

The history of the modern Jews may be comprehended under three heads: 1st. Their literature, which, in fact, is nearly the same with that of their law and their religion, the great mass of their writings being entirely devoted to those subjects;¹ 2d. Their persecutions;

¹ I have rather expanded the view of the Jewish literature; still, however, avoiding a barren catalogue of the names of writers unknown beyond the sphere of Judaism, and dwelling almost entirely on those who have exercised an influence beyond that circle. The list of Jewish writers must be sought in the Buxtorfs, in Bartolocci, in De Rossi. and other writers,

3d. Their industry and their wealth, in general the fatal causes of those persecutions. With regard to the first point, it would not be consistent with the popular character of our work to enter into it, further than as it has influenced the character and circumstances of the nation. The second will be too often forced upon our notice: at one period the history of the Jews is written, as it were, in their blood; they show no signs of life but in their cries of agony; they only appear in the annals of the world to be oppressed, robbed, tortured, massacred. Yet still, patient and indefatigable, they pursue, under every disadvantage, the steady course of industry. Wherever they have been allowed to dwell unmolested, or still more, in honor and respect, they have added largely to the stock of national wealth, cultivation, and comfort. Where, as has been more usually the case, they have been barely tolerated, — where they have been considered, in public estimation, the basest of the base, the very outcasts and refuse of mankind, they have gone on accumulating those treasures which they dared not betray or enjoy. In the most barbarous periods they kept up the only traffic and communication which subsisted between distant countries; like hardy and adventurous miners, they were always at work under the surface of society, slowly winning their way to opulence. Perpetually plundered, yet always wealthy; massacred by thousands, yet springing up again from their undying stock; the Jews appear at all times, and in all regions. Their perpetuity, their national immortality, is at once the most curious problem to the political inquirer, — to the religious man a subject of profound and awful admiration.

among whom I would name especially the *Essays of M. Munk* (Paris, 1859) as the latest and among the most learned.

It was not long after the dissolution of the Jewish state that it revived again in appearance, under the form of two separate communities mostly dependent upon each other: one under a sovereignty purely spiritual, the other partly temporal and partly spiritual, — but each comprehending all the Jewish families in the two great divisions of the world. At the head of the Jews on this side of the Euphrates appeared the Patriarch of the West; the chief of the Mesopotamian community assumed the striking but more temporal title of Resch-Glutha, or Prince of the Captivity. The origin of both these dignities, especially of the Western patriarchate, is involved in much obscurity. It might have been expected that, from the character of the great war with Rome, the people, as well as the state of the Jews, would have fallen into utter dissolution, or, at least, verged rapidly towards total extermination. Besides the loss of nearly a million and a half of lives during the war, the markets of the Roman empire were glutted with Jewish slaves. The amphitheatres were crowded with these miserable people, who were forced to slay each other, not singly, but in troops; or fell in rapid succession, glad to escape the tyranny of their masters, by the more expeditious cruelty of the wild beast. And in the unwholesome mines hundreds were doomed to toil for that wealth which was not to be their own. Yet still this inexhaustible race revived before long to offer new candidates for its inalienable inheritance of detestation and misery. Of the state of Palestine, indeed, immediately after the war, we have little accurate information. It is uncertain how far the enormous loss of life, and the numbers carried into captivity, drained the country of the Jewish population; or how far the rescript of Vespasian, which

offered the whole landed property of the province for sale, introduced a foreign race into the possession of the soil. The immense numbers engaged in the rebellion during the reign of Hadrian imply, either that the country was not nearly exhausted, or that the reproduction in this still fertile region was extremely rapid. In fact, it must be remembered, that, whatever havoc was made by the sword of the conqueror, by distress, by famine, — whatever the consumption of human life in the amphitheatre and the slave-market, yet the ravage of the war was, after all, by no means universal in the province. Galilee, Judæa, and great part of Idumæa were wasted, and probably much depopulated; but, excepting a few towns which made resistance, the populous regions and wealthy cities beyond the Jordan escaped the devastation. The dominions of King Agrippa were, for the most part, respected. Samaria submitted without resistance, as did most of the cities on the sea-coast. Many of the rich and influential persons fell off from their more obstinate countrymen at the beginning or during the course of the war, were favorably received, and dismissed in safety by Titus.¹

According to Jewish tradition, the Sanhedrin escaped the general wreck. Before the formation of the siege,

¹ "Noch bestanden überall im Reiche, und selbst in Palästina Gemeinden, welche am Kampfe sich nicht betheiligt hatten, römisch-gesinnte, welche keinen Grund zur Verfolgung darboten, oder solche, deren kriegeslustige Männer ihre Kühnheit gebüsst hatten; noch blieben im Schutz der Römer gemässigte Männer, welche frühzeitig übergetreten waren, und denen Erhaltung ihrer Besitzen zugesagt worden; noch waren stille Bewohner übrig, welche nach Erstickung des Aufstandes keinen Argwohn einflößten. Der Römer war viel zu stolz, um seine Rache weiter auszudehnen, und die Klugheit forderte Schonung derer, welche durch Bestellung des Bodens und andere friedliche Beschäftigungen dem Reiche noch Abgaben eintragen könnten. Von den ohnehin dem Kriege abgeneigten Gelehrten war eher eine Beschwichtigung der Gemüther zu erwarten. Die Religion lebte wieder auf." Jost, *Judenthum*, ii. 4. (Published since the first editions of this work.)

it had followed Gamaliel, its Nasi, or Prince, to Jabne (Jamnia).¹ Simeon, the son and successor of Gamaliel, had gone up to the Passover; he was put to death. Rabban Jochanan ben Zaccai, after having labored in vain to persuade the people to peace, made his escape to the camp of Titus, and afterwards became Nasi at Jamnia. It was Rabban Jochanan who, on the awful night when the great eastern gate of the Temple flew open of its own accord, quoted the ominous words of the prophet Zechariah — “*Open thy doors, O Lebanon, that the fire may devour thy cedars.*” He escaped the fury of the Zealots by being laid out on a bier as dead, and carried forth by his scholars, R. Joshua and R. Eliezar. Jochanan is famous in Jewish tradition: he is the first of the elder Tanaim. Of the various anecdotes and sayings attributed to him, this appears to me the most striking: — His son died; he was inconsolable. His five famous scholars met to comfort him; four of them urged the examples of Adam, of Job, of Aaron, of David, who had suffered the same affliction. “How can the sufferings of others alleviate my sorrow?” The fifth said — “A man had a precious jewel intrusted to his care. He was troubled by the thought, ‘How can I render up this treasure uninjured?’ Thou art in the same case: thou hast had the happiness to restore thy well-trained son uncorrupt to the Giver.” — “My son,” he said, “thou hast truly comforted me.” Jochanan’s dying words were — “Fear God even as ye fear men.” His disciples seemed astonished. He added — “He who would commit a

¹ I am inclined to think that the permission granted, according to the Rabbins, by Titus, to the Sanhedrin, to depart to Jamnia, Jabne, or Jafne, is another version of the account in Josephus, of the eminent persons who were courteously received by Titus, sent to *Gophni*, and afterwards recalled, for a short time, to try their influence, with Josephus, in persuading the besieged to surrender.

sin, first looks round to discover whether any man sees him; so take ye heed that God's all-seeing eye see not the sinful thought in your heart." There is another account of his last words. His disciples addressed him — "Why weepest thou, thou Light of Israel?" — "If they were about to lead me before a king of flesh and blood, who to-day is and to-morrow is in the grave; if he were wroth with me, his wrath were not eternal; if he should put me in chains, his chains were not eternal; if he should put me to death, that death would not be eternal; I might appease him with words or bribe him with gifts. But now they are about to lead me before the King of kings, the Lord Blessed forever, who lives and remains in *sæcula et sæcula sæculorum*. If he is wroth with me, his wrath is eternal; if he casts me into chains, his chains are eternal; if he puts me to death, it is eternal death; him no words can appease, no gifts soften. And further, there are two ways — one to hell, one to Paradise; and I know not which way they will lead me. Is there not cause for tears?"¹ Gamaliel, the son of Simeon, likewise escaped the fate of his father, slain during the siege. With the permission of Titus, he followed Jochanan to Jamnia, and afterwards succeeded him in the presidency.²

¹ Lightfoot, in the spirit of his time and opinions, says, insultingly, "Oh the wretched and failing faith of a Pharisee in the hour of death!" Lightfoot, *Academici Jafnensis Historiæ Fragm. Works*, 8vo. Edit. Pitman, i. 446.

² The Sanhedrin, the Rabbins say, had ten flittings: * — from Gazith (the chamber in the Temple) to Khanoth (the Tabernæ, or shops, in the outer court); from Khanoth to Jerusalem; from Jerusalem to Jabneth; from Jabneth to Osha; from Osha to Shepharaam; from Shepharaam to Bethsbaaraim; from Bethsbaaraim to Sepphoris; from Sepphoris to Tiberias Its Nasi, or Presidents, on the same authority, were as follows: † —

* Jost, *Judenthum*, ii. 16 *et seq.*

† Jost writes thus: "Wenn daher berichtet wird, dass das Synedion nach verschiedenen Orten gewandert sei, so hat man nicht einen fortwährend gesetzgebenden

That this school of Gamaliel¹ had any legitimate title to the dignity of the Sanhedrin may be reasonably

Ezra.

Simon the Just.

Antigonus of Socho (the master of Sadoc).

Joseph ben Joezer, President. Joseph ben Jochanan, Vice-President.*

Joshua ben Perachiah — persecuted by Alexander Janneus; fled to Alexandria.†

Judah ben Tabbai, P. Simon ben Shetach, V. P. — according to Lightfoot, many *eminent* actions were performed by them; — *they hanged eighty witches in one day.*‡

Shemaiah, P. Abtalion, V. P. — descended from Sennacherib! — their mothers of Jewish blood. Probably the Sameas and Pollio of Josephus.

Hillel, P. Shammai, V. P. — Hillel was a second Moses: at forty years old he came up to Jerusalem; forty years he studied the law; forty years he was president.§

Simeon, son of Hillel — supposed by some the Simeon who took our Saviour in his arms; but there is considerable chronological difficulty.

Gamaliel, son of Simeon, (the teacher of St. Paul,) — with him the honor of the law failed, purity and Pharisaism died.||

Simeon, his son — slain at Jerusalem.¶

Jochanan ben Zaccai.

Gamaliel of Jabneh, son of Simeon.

Simeon, son of Gamaliel, first Patriarch of Tiberias.

Judah, son of Simeon.

Gamaliel, son of Judah.

¹ Jost, true to his own system, makes Gamaliel the *founder* of a new Sanhedrin. To Gamaliel is attributed a table which showed the phases of the moon; p. 25, note.

Körper zu denken, der blos den Ort gewechselt habe, sondern einen nach Unterbrechungen wieder neu zusammengetretenen; " ii. 87.

* Lightfoot, Fall of Jerusalem, Section iv.

† On Joshua ben Perachiah — Jost, Israeliter, iii. p. 79, &c. On Simon ben Shetach, p. 89.

‡ Compare Jost, Geschichte, iii. 91, for the whole story, and the "Anhang" to the passage. It is worth observing, that, though Jost has complained that the printing in Lightfoot's works, especially of the Chaldaic, is very incorrect, yet he fully appreciates the profound erudition of our great Talmudist. "Der gelehrte Engländer in seine Sammlung die in Hinsicht der Gelehrsamkeit die Bewunderung der Nachwelt verdient." Anhang, iii. p. 167.

§ The school of Hillel and the school of Shammai established a permanent and distinctive influence over the Jewish mind. The great distinction was, that Hillel always adhered to the milder and more merciful, Shammai to the more strict and severe interpretation of the Law.

¶ Jost seems to give this saying as relating to the young Gamaliel of Jamnia.

On Jochanan ben Zacchai — Jost, Judenthum, ii. p. 16 *et seq.*

¶ Rabban Simeon, the President of the Council, was caught in Jerusalem as in a trap, and lost his life. Lightfoot, Fall of Jerusalem, Section iii.

doubted ; but it seems clear that the great school of Jamnia obtained considerable authority, and whether from the rank and character of its head, or from the assemblage of many of the members of the ancient Sanhedrin, who formed a sort of community in that place, it was looked up to with great respect and veneration by the Jews who remained in Palestine. The Romans would regard with contemptuous indifference the establishment of this kind of authority. Like Pilate, or Gallio in the Acts, they would leave to the conquered people to settle among themselves "*questions relating to their law.*"⁵ But these points were of vital interest to the Jew : they far surpassed in importance all sublunary considerations ; on these depended the favor of their God, their only refuge in their degradation and misery ; and with unexampled, though surely not reprehensible pertinacity, the more they were depressed, the more ardently they were attached to their own institutes. They were their only pride — their only treasure — their only patrimony, now that their Temple was in ashes, and their land had been confiscated. The enemy could not wrest them away ; they were the continual remembrancers of the glories of the past, the only consolation and pledge of blessing for the future.¹ It is indeed a strange

¹ From the *Capita Patrum* in the *Mischna*, Part iv., may be seen the profound reverence, attachment, almost adoration of the Law. "He who learneth in the Law, in the name of the Law, he is worthy of many things, not only of many things, of the whole world. . . . He loves God, he loves men ; he makes God to rejoice, he makes men to rejoice. The Law clothes him with humility and fear. It makes him fit to become just, pious, upright, faithful. It removes him far off from sin, approaches him to innocence. Men derive from the Law all that is useful, — counsel, wisdom, prudence, fortitude ; as it is written, 'With me is counsel, with me is understanding and power : ' and the Law gives to him the kingdom, and the dominion, and the searching out of judgment, and the secrets of the Law are revealed to him, and he is made as a perennial fountain, and as a river which waxes more and more strong. And he becomes modest and patient,

transition in Jewish history from the wild contests of the fanatic Zealots to the disputations of learned expounders of the Law,—from the bloody tribunals of Simon Bar Gioras, John of Gischala, and Eleazar the Zealot, to the peaceful scholars at the feet of Gamaliel,—from the din of arms, the confusion of besieged cities, the miseries of famine, massacre, and conflagration, to discussions about unclean meats, new moons, and the observance of the Sabbath.¹ But of all things it is most strange that a people, apparently occupied in these scholastic triflings, should, in sixty years, spring up again in a revolt scarcely less formidable to the ruling powers, or less calamitous to themselves, than the great Jewish war under Titus.

Gamaliel,² the last of the Gamaliels, the son of Judah, the president of the school in Jamnia, or, as the Jews assert, the Nasi of the Sanhedrin, was deeply learned, but proud and overbearing. He studiously depressed his rivals in learning, R. Eliezer, son of Hyrcan, and R. Joshua, son of Hananiah. It was a question whether a first-born animal, wounded on the lip, was a lawful offering. Joshua decided in the affirmative. Gamaliel not merely annulled his sen-

and pardons him who affects him with ignominy. Such a man the Law magnifies, and sets him above all work." *Mischna*, iv. p. 48. This almost deification of the Law should be studied to understand St. Paul's argument when contrasting it with the Gospel.

¹ Lightfoot, *Fall of Jerusalem*, Sect. iv. Compare Jost, *Geschichte*, iii. 283, and *Judenthum*, ii. 25 *et seq.*

² It was a saying, it should seem, of this Gamaliel, son of Judah, the Prince:—"He who multiplies flesh multiplies woes; he who multiplies riches multiplies cares; he who multiplies woes multiplies witches; he who multiplies women-servants multiplies wickedness; he who multiplies men-servants multiplies robbery; he who multiplies the land multiplies life; he who multiplies schools multiplies wisdom; he who multiplies counsel multiplies the Law; he who multiplies justice (or almsgiving) multiplies peace; he who gains to himself a good name gains himself; he who gains the Law gains eternal life." *Mischna*, *Capita Patrum*, iv. p. 416.

tence, but inflicted a humiliating penance on Joshua, making him stand up while himself was lecturing. A scholar asked Joshua, whether evening prayer was a duty or a free-will offering. Joshua decided for the latter. Another contradiction and another penance ensued, till at length the indignant scholars determined to throw off the yoke, and Gamaliel was formally deposed. Much difficulty arose about his successor. R. Joshua, his great rival, was passed by, and the choice lay between R. Akiba, a man whose fiery and impetuous character afterwards plunged himself and the nation in the darkest calamities, and R. Eliezer, a young man of noble family, said to be descended from Ezra. The choice fell on Eliezer. He hesitated to accept the dignified office. "Why?" he was asked. "Because I have not a gray beard;" and immediately his beard began to sprout, and grew, on the instant, to the most orthodox length and venerable whiteness.¹ Other schools were gradually established. Eliezer, son of Hyrcan, taught in Lydda; Joshua, son of Hananiah, in Pekun; Akiba, in Baar-brak. Of all these Rabbins, or Masters of the Law, stories are told, sometimes puerile, sometimes full of good sense and profound moral wisdom, sometimes most absurdly extravagant; and characteristic incidents, which bear the stamp of truth, occur in the midst of the most monstrous legends.² But all these show the authority of Rabbin-

¹ For Eliezer, Akiba had the highest respect. R. Eliezer dying, at Cæsarea, desired to be buried at Lydda, whom R. Akiba bewailed as well with blood as with tears. "For when he met his hearse between Cæsarea and Lydda, he beat himself in that manner that blood flowed down upon the earth. Lamenting, thus he spake, 'O my father, my father! the chariot and horsemen of Israel! I have much money, but I want a moneyer to change it.'" The gloss is this, "I have very many questions, but now there is no man to whom I may propound them." Lightfoot, Chor. Cent. x. p. 38.

² Some of the Rabbins refused to eat flesh, or drink wine, after the de-

ism — for so that system of teaching may be called — over the public mind, — of Rabbinism, which, supplanting the original religion of the Jews, became, after the ruin of the Temple and the extinction of the public worship, a new bond of national union, the great distinctive feature in the character of modern Judaism. Indeed it is absolutely necessary, for the distinct comprehension of the later Jewish history, to enter into some further consideration of the origin, growth, and nature of that singular spiritual supremacy assumed by the Rabbinical oligarchy, which, itself held together by a strong corporate spirit, by community of interest, by identity of principle, has contributed, more than any other external cause, to knit together in one body the widely dispersed members of the Jewish family, and to keep them the distinct and separate people which they appear in all ages of the world. It is clear that, after the return from the Babylonian Captivity, the Mosaic constitution could be but partially reëstablished. The whole building was too much shattered and its fragments too widely dispersed, to reunite in their ancient and regular form. Palestine was a dependent province of the great Persian empire; and neither the twelve confederate republics of older times, nor the monarchies of the later period, could be permitted to renew their existence. But in no respect was the original Mosaic constitution so soon or so entirely departed from, as in the distinctions and endowments of the great learned aristocracy, the tribe of Levi; in no point was it more

struction of the Temple. "Shall we eat meat when meat-offerings are forbidden, or drink wine when wine-offerings are no more made in the Temple?" "By that rule," answered the shrewd R. Joshua, "you must abstain from bread, for the show-bread is no more set out; from fruits, for the first-fruits are no longer offered; from water, for there is now no water by the altar. Go: exact no duties from the people which the many cannot discharge." Jost, *Geschichte*; also *Judenthum*, ii. 72.

impossible to reinstate the polity on its primitive model. To ascend no higher, the tribe of Levi seem to have lost all their possessions in the provinces of Israel on the separation of the kingdoms. On the return from the Captivity, the Levites are mentioned as distinct from the priests, and are present, as it were, giving authority at the public reading of the Law.¹ But they were by no means numerous, perhaps scarcely more than sufficient to furnish the different courses to minister in the Temple. At all events they were no independent or opulent tribe ; their cities were gone ; and though they still retained the tithe, it was so far from supporting them in great affluence, that, when the higher class encroached upon the rights of the lower order, the latter were in danger of absolute starvation. In fact, they were the officiating priesthood, and no more ; bound to be acquainted with the forms and usages of the sacrificial ritual ; but the instruction of the people, and the interpretation of the Law, by no means fell necessarily within their province. On the other hand, the Jews who returned from the Captivity brought with them a reverential, or rather a passionate attachment to the Mosaic Law. This it seems to have been the prudent policy of their leaders, Ezra and Nehemiah, to encourage by all possible means, as the great bond of social union, and the unfailing principle of separation from the rest of mankind. The consecration of the second Temple, and the reëstablishment of the State, was accompanied by the ready and solemn recognition of the Law. By degrees attachment to the Law sank deeper and deeper into the national character ; it was not merely at once their Bible and their Statute Book, it entered into the most minute detail of common life. But no written law can pro-

¹ Ezra and Nehemiah, *passim*, especially Nehemiah, iv. v. vii.

vide for all possible exigencies; whether general and comprehensive, or minute and multifarious, it equally requires the expositor to adapt it to the immediate case which may occur, either before the public tribunal, or that of the private conscience. Hence the Law became a deep and intricate study. Certain men rose to acknowledged eminence for their ingenuity in explaining, their readiness in applying, their facility in quoting, and their clearness in offering solutions of the difficult passages of the written statutes.¹ Learning in the Law became the great distinction to which all alike paid reverential homage. Public and private affairs depended on the sanction of this self-formed spiritual aristocracy. In an imperfect calendar the accurate settling of the proper days for the different fasts and festivals was of the first importance. It would have been considered as inevitably tending to some great national calamity, if it had been discovered that the new moon, or any other movable festival, above all if the Passover, had been celebrated on a miscalculated day. The national sacrifice, or that of the individual, might be vitiated by an inadvertent want of conformity to the strict letter of the ritual. Every duty of life, of social intercourse between man and man, to omit its weightier authority as the national code of criminal and civil jurisprudence, was regulated by an appeal to the Book of the Law. Even at every meal the scrupulous conscience shuddered at the possibility, lest by some neglect, or misinterpretation of the statute, it might fall into serious offence. In every case the learned in the Law could alone decide to the satisfaction of the inquirer.

¹ See, at the end of Jost, *Judenthum*, i., the 613 Laws, 248 Commandments, 365 Prohibitions.

Moreover, by degrees, another worship, independent of the Temple, grew up — that of the Synagogue. The nation still met in the great Temple, for the purpose of national expiation or thanksgiving. The individual went there to make his legal offerings, or to utter his prayers in the more immediate presence of the God of Abraham. But besides this he had his synagogue — where, in a smaller community, he assembled, with a few of his neighbors, for Divine worship, for prayer, and for instruction in the Law. The latter more immediately, and gradually the former, fell entirely under the regulation of the learned interpreter of the Law, who, we may say, united the professions of the clergy and the law, — the clergy, considered as public instructors; for the law-school and the synagogue were always closely connected, if they did not form parts of the same building.¹ Thus there arose in the State the curious phenomenon of a spiritual supremacy, distinct from the priesthood; for though many of these teachers were actually priests and Levites, they were not necessarily so, — a supremacy which exercised the most unlimited dominion, not formally recognized by the constitution, but not the less real and substantial; for it was grounded in the general belief, ruled by the willing obedience of its subjects, and was rooted in the very minds and hearts of the people, till at length the maxim was openly promulgated, “The voice of the Rabbi, the voice of God.” Thus, though the High Priest was still the formal and acknowledged head of the State, the real influence passed away to these recognized interpreters of the Divine word.²

¹ On the manner in which the Sanhedrins or Courts were ultimately connected with the Academies or Schools, compare Vitringa.

² The learned treatise of Vitringa, *De Synagogâ Vetere*, not only gives his own views on all the questions relating to the growth and constitution

The circumstances of the Jewish history concurred in depressing the spiritual authority of the priesthood; and, as in such a community spiritual authority must have existed somewhere, its transfer to the Rabbins, though slow and imperceptible, was no less certain. During the reign of the Asmoneans the High Priesthood became a mere appendage of the temporal sovereignty; but the Pharisaic or learned party were constantly struggling for superiority with the throne, which nominally united both the religious and worldly supremacy. Herod ruled as a military despot; but it was not the priesthood, the chief dignity of which he filled with his own dependants, but this body of men, learned in the law of the Fathers, which alone resisted the introduction of Grecian manners and customs, and kept alive the waning embers of Judaism. We have seen that, in the zenith of his power, he dared not exact an oath of allegiance, from his dread of a most influential class zealously attached to the Law. The Sanhedrin was, in general, the organ by which they acted, as the seats of that half-senatorial, half-judicial body were usually filled by the most learned and influential of the Rabbins, or teachers. It is probable that general opinion would point them out as the fittest persons to fill the places of the twenty-three judges, appointed, according to Josephus, in every considerable town. Still their power was more deeply rooted than in the respect paid to any court or office; it consisted rather in the education and daily instruction of the people, who looked up to them with implicit confidence in their infallibility.¹

of the Synagogue, but also those of most of the learned scholars before or during his time, especially Selden and Altingius. Vitringa is in agreement on the whole, though not throughout and in every particular, with Jost, Herzfeld, and the modern writers.

¹ On the Sopherim, the Scribes, the chief instructors of the people, during

The ideal Sopher or Scribe (the reader of the Gospel knows these Scribes only on their darker side) may be read in the Book of Ecclesiasticus. The great bulk of the Jews were employed in commerce or in handicraft. They could not read, still less study the Law; the Scribe was therefore absolutely necessary for the instruction and edification of the people. "*The wisdom of a learned man cometh by opportunity of leisure: and he that hath little business shall become wise. The husbandman, the carpenter, the smith, the potter, all these trust to their hands and every one is wise in his work. Without these cannot a city be inhabited. But they cannot sit in the council, nor on the judges' seat, they shall not be found where parables are spoken. . . . But he that giveth his mind to the Law of the Most High, and is occupied in the meditation thereof, will seek out the wisdom of the ancients, and be occupied in prophecies. He will keep the sayings of the renowned men: and where subtle parables are, he will be there also. . . . He shall serve among great men, and appear before princes: he will travel through strange countries; for he hath tried the good and evil among men. . . . When the great Lord will come, he shall be filled with the spirit of understanding. . . . He shall show forth that which he hath learned, and shall glory in the Law of the Covenant of the Lord. . . . Many shall commend his understand-*

the centuries which followed Ezra, till their teaching assumed a definite form, compare Jost, i. 93. Their power and influence from the time of Ezra downwards were gradually developed. They read, translated, and expounded the Law in the Synagogue. "Natürlich wurde nunmehr mancher stehende Gebrauch durch die Schrift begründet und wohl auch mancher verwerfliche Gebrauch oder Begriff berichtigt. Daraus entwickelte sich denn der späterhin allgemein anerkannte Grundsatz, *Die Aussprüche der Sopherim seien wichtiger als die der Thora.*" Thus in almost all cases the interpretation overrode the written Law. All these **com-**
ments were afterwards (see below) embodied in the Mischna.

*ing; and so long as the world endureth, it shall not be blotted out; his memorial shall not depart away, and his name shall live from generation to generation. Nations shall show forth his wisdom, and the congregation shall declare his praise. If he die, he shall leave a greater name than a thousand: and if he live, he shall increase it. Yet I have more to say, which I have thought upon; for I am filled as the moon at the full."*¹

But besides the interpretation of the written statutes, according to the rules of plain common-sense or more subtle reason, the expounders of the Law assumed another ground of authority over the public mind, as the depositaries and conservators of the unwritten or traditionary law. This was not universally acknowledged,—and, from the earliest period, the great schism, in Jewish opinion, was, on this important point, the authority of tradition. But the traditionists were far superior in weight and numbers—and, by the mass of the people, the Masora, or unwritten tradition, received, as the Rabbins asserted, by Moses on Mount Sinai, and handed down, in regular and unbroken descent, through all the great names of their early history, the heads of the Sanhedrin its successive conservators, till it finally vested in themselves, was listened to with equal awe, and received with equal veneration with the statutes inscribed by the hand of the Almighty on the tables of stone. This was generally called Masora, or *Tradition*, or Cabala²—the

¹ This striking climax shows the estimate in which the *Learned* were held. Eccles. xxxviii. xxxix.

² The term Cabala is usually applied to that wild system of Oriental philosophy which was introduced, it is uncertain at what period, into the Jewish schools; in a wider sense, it comprehended all the decisions of the Rabbinical courts or schools, whether on religious or civil points, — whatever, in short, was considered to have been ruled by competent judges; but in its more exclusive sense it meant that knowledge which was traditionally

received doctrine of the schools, — thus uniting, as it were, the sanctity of tradition in the Church of Rome, with the validity of precedent in our law-courts.

Hence the demolition of the Temple, the final cessation of the services, and the extinction of the priesthood, who did not survive their occupation, — events which, it might have been expected, would have been fatal to the national existence of the Jews as destroying the great bond of union, — produced scarcely any remarkable effect. The Levitical class had already been superseded as the judges and teachers of the people; the Synagogue, with its law-school, and its grave and learned Rabbi, had already begun to usurp the authority, and was prepared to supply the place of the Temple with its solemn rites, regular sacrifices, and hereditary priesthood. Hence the remnant of the people, amid the general wreck of their institutions, the extinction of the race, at least the abrogation of the office of High Priest, and even the defection of the representative of their late sovereign Agrippa, naturally looked round with eagerness to see if any of their learned Rabbins had escaped the ruin; and directly they found them established in comparative security, willingly laid whatever sovereignty they could dare to offer at their feet. Their Roman masters had no tribunal which they could approach; the administration of their own law was indispensable; hence, whether it assumed the form of an oligarchy, or a monarchy, they submitted themselves with the most implicit confidence, and in

derived from the hidden mysteries contained in the letters of the Law, in the number of times they occurred, and in their relative position. Even Maimonides uses Kabala as synonymous with oral tradition. The figurative meaning of all the anthropomorphic expressions for God may be taught to the simplest. “*Easque per Kabbalam et oralem traditionem tradere parvulis et mulieribus, indoctis et imperitis, est necessarium.*” More Nevochim, i. c. xxxv.

the most undoubting spirit, to the Rabbinical dominion.

The Jews, though looked upon with contempt as well as detestation, were yet regarded, during the reign of Vespasian and his immediate successors, with jealous watchfulness. A garrison of 800 men occupied the ruins of Jerusalem, to prevent the reconstruction of the city by the fond and religious zeal of its former inhabitants. The Christian Hegesippus relates that Vespasian commanded strict search to be made for all who claimed descent from the House of David — in order to cut off, if possible, all hopes of the restoration of the royal house, or of the Messiah, the confidence in whose speedy coming still burned with feverish excitement in the hearts of all faithful Israelites. This barbarous inquisition was continued in the reign of Domitian; nor did the rest of the nation escape the cruelties which desolated the empire under the government of that sanguinary tyrant. The tax of two drachms, levied according to the rescript of Vespasian, for the rebuilding the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, was exacted with unrelenting rigor;¹ and, if any denied their Judaism, the most indecent means were employed against persons of age and character, to ascertain the fact. Suetonius, the historian, had seen a public examination of this nature before the tribunal of the procurator.² Still it may be doubted whether these persecutions, which, perhaps, were

¹ Καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου δίδραχμον ἐτάχθη, τοὺς τὰ πάτρια ἔθνη περιστέλλοντας, τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ Διὶ κατ' ἔτος ἀποφέρειν. Dion Cassius, lxvi. 7. Φόρον δὲ τοῖς ὅπου δήπουτ' οὖσιν Ἰουδαίοις ἐπέβαλε, δύο δραχμὰς ἑκαστον κέλευσας ἵνα πᾶν ἔτος εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον φέρειν, ὥσπερ πρότερον εἰς τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις νεὼν συνετέλουν. Joseph. B. J. vii. 6. 6. Though the mode of levying the tax was mitigated by Nerva, it continued to later times. Καὶ ἔνν Ἰουδαίων τὸ δίδραχμον αὐτοῖς (Ῥωμαίοις) τελοῦντων. Origen. ad. Afric.

² In Domitian. c. xii.

chiefly directed at the Judaizing Christians, oppressed the Jewish people very heavily in their native land. It is impossible, unless communities were suffered to be formed, and the whole race enjoyed comparative security, that the nation could have appeared in the formidable attitude of resistance which it assumed in the time of Hadrian.

The reign of Nerva gave a brief interval of peace to the Jews with the rest of the world. The Jews, if not released from the payment to the Capitoline Temple, were not so ignominiously treated as in the reign of Domitian. No man who did not openly acknowledge himself to be a Jew was subject to the fiscal regulation.¹ In the reign of Trajan either the oppressions of their enemies, or their own mutinous and fanatic disposition, drove them into revolt, as frantic and disastrous as that which had laid their city and Temple in ashes. In every quarter of the world, in each of their great settlements, in Babylonia, Egypt, and Cyrene, and in Judæa, during the sovereignty of Trajan and his successor, the Jews broke out into bold and open rebellion — not without considerable successes — and were finally subdued, only after an obstinate struggle and enormous loss of life.²

¹ Eckhel agrees with Spanheim that the famous coin of Nerva, with the epigraph —

“*Fisci Judaici calumnia sublata*,”

does not mean the abolition of the tax, but the prohibition of the delations and insulting usage of ascertaining the liability to it. “*Non ipsam fiscam Judaicam, quod censuere varii, a Nerva abolitam dici, sed tantum ejus calumniam sublatam esse, hoc est ab eodem fiscali debito solvendo immunes in postremum mansisse, quicunque se haud erant Judæos professi, nec inde pro Judæis in fiscales tabulas relati.*” Eckhel, iv. p. 148.

The whole question of Jewish taxation is worked out with great labor and general accuracy, in the article “*Juden-Geschichte*,” in Ersch and Grüber. *Encyclopædia*, l. xxvii.

² Gibbon attributes all these insurrections to the unprovoked turbulence

The wise and upright Trajan was not superior to the intolerant religious policy of his predecessors. From the memorable letter of Pliny, it is manifest that the existing laws, though not clearly defined, were rigid against all who practised foreign superstitions. It is by no means improbable that its descent from Judaism, of which Christianity was long considered a modification, tended to increase the hostility against the unoffending Christians, which their rapid progress had excited.¹ If even under a man of the temper and moderation of Pliny, and by the express rescript of the Emperor, all the Christians obtained, was not to be "hunted out with the implacable zeal of an inquisitor"; if scenes like those, so strikingly described in the acts of the martyrdom of Ignatius, were by no means unfrequent: we may fairly conclude that the odious Jews, under worse governors, or where the popular feeling was not repressed by the strong hand of authority, would be liable to perpetual insult, oppression, and persecution. The Rabbinical traditions² are full of the sufferings of the people during this melancholy period, but they are so moulded up with

and fanaticism of the Jews. But his mind, notwithstanding its boasted liberality, was by no means exempt from the old vulgar prejudices against the Jews; heightened, perhaps, by his unfriendly feeling, not more philosophical, to the religion from which Christianity took its rise.

¹ Salvador, though of course as a Jew from an opposite point of view, concurs with me in connecting, as I have done in other works, the hostility of the Roman Government towards the Christians, shown in the persecutions during the reign of Trajan, with the commotions of the Jews in the East. "Jews and Christians were still, to a certain extent, confounded in the popular mind; and fear, political jealousy, and hatred do not sharpen the powers of just discrimination." Salvador, ii. 514.

² Many of these traditions may be read in Eisenmenger, *Das Entdeckte Judenthum*. This curious book was written in avowed and bitter hostility to the Jews, but the quotations are copious and full, and there is no reason to suspect their accuracy. See below.

fable¹ that it is difficult to decide whether they rest on any groundwork of truth. This, however, is certain, that during the war of Trajan with Parthia, when the Roman legions were probably withdrawn from the African provinces, and a few feeble garrisons alone remained to maintain the peace, intelligence was received that the Jews of Egypt and Cyrene had taken up arms, and were perpetrating the most dreadful atrocities against the Greek inhabitants of those districts. The cause of this insurrection is unknown; but when we remember the implacable animosities of the two races, which had been handed down as an inheritance for centuries, it is by no means surprising, that, directly the coercive authority of the Roman troops was withdrawn, a violent collision should take place.² Nor is it improbable that the Greeks, who

¹ It is related that, unfortunately, the birthday of a prince fell on the anniversary of the fatal 9th of August; and while the whole Roman empire was rejoicing, the Jews alone were bewailing, in ill-timed lamentations, the fate of their Temple. Again, while the imperial family were in the deepest mourning for the loss of a daughter, the unlucky Jews were celebrating with noisy mirth their Feast of Lamps. The indignant Empress exclaimed, "Before you march against the barbarians, sweep this insolent people from the face of the earth." Trajan, in Syria, surrounded a vast number of Jews with his legions, and ordered them to be hewn down. He afterwards offered to their wives, either to share the fate of their husbands, or to submit to the embraces of his soldiery. "What thou hast done to those beneath the earth, do to those who are upon it:" such was the answer of the women. Their blood was mingled with that of their husbands; and the sea that broke upon the shores of Cyprus was tinged with the red hue of carnage. If there be any truth in this legend, that sea recoiled before long from those shores in a tide, which showed still more visible signs of unrelenting vengeance. But independent of the improbability of the whole story, and its inconsistency with the character of the Emperor, the family of Trajan make a great figure in this, as in other Jewish legends; yet it is almost certain that he had no children. — Hierosolym. Talmud. Socra, quoted by Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, iii. p. 218.

² Compare *Der Jüdische Krieg unter den Kaisern Trajan und Hadrian*, von D. Friedrich Münter, Altona, 1821. This valuable tract has been translated in an American journal, under the direction of Dr. Robinson, the traveller.

had been suffering grievous exactions from a rapacious Roman governor, might take up their old quarrel, and, in the absence of the Romans, endeavor to indemnify themselves by the plunder of their more industrious, perhaps more wealthy, neighbors. On which side hostilities began we know not; but the Jews, even if they only apprehended an attack, had horrible reminiscences of recent disasters, or traditions, not very remote, of the days of Caligula; and might, not unnaturally, think that there was wisdom in endeavoring to be the first in the field; that it was better to perish with arms in their hands than stand still, as in former times, to be tamely pillaged and butchered. All Egypt, both Alexandria and the Thebais, with Cyrene, arose at once.¹ In Egypt the Jews had at first some success; but the Greeks fell back on Alexandria, mastered the Jews within the city, and murdered the whole race. Maddened by this intelligence, as well as by the memory of former cruelties, the Jews of Cyrene, headed by Lucuas and Andrew, by some supposed, though improbably, two names of the same man, swept all over Lower Egypt, where they were joined by a host of their countrymen, and penetrated into the Thebais, or even farther, and exacted the most dreadful retribution for the present and the past. Horrid tales were told of the atrocities they committed. Some of their rulers they sawed asunder from head to foot; they flayed their bodies, and clothed themselves with the skins, twisted the entrails and wore them as girdles, and anointed themselves with blood.² We are even

¹ Look back to the outbreak in the Cyrenaica under Jonathan, at the close of the war under Vespasian. — Euseb. H. E. iv. 3.

² In the Book Zemach David, quoted by Eisenmenger, *Das Entdeckte Judenthum*, i. 654-5, it is written that at this time they killed a multitude of people countless as the sands of the sea. In the Book Meor Enaim, on the

told that this people, so scrupulous in the refusal of all unclean food, nevertheless feasted on the bodies of their enemies. With barbarity for which they could quote better precedent, they are said to have thrown their enemies to wild beasts, and forced them to fight on the theatres as gladiators: 220,000 fell before their remorseless vengeance.¹ Whether these cannibal atrocities were true or not, that they should be propagated and credited, shows the detestation in which the race was held. Lupus, the Roman governor, meanwhile, without troops, sat an inactive spectator of this devastation; while Lucuas, the Jewish leader, is reported to have assumed the style and title of king.

The flame spread to Cyprus, where the Jews were numerous and wealthy.² One Artemio placed himself at their head; they rose and massacred 240,000 of their fellow-citizens; the whole populous city of Salamis became a desert. The revolt in Cyprus was first suppressed; Hadrian, afterwards emperor, landed on the island, and marched to the assistance of the few inhabitants who had been able to act on the defensive. He defeated the Jews, expelled them from the island, to whose beautiful coasts no Jew was ever after permitted to approach. If one were accidentally wrecked on the inhospitable shore, he was instantly put to death.³ Martius Turbo was sent by sea for the purpose authority of Rabbi Asariah, they killed above 200,000 in Egypt; in Cyprus they did not leave one of the Gentiles (Gojim) alive. It adds that the Emperor Trajan sent his general, Hadrian, against them, who destroyed them, so many as were never heard of or seen in the days of Nebuzaradan or of Titus.

¹ Munter supposes that they may have turned the usual atrocities of the Romans against themselves, have seized the amphitheatres, and forced their prisoners to fight with wild beasts or gladiators (p. 15). This is hardly possible.

² Herod the First farmed the copper-mines in Cyprus. Joseph. Ant. xvi. 2.

³ Euseb. H. E. iv. 6. Dion Cassius, *loc. cit.*

of expedition, with a considerable force of horse and foot to the coast of Cyrene. As far as the campaign can be traced, it seems that he marched against Andrew, and, after much hard fighting, suppressed the insurrection in that province, and then turned upon Egypt, where Lucuas still made head. Lucuas, according to a tradition preserved by Abulfharagi, attempted to force his way by the Isthmus of Suez; and some at least of his followers found their way to Palestine.¹ The loss of the Jews, as might be expected, was immense; their own traditions report that as many fell in this disastrous war as originally escaped from Egypt under Moses, — 600,000 men.²

Cyprus was scarcely subdued, and the war was still raging in Egypt, when tidings arrived that the Jews of Mesopotamia were in arms.³ Probably the Eastern Jews had found that, by the conquests of Trajan, they had changed masters for the worse. Under the Parthian kings they had lived in peace, unmolested in their religion, sometimes making proselytes of the highest rank — in the case of Izates, even of kings; and they were oppressed by no exclusive taxation. The Jews of Africa and Syria might have looked with repining envy on their more prosperous brethren in Babylonia. The scene of the great Captivity was now become the only dwelling of Jewish peace and

¹ This seems confirmed by a passage in Appian, B. C. ii. 90, who incidentally mentions the destruction of a Heathen temple near Mount Casius during the exterminatory war (*ἐξολλύντα τὸ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ἰουδαίων γένος*) waged by Trajan *at this time* against the Jews.

Orosius describes the Jewish insurrection in his vague way. They had so utterly desolated Libya, that the Emperor Hadrian was obliged to send colonists to people the desert which they had left; lib. vii.

² So much destruction was caused by this war in Alexandria, that in the *Chronicon Eusebianum* (Mediol. 1818) it is said, "Hadrianus Alexandriam a Judæis labefactatam reparavit." See, on the Coins, Münter, p. 21.

³ Euseb. H. F. *loc. cit.*

Jewish independence ; while the land of milk and honey flowed with the bitter streams of servitude and persecution. Even if the Babylonian Jews did not, as gratitude and policy would equally have urged, during the war between Rome and her Eastern rival, manfully take arms in favor of their protectors against the enemies and oppressors of their race, — if they left the armies of Parthia to fight their own battles, and quietly waited to be transferred to the conqueror, — yet, when they were included, by the victories of Trajan, within the pale of Roman oppression, — visited in their turn by the fierce soldiery which had trampled on the ruins of Jerusalem, — made liable, perhaps, to a capitation-tax for the maintenance of a heathen temple, — it was by no means surprising if they endeavored to shake off the galling and unwonted yoke. Their insurrection was soon suppressed by the vigor of Lusius Quietus, a man of Moorish race, and considered the ablest soldier in the Roman army. The commission of Quietus was not only to subdue, but to expel the Jews from the whole district. The Jews defended themselves with obstinate courage, and, though overpowered, still remained in Mesopotamia.¹ The immediate appointment of L. Quietus to the government of Judæa seems to intimate some apprehension of commotions in that province, which might be kept down by the terrors of his name.

In the next year (A. C. 117) Trajan died, and Hadrian ascended the throne. For the Mesopotamian Jews alone this was a fortunate occurrence ; for as the prudent Hadrian abandoned all the conquests of his predecessor in the East, and reëstablished the Euphrates

¹ Euseb. H. E. iv. 2: *ὁς καὶ παραταξάμενος, πάντοτε πλῆθος τῶν αὐτόθι φονεύει.* Eusebius quotes as his authority the great writers of the time.

as the boundary of the Roman empire, they fell again under the milder dominion of their Parthian sovereigns. The new emperor was not likely to entertain very favorable sentiments towards his Jewish subjects. He had been an eye-witness of the horrible scenes which had desolated the lovely island of Cyprus; he had seen the voluptuous Idalian groves reeking with blood, or unwholesome with the recent carnage of their inhabitants; the gay and splendid cities reduced to the silence of desolation. It is not improbable that the same mischiefs might seem to be brooding in Palestine. Hadrian himself visited Judæa and Egypt. Extant coins establish this fact. The famous letter to Servianus, in which he casts his mockery impartially on Jews, Samaritans, and Christians, was written in Alexandria;¹ but sterner measures followed, how far from suspicions, not without ground, of meditated revolt and insurrection, does not appear. An edict was issued tantamount to the total suppression of Judaism: it interdicted circumcision,² the reading of the Law, and the observance of the Sabbath. It was followed by a blow, if possible, more fatal: the intention of the Emperor was announced to annihilate at once all hopes of the restoration of the Holy City by the establishment of a Roman colony in Jerusalem, and the foundation of a fane, dedicated to Jupiter, on the site of their fallen Temple. A town had probably risen by degrees out of the ruins of Jerusalem, where the three great towers and a part of the western wall

¹ "Nemo illic archesynagogus Judæorum, nemo Samarites, nemo Christianorum presbyter non mathematicus, non aruspex, non aliptes." I understand Hadrian's implied meaning to be that they were alike what we call quacks and charlatans. Vopisci Saturninus, H. A. S., p. 966 Compare Juvenal, vi. 543.

² Spartian speaks of this with true Roman contemptuousness. "Moverunt eâ tempestate et Judæi bellum, quod vetabantur mutilare genitalia." *Hadr. c. 14.*

had been left as a protection to the Roman garrison ;¹ but the formal establishment of a colony implied the perpetual alienation of the soil, and its legal appropriation to the *stranger*.² The Jews looked on with dismay, with anguish, with secret thoughts of revenge, at length with hopes of immediate and splendid deliverance. It was an opinion deeply rooted in the hearts of all faithful Israelites, that in the darkest hour of the race of Abraham, when his children were at the extreme point of degradation and wretchedness, even then the arm of the Lord would be revealed, and the expected Messiah would make his sudden and glorious appearance. They were now sounding the lowest depths of misery. They were forbidden, under penalties sternly enacted and rigidly enforced, to initiate their children into the chosen family of God. Their race was in danger of becoming extinct ; for even the

¹ The devotion of a city to perpetual desolation, so as never to be again inhabited by man, was marked by a peculiar ceremony in the Roman religion, the drawing a ploughshare over its whole site. "Nam ideo ad diruendas vel exaugurandas urbes aratrum adhibitum, ut eodem ritu, quo conditæ, subvertantur." Serv. ad *Æneid.* iv. p. 527. "Cur perirent funditus, imprimeretque muris hostile aratrum." Hor. *Od.* 1, 16. That it was also an Eastern custom, compare Jer. xxvi. 8. It was probably by application of this prophecy that some of the Jews asserted this to have been done by Titus. But the sentence of Josephus seems conclusive against this as an historical fact ; and this devotion of the site of the city to perpetual desolation does not seem to have been consummated as to Jerusalem after the capture by Titus.

² ἐς δὲ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πόλιν αὐτοῦ ἀντὶ τῆς κατασκαφείσης οἰκισάντος, ἦν καὶ Αἰλίαν Καπιτολίαν ὠνόμασε, καὶ ἐς τὸν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ τόπον, ναὸν τῷ Διὶ ἕτερον ἀντεγείραντος, πόλεμος οὔτε μικρὸς οὐτ' ὀλιγοχρόνιος ἐκινήθη, lxix. 12. I follow Dion's distinct statement, in preference to the loose one of Eusebius, that *Ælia* was founded *after* the siege. Nothing could be more according to the policy of Rome than to fix a colony, as a garrison, in a place of such importance as Jerusalem, the strength of which had so severely tried the Roman arms, especially after the rebellions in the time of Trajan. The designed Temple to Jupiter is in character with, and perhaps a first beginning of, that system, so widely carried out by the Antonines, of rebuilding and *Romanizing* the vast ancient temples in the East, as at Baalbec, Petra, and in Egypt.

blood of Abraham would little avail the uncircumcised. Their city was not merely a mass of ruins, inhabited by the stranger, but the Pagans were about to make their permanent residence upon the site of Sion, and a temple to a Gentile idol was to usurp the place of the Holy of Holies.

At this momentous period it was announced that the Messiah had appeared. He had come in power and in glory: his name fulfilled the great prophecy of Balaam. Bar-cochab, the Son of the Star, was that star which was to "arise out of Jacob." Wonders attended upon his person: he breathed flames from his mouth, which, no doubt, would burn up the strength of the proud oppressor, and wither the armies of the tyrannical Hadrian. Above all, the greatest of the Rabbins, the living oracle of divine truth, whose profound learning was looked up to by the whole race of Israel, acknowledged the claims of the new Messiah, and openly attached himself to his fortunes; he was called the standard-bearer of the Son of the Star. Rabbi Akiba was said not to be of the pure blood of Israel, but descended (such is the Rabbinical genealogy) from Sisera, the general of Jabin, king of Tyre, by a Jewish mother. For forty years he had lived a simple shepherd, tending the flocks of a rich citizen of Jerusalem, named Calba Sheva. Love made him the wisest of his age. He became enamored of his master's daughter: the wealthy Jew rejected the indigent shepherd, who was an alien from the race of Israel. But the lovers were secretly married, and Akiba left his bride immediately, and spent twelve years in study, under the tuition of R. Eliezer and R. Joshua. He returned, it is said, with 12,000 disciples. But the unrelenting father had disinherited his daughter.

They lived in the greatest penury; and she bore her first child on a bed of straw. Akiba went back for twelve years more to the seat of learning. He returned again, followed by 24,000 disciples; and the father, at length appeased or overawed by the fame of his son-in-law, broke his vow of implacable resentment, and bestowed on Akiba and his wife sufficient property to enable them to live in splendor. A thousand volumes would not contain the wonderful things which Akiba did and said.¹ He could give a reason for the use of the most insignificant letter of the Law; and it is boldly averred that God revealed more to him than he did to Moses. He first committed the traditions to writing, and thus laid the groundwork for the celebrated *Mischna*, or Comment on the Law. A striking story is told of Akiba. His great maxim was, "that everything is ordained of heaven for the best." With this axiom on his lips, he was riding with some of his followers near the ruins of Jerusalem. They burst into tears at the melancholy sight; for, to heighten

¹ *Pirke Aboth*, quoted by Jost (*Geschichte*, p. 206). See, in the same book, the further account of Akiba's life, with the Talmudic authorities. Jost, in his later work (*Judenthum*, ii. c. vi. p. 59), is much more copious. "The characteristics of Akiba were, matchless acuteness in penetrating the obscure passages of the traditions; he was rigorous on all actors of injury, severe on moral questions; his learning was a 'well-ordered treasury.'"

Geiger quotes the following:—"If Shaphan had not arisen at his time (that of Hezekiah), if Ezra had not arisen at his time, and Akiba at his, the Law of Israel had been forgotten; the Word, which was spoken at the right time, outweighs all words." p. 156.

A saying of Akiba would show that he was superior to some of the prejudices of his race. "*R. Akiba dicebat, Quicunque sepelitur in reliquis teiris perinde est ac si sepeliretur in Babyloniâ. Quicunque sepelitur in Babyloniâ perinde est ac si sepeliretur in terrâ Israel. Quicunque sepelitur in terrâ Israel perinde est ac si sepeliretur sub altari, quia tota terra Israel conveniret ut esset locus altaris. Quicunque autem sepelitur sub altari perinde est ac si sepeliretur sub throno gloriæ, quia dicitur, Jer. xvii. 2, 'Thronus gloriæ altitudo a primo, locus sanctuarii nostri.'*" Quoted in *Menschen Talmudien*, p. 226.

Other sayings of Akiba, in Eisenmenger, i. 10, and 25.

their grief, they beheld a jackal prowling upon the Hill of the Temple. Akiba only observed that the very successes of the idolatrous Romans, as they fulfilled the words of the prophets, were grounds of loftier hopes for the people of God.¹ The end of these lofty hopes must have severely tried the resignation of Akiba. He was yet in the zenith of his fame, though now nearly 120 years old, the period of life to which his great prototype, Moses, attained (his biographers have no doubt conformed his life to that model); he is said, also, by some, to have been the head of the Sanhedrin, when Bar-cohab, or Coziba, announced his pretensions as the Messiah. Akiba had but newly returned from a visit, or from a flight, to his Mesopotamian brethren; and whether the state of affairs at Nahardea and Nisibis had awakened his hopes and inflamed a noble jealousy, which induced him to risk any hazard to obtain equal independence for his brethren in Judæa, or whether there was any general and connected plan for the reassertion of Jewish liberty, he threw himself at once into the party of the heaven-inspired insurgent. "Behold," said the hoary enthusiast, in an assembly of the listening people, "the Star that is come out of Jacob; the days of the redemption are at hand." "Akiba," said the more cautious R. Jochanan, "the grass will spring from thy jawbone, and yet the Son of David will not have come." The

¹ Jost (*Judenthum*, p. 66) has another striking story. "Akiba had a firm conviction that Jerusalem and the Temple would be speedily restored. He visited Rome with three of his disciples. These were so overpowered by the splendor and strength of the Capitol that they burst into tears. To their astonishment, Akiba smiled. He asked, 'Why do ye weep?' 'Ought we not to be in pain when we behold the Idolaters living in magnificence and peace, while the footstool of our God is a prey to the flames, and a haunt of wild beasts?' 'Good,' Akiba replied, 'and therefore did I smile. If it fares so well with God's enemies, must not his obedient children expect a far better doom?'"

period of the first appearance of the pretended Messiah is by no means certain, even his real name is unknown;¹ he is designated only by his title, Bar-cochab, the Son of a Star, which his disappointed countrymen, afterwards, in their bitterness, changed to Bar-cosba, the Son of a Lie. He is said to have been a robber;² he had learned a trick of keeping lighted tow, or straw, in his mouth, which was the secret of his breathing flames, to the terror of his enemies, and the unbounded confidence of his partisans.³ He seems to have been a man of no common vigor and ability; but, unhappily, this second Jewish war had no Josephus, and the whole history of the campaigns, where the Jews manifestly gained great advantages, and in which the most able general of Rome, Severus, found it expedient to act on the defensive, and reduce the province rather by blockade and famine than by open war, can only be made out from three short chapters of Dion Cassius,⁴ occasional brief notices in other authors, and the Legends of the Talmud. Lusius Quietus, the able conqueror of Mesopotamia, suspected of ambitious designs on the

¹ Jost is inclined to connect the travels of Akiba with the general insurrection. "Und in verschiedenen Zeiten der Bewegung, welche eine Reihe von Jahren dauerte, und trotz grosser Niederlagen der Anführer sich wiederholte, bis Bethar gänzlich zerstört wurde, finden wir ihn in den Gegenden, wo der Aufstand zunächst ausbrach;" p. 67. He was in Cilicia, Cappadocia, perhaps Galatia, in Arabia and Africa. See also p. 76.

² Basnage, p. 342; but he cites no authority. Jost asserts that his early life was quite unknown; p. 244.

³ So the slave Eunus, in the servile war in Sicily: — "Idque ut divinitus fieri probaret in ore abdita nuce, quam sulphure et igne stipaverat, leniter inspirans, flammam inter verba fundebat." Florus, iii. 19. "Atque ut ille Barchochabas auctor seditionis Judaicæ stipulam in ore suo accensam anhelitu ventilabat ut flammam evomere videretur." We can hardly understand how such things could be thought miraculous. Hieronym. Apol. ii. ad Rufinum. Maimonides, on the other hand, asserts (Münter, note, p. 48), "Sapientes nullum ab eo signum vel miraculum petierunt." See the traditions about Bar-cochab, Eisenmenger, ii. 654.

⁴ Or rather Xiphilin. There is a passage about the war in Moses of Chorene, the Armenian historian, c. 57.

empire, had been deprived, first of his kindred Moorish troops, then of his province, and finally of his life. By a curious coincidence, the Roman commander, to whom the final demolition of Jerusalem had been committed by Titus, bore the name of Terentius Rufus; the prefect in Palestine, at the commencement of the revolt under Bar-cohab, was T. Annius, or Tynnius, called, by the Rabbins, Tyrannus, or Turnus Rufus, the Wicked.¹ Thus, the two men who were the objects of the deepest detestation to the Jews, are perpetually confounded. Rufus is said, by the command of Hadrian, to have driven the plough over the ruins of Jerusalem.² At the first threatening of the revolt, probably after the visit of Hadrian to the East, in the year 130 (A. C.), Rufus poured all the troops at his command into Judæa; he seized and imprisoned Akiba; but either his forces or his abilities were unequal to the crisis. The Romans could not believe that, with the memory of the former war still on the lips of the fathers of the present generation, the Jews would provoke the danger of a second exterminating conflict. But for some time the insurgents had been busily employed in laying up stores of arms. By degrees, they got possession of all the strong heights, raised walls and fortifications, dug or enlarged subterranean passages and caverns both for retreat and communication, and contrived, by holes from above, to let light and air into those secret citadels, where they deposited their arms, held their councils, and concealed themselves from the vigilance of the enemy. Multitudes crowded openly, or stole in secret, to range themselves under the banner of the Messiah. Native Jews and strangers swelled his ranks. It is probable that many of the fugitives from the

¹ Jost, Anhang, p. 180.

² See note, *ante*, p. 432.

insurgents in Egypt and Cyrene had found their way to Palestine, and lay hid in caves and fastnesses. Even many who were not Jews, for the sake of plunder and the license of war, united themselves with the rebels. No doubt, some from the Mesopotamian provinces came to the aid of their brethren. The whole Jewish race throughout the world was in commotion; those who dared not betray their interest in the common cause openly, did so in secret, and perhaps some of the wealthy Jews in the remote provinces privately contributed from their treasures. Bar-cohab, if we may believe the Rabbins, found himself at the head of 200,000 men, a statement somewhat invalidated by the addition that there was not a soldier who could not, putting his horse at full speed, tear up a cedar of Lebanon by the roots. Those who had denied or disguised their circumcision, hastened to renew that distinguishing mark of their Israelitish descent, and to entitle themselves to a share in the great redemption. The Christians alone stood aloof, and would lend no ear, nor pay respect to the claims of another Messiah, a man of robbery and bloodshed, of earthly pretensions, and the aspirant founder of a temporal kingdom. Bar-cohab is reported to have revenged himself by the most cruel persecutions on those most dangerous opponents to his claim as the Messiah.¹

The first expedition of Bar-cohab was to make himself master of the ruins of Jerusalem. As we have before observed, probably some sort of rude town had grown up amid the wreck of the city, even if no prep-

¹ Eusebius, quoting Justin Martyr: καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ νῦν γενομένῳ Ἰουδαϊκῷ πολέμῳ, Βαρχωχέβας ὁ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀποστασέως ἀρχηγέτης, Χριστιανοὺς μόνους εἰς τιμωρίας δευνᾶς, εἰ μὴ ἀρνοῖντο Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν, καὶ βλασφημοῖεν, ἐκέλευεν ἀγεσθαι. H. E. iv. 8. Justin Martyr was nearly contemporary with these events, and, as born in Palestine, of good authority. Compare his Apolog., c. 31.

arations had been made for the foundation of Ælia. Pious pilgrims, no doubt, stole in secret to pay their adorations on the sacred hill; and some would think it worth while to venture all hazards, if their last remains might repose within the circuit of the Holy City. With what triumph must they have crowded to the same spot, when the conquering banner of the Messiah was unfolded, for here Bar-cochab openly assumed the name of king, and is said to have issued coins with his superscription, and with the year of the freedom of Jerusalem as the date.¹ Still the Jews avoided a battle in the open field. Turnus Rufus revenged himself with the most unrelenting cruelties on the defenceless. According to Eusebius, he put to death thousands of men, women, and children. But the obstinate courage and activity of the Jews were unbroken; they pursued their deliberate system of defence, so that, on the arrival of the famous Julius Severus to take the command, they were in possession of fifty of the strongest castles, and 985 villages. But Severus had learned the art of war against desperate savages in Britain. He turned their own policy against the insurgents. He ventured on no general battle with an enemy now perhaps grown to an overwhelming force;² but he attacked their

¹ There is no historical account of this event, though there seems little doubt of the fact. It is, however, denied, I know not on what grounds, by some modern Jewish writers. Jost, *Judenthum*, ii. 79, note. Tychsen and others have concluded, from extant coins, that he was in possession of Jerusalem for three years; if so, it was from 132 to 135. The coins, however, are of very doubtful date and authority.

There is a long note of Heinichen, on Eusebius, II. E. iv. p. 300, on the whole subject of the war. Heinichen is of the same opinion with me, that the foundation of a new city by Hadrian on the site of Jerusalem was the cause of the war. "Quod vero ad conditum Æliæ spectat, tantum abest ut condita fuerit ab Hadriano post partam de Judæis victoriam. Immo bellum Judaicum ex Æliæ conditu originem cepit."

² ὁς ἄντικρος μὲν οὐδαμόθεν ἐτόλμησε τοῖς ἐναντίοις συμβαλεῖν, τό τε πλεῖστον καὶ τὴν ὑπογνώσιν αὐτῶν ὁρῶν. Dion Cassius.

strongholds in detail, cut off their supplies, and reduced them to the greatest distress by famine. Yet the Romans experienced, on their side, considerable losses, for Hadrian, whether with the army or in the neighborhood, did not adopt the customary form in his despatches to the senate, "I rejoice if all is well with you and your children; with myself and the army all is well."¹ In Jerusalem the insurgents were disheartened and confounded by the sudden falling in of some vast subterranean vaults, where, according to tradition, the remains of Solomon were buried. It was reported that this had been the treasure-house, as well as the sepulchre, of the Jewish kings, and stories were current that John Hyrcanus and Herod had successively violated the cemeteries, and enriched themselves with their spoils. Now their sudden fall not only made the defences insecure, but was considered as of awful omen.² The Romans, probably after a hard contest,³ made themselves masters of Jerusalem, and razed every building that remained to the ground; it was then, perhaps, not before, that the plough was passed by Rufus over the devoted ground.⁴

¹ A fragment of Fronto, addressed to M. Antoninus on the Parthian war, shows how terrible were the reminiscences of the Jewish war, which is compared with that of the Parthians and of the Britons. "Nonne a Parthis consularis æque vir in Mesopotamiâ trucidatus? Quid avo vestro Hadriano imperium obtinente quantum militum a Judæis, quantum ab Britannis cæsum?" Epist. p. 107.

² This was called the *μνημείον τοῦ Σολομῶντος*; the very brief account in Dion Cassius does not indicate the situation of this tomb of Solomon, but the incident must have been of great importance, as being the only fact in the siege thought worthy of record. Cedrenus adds, *σημείον δὲ γέγονε τῆς ἀλώσεως αὐτοῦ ὡς τὸ τοῦ Σολομῶντος σημεῖον* (melius *μνημείον*) *αὐτόματον διαλύθηναι*. — Edit. Bonn. i. 438.

³ The whole war appears to have lasted at least three years, — 132 to 135, A. C.

⁴ Appian, B. C., speaks of the different destructions of Jerusalem, — by

At length the discipline of the Roman troops, and the consummate conduct of Severus, brought the war nearly to a close. The strong city of Bither alone remained, the metropolis and citadel of the insurgents. The situation of this city is not certainly known; it is placed by Eusebius near Beth-horon, by others near the sea.¹ How long Bither stood out after the siege was actually formed, is equally uncertain. When affairs began to wear a gloomy aspect, (thus write the Rabbins,) Eliezer, the son of Hamadai, enjoined the besieged to seek their last resource, prayer to the God of their fathers. All day long the zealous Rabbi was on his knees. As long as he prayed, like Moses during the battle with the Amalekites in the Desert, so long the Jews assumed new courage, and fought with unconquerable fury.² A Samaritan undertook to silence by treachery

Ptolemy, king of Egypt, by Titus, and in his own time by Hadrian: καὶ 'Αδριανὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπ' ἐμοῦ. The war was related at length in the Samaritan Book of Joshua: "Obsidio urbis Hierosolymitanæ per Adrianum fusè per-textitur" — apud Fabric. Cod. Epig. V. T. p. 887. It does not appear at this length in the later edition of that book. Euseb. Dem. Evang. vi. 18: μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον κατὰ 'Αδριανὸν Αὐτοκράτορα κινήσεως αὐτοῖς Ἰουδαϊκῆς γενομένης τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς πόλεως μέρος ἡμῖς πολιορκηθὲν αὐτοῖς ἐξελαύνεται, ὡς ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ εἰς δεῦρο πάνπαν ἄζατον γενέσθαι τὴν τόπον. Chrysostom, Orať. iii. in Judæos, says that Hadrian, τὰ λείψανα ἀφανίσας πάντα, raised his own statue on the ruins. This may, however, be mere oratory. Jerome is the authority for the ploughshare driven over the Temple: "aratum Templum in ignominiam gentis oppressæ, a Tito Annio Rufo" (In Zechariam c. 8), but Jerome confounds the two Tituses. See other passages from the Byzantines (of no authority) in Münter, p. 70, 71.

¹ Jost says that it was a mountain city, not belonging to Judæa, not far from the sea, between Cæsarea and Diospolis, but he cites no authorities (see, however, Itinerarium Antonini). Judenthum, ii. p. 79.

² Jost, Geschichte, iii. p. 251, with authorities.

The reader curious about these extravagancies may find them, with quotations at length from the Rabbinical writings, in the Pugio Fidei of Raymond Martin, p. 258 *et seq.*, Edit. du Voisin. Throughout there is utter confusion between this war and that under Vespasian and Titus. Rabbi Jochanan said that there were 80,000 pair of trumpeters, each of whom commanded many hosts. Bar-cohab had 200,000 men, who, to prove their

the devout and prevailing Rabbi. He stole up to him where he was kneeling in prayer on a conspicuous eminence, and whispered some indistinct words in his ear. The vigilant Bar-cohab demanded what was the object of his message. The Rabbi could not answer. The Samaritan, after long pretended reluctance, declared that it was an answer to a secret message confided to him by the Rabbi, about capitulation. Bar-cohab commanded the Rabbi to be executed on the spot. This barbarous measure alienated and dispirited his followers. Bither was at length stormed, Bar-cohab was killed, and his head carried in triumph to the Roman camp. It was again on the fatal 9th of Ab¹ (August), the anniversary of the double destruction of Jerusalem, that Bither fell ; it was razed to the ground.²

Of the massacre the Rabbins tell frightful stories, but their horror is mitigated by their extravagance. More are said to have fallen at Bither than escaped with Moses from Egypt. The horses waded up to their bits in carnage. Blood flowed so copiously that the stream carried stones weighing four pounds into the sea, according to their account, forty miles distant. The dead covered eighteen square miles, and the inhabitants of the adjacent region had no need to manure coldness and courage, had cut off one of their fingers. "How," said the wise man, "will you try the prowess of these mutilated men? He who cannot ride full speed and pluck up, as he passes, a cedar of Lebanon by the roots, may be discharged."

¹ The Jewish day of mourning has always been kept on the 9th, though it seems from Josephus that the 10th was the real day of the destruction.

² The absurd statements of the Rabbinical authorities as to the size and populousness of Bither are hardly worth notice except as illustrations of the extraordinary amplifying power of Jewish writers as to numbers. According to the Tract Gittin (Eisenmenger, ii. 656) there were 400 synagogues, each synagogue had 400 schoolmasters, each schoolmaster 400 scholars. According to Echa Rabbathi (*ibid.*) there were 500 school-houses, in the smallest not less than 300 scholars. See another monstrous story — Jost, Anhang, iii. p. 185

their ground for seven years. A more trustworthy authority, Dion Cassius,¹ states, that during the whole war the enormous number of 580,000 fell by the sword, not including those who perished by famine, disease, and fire. The whole of Judæa was a desert; wolves and hyenas went howling along the streets of the desolate cities. Those who escaped the sword were scarcely more fortunate; they were reduced to slavery by thousands. There was a great fair held under a celebrated terebinth, which tradition had consecrated as the very tree under which Abraham had pitched his tent.² Thither his miserable children were brought in droves, and sold as cheap as horses. Others were carried away and sold at Gaza; others transported to Egypt. The account of the fate of Rabbi Akiba is singularly characteristic.³ He was summoned for examination before the odious Turnus Rufus. In the middle of his interrogations, Akiba remembered that it was the hour of prayer. He fell on his knees, regardless of the presence of the Roman, and of the pending trial for life and death, and calmly went through his devotions. This is in another place related more at length: "In the midst of his tortures Akiba remembered the moment when the Schema ('Hear, O Israel,' &c.) ought to be repeated. He spoke it with devotion, and a glad countenance. T. Annius Rufus . . . beheld him and said, 'Akiba, thou art either become obtuse, or by your stubbornness wouldest provoke still sharper sufferings. Why dost thou smile?' Akiba answered, 'I have had the happy lot almost entirely to fulfil the verse in our daily devotions, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and

¹ Dion Cassius, *in loc.*

² Hieronym. in Zechariam, c. 8.

³ Beræoth. l. 59. Erubin, s. 8, quoted by Jost, iii. 253.

with all thy strength," for I have yielded myself up entirely to the love of God, and willingly made sacrifice of all my possessions. One thing alone was wanting, to show my love by the offering up of my life ; I rejoice that this last trial is come, and I will endure it.'"¹ In the prison, while his lips were burning with thirst, he nevertheless applied his scanty pittance of water to his ablutions. The barbarous Roman ordered the old man to be flayed alive, and then put to death. The most furious persecution was commenced against all the Rabbins, who were considered the authors and ringleaders of the insurrection. Chanania, the son of Theradion, was detected reading and expounding the Law ; he was burned with the book which he was reading. It was forbidden to fill up the number of the great Synagogue, or Sanhedrin ; but Akiba, just before his death, had named five new members ; and Judah, the son of Bavah, secretly nominated others in a mountain glen, where he had taken refuge. Soldiers were sent to surprise Judah ; he calmly awaited their coming, and was transfixed by 300 spears.

Hadrian, to annihilate forever all hopes of the restoration of the Jewish kingdom, accomplished his plan of establishing a new city on the site of Jerusalem, peopled by a colony of foreigners.² The city was called Ælia Capitolina ; Ælia after the prænomen of the Emperor, Capitolina as dedicated to the Jupiter of the Capitol.³ An edict was issued, prohibiting any

¹ Jost might well call this martyrdom. *Judenthum*, i. p. 69. Chiarini, ii. 336, has another version.

² The *Chronic. Alexandrinum*, after a description of the sale of the Jewish captives under the terebinth, contains an account of buildings erected by Hadrian in Ælia, among them a theatre. Edit. Bonn. i. p. 474.

³ This fact strengthens my utter disbelief in the erection of a Temple of Venus over the sepulchre of Christ. Hadrian had no special hostility to

Jew from entering the new city on pain of death, or approaching its environs, so as to contemplate even at a distance its sacred height.¹ More effectually to keep them away, the image of a swine was placed over the gate leading to Bethlehem. The more peaceful Christians were permitted to establish themselves within the walls, and Ælia became the seat of a flourishing church and bishopric.

the Christians. I am glad to find myself in perfect agreement with Bishop Münter: "Er (Hadrianus) war übrigens kein Feind und Verfolger der Christen;" p. 92. Münter suggests that the Apologies of Quadratus and Aristides, presented by them to Hadrian at Athens, were intended to aid him in discriminating between Christians and Jews. I cannot lay great stress on Moses of Chorene, who not merely represents Hadrian as not unfriendly but as settling the Christians in his new city: "Atque ipse Hierosolimam a Vespasiano, Tito, et ab se devastatam instauravit, et ab nomine suo Æliam nominavit, cum ipse Adrianus Sol esset appellatus, atque ibi Ethnicos locavit et Christianos, quorum Episcopus erat Marcus." Mos. Chor. Hist. c. 57. Jost dates from the war of Bar-cochab the distinction drawn by the Romans between the Jews and Christians: "Die erste bedeutende Trennung beider zeigte sich in dem letzten Kriege unter Bar-cochba, der gegen die Christen Gewalt brauchte;" iv. p. 13.

¹ This prohibition is mentioned by many writers. Justin Martyr, *Apolog.*; Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 16; Dem. *Ev.* viii. 18; Tertullian, in *Jud.* xv.; Sulpic. Sever. ii. 45, cited at full length, in Heinichen's note on *H. F.* i. p. 298 *Talmud. Bab. Taan.* p. 14; *Mischna*, cited by Jost, 258.

BOOK XIX.

THE PATRIARCH OF THE WEST, AND THE PRINCE OF THE CAPTIVITY.

Reëstablishment of the Community — Patriarch of Tiberias — His Power and Dominions — Jews in Egypt — Asia Minor — Greece — Italy — Spain — Gaul — Germany — Origin and Nature of the Rabbinical Authority — The Worship of the Synagogue — Early History of the Patriarchate — Civil Contests — Contests with the Babylonian Jews — Relation with Rome — The Prince of the Captivity — Jews in China.

FOR the fourth time the Jewish people seemed on the brink of extermination. Nebuchadnezzar, Antiochus, Titus, Hadrian, had successively exerted their utmost power to extinguish, not merely the political existence of the state, but even the separate being of the people. Hadrian's edict had interdicted circumcision, keeping the Sabbath, instruction in the Law, — all the outward acts and usages of the race. These offences were to be punished at the will of the prefect with fine, even with death.¹ It might have appeared impossible that anything like a community should again revive within Palestine; still more so, that the multitudes of Jews scattered over the whole face of the world should maintain any correspondence or intelligence, continue a distinct and unmingled race, or resist the process of absorption into the general population, the usual fate of small bodies of strangers settled in remote and unconnected regions. In less than sixty years after the war under Hadrian, before the close of

¹ Jost quotes *Die Hadrians Verfolgung*, in Frankel's "Monatschrift," 1852, p. 80.

the second century after Christ, the Jews present the extraordinary spectacle of two regular and organized communities: one under a sort of spiritual head, the Patriarch of Tiberias, comprehending all of Israelitish descent who inhabited the Roman empire; the other under the Prince of the Captivity, to whom all the eastern Jews paid their allegiance. Gibbon has briefly stated the growth of the former of these principalities with his usual general accuracy, as regards facts, though the relation is colored by his sarcastic tone, in which the bitter antipathy of his school to the Jewish race is strongly marked. "Notwithstanding these repeated provocations, the resentment of the Roman princes expired after the victory; nor were their apprehensions continued beyond the period of war and danger. By the general indulgence of polytheism, and by the mild temper of Antoninus Pius, the Jews were restored to their ancient privileges, and once more obtained the permission of circumcising their children, with the easy restraint that they should never confer on any foreign proselyte that distinguishing mark of the Hebrew race. The numerous remains of that people, though they were still excluded from the precincts of Jerusalem, were permitted to form and to maintain considerable establishments both in Italy and in the provinces, to acquire the freedom of Rome, to enjoy municipal honors, and to obtain at the same time an exemption from the burdensome and expensive offices of society. The moderation or the contempt of the Romans gave a legal sanction to the form of ecclesiastical police which was instituted by the vanquished sect. The patriarch, who had fixed his residence at Tiberias, was empowered to appoint his subordinate ministers and apostles, to exercise a domestic jurisdiction, and to

receive from his despised brethren an annual contribution. New synagogues were frequently erected in the principal cities of the empire; and the sabbaths, the fasts, and the festivals, which were either commanded by the Mosaic Law, or enjoined by the traditions of the Rabbins, were celebrated in the most solemn and public manner. Such gentle treatment insensibly assuaged the stern temper of the Jews. Awakened from their dream of prophecy and conquest, they assumed the behavior of peaceable and industrious subjects. Their irreconcilable hatred of mankind, instead of flaming out in acts of blood and violence, evaporated in less dangerous gratifications. They embraced every opportunity of overreaching the idolaters in trade;¹ and they pronounced secret and ambiguous imprecations against the haughty kingdom of Edom."²

¹ Jost, *Geschichte*, iv. 7, traces, of course in a more friendly tone, the growth of this love of wealth, the natural result of the commercial spirit.

² According to the false Josephus, Tsepho, the grandson of Esau, conducted into Italy the army of Æneas, King of Carthage. Another colony of Idumæans, flying from the sword of David, took refuge in the dominions of Romulus. For these, or for other reasons of equal weight, the name of Edom was applied by the Jews to the Roman empire. — Gibbon's Note. The false Josephus is a romancer of very modern date, though some of these legends are possibly more ancient. It may be worth considering whether many of the stories in the Talmud are not history, in a figurative disguise, adopted from prudence. The Jews might dare to say many things of Rome, under the significant appellation of Edom, which they feared to utter publicly. Later and more ignorant ages took literally, and, perhaps, embellished, what was intelligible among the generation to which it was addressed. Rabbi Jehuda the Holy prophesied that the destroyers of the second Temple should be conquered by the Persians. He grounded this on Jer. xl. 20: "Therefore hear the counsel of the Lord that he hath taken against Edom." Jost, iv. 129. See a curious passage (Eisenmenger, i. 237) from Aben-Ezra on Isaiah lxiii. 1; also, ii. 69, a passage predicting the destruction of Rome by the Israelites, manifestly Post-Mohammedan: "In Talmud namque in locis innumeris quandoque Esau, quandoque Edom, quandoque Seir, quandoque etiam filii Esau vel Edom, vocati sunt Romani, et Roma mons Seir, atque mons Esau." R. Martin, *Pugio Fidei*, p. 319. See quotations. Basnage has much, too much, of this Idumæan descent of the Romans, from Abarbabel and other late writers, lvii., cviii.

Unfortunately it is among the most difficult parts of Jewish history to trace the growth of the patriarchal authority established in Tiberias, and its recognition by the whole scattered body of the nation, who, with disinterested zeal, and I do not scruple to add, a noble attachment to the race of Israel, became voluntary subjects and tributaries to their spiritual sovereign, and united with one mind and one heart to establish their community on a settled basis. It is a singular spectacle to behold a nation dispersed in every region of the world, without a murmur or repugnance, submitting to the regulations, and taxing themselves to support the greatness, of a supremacy which rested solely on public opinion, and had no temporal power whatever to enforce its decrees. It was not long before the Rabbins, who had been hunted down with unrelenting cruelty, began to creep forth from their places of concealment. The death of Hadrian, in a few years after the termination of the war, and the accession of the mild Antoninus,¹ gave them courage, not merely to make their public appearance, but openly to reestablish their schools and synagogues. The school of Jamnia,² called the Vineyard, because the scholars stood in regular rows, was reopened, and the Jewish youth crowded to the feet of their acknowledged teachers.³ Of the Rabbins who were considered legitimate members of the great Sanhedrin, there escaped the storm, Simon the son of Gamaliel, who had an hereditary title to the

¹ Basnage has heaped together all the romances about the connection of the elder Antoninus with the Jews, invented by later writers. He had been nursed on Jewish milk, circumcised himself, was a pupil of Rabbi Jehuda the Holy (lib. viii. 1). They were not worth refutation.

² Lightfoot, *Academix Jafnensis Historix Fragmenta*, and Jost, *Geschichte*, iv. 29. This school seems to have removed to Ussa, or Ascha, the site of which is unknown.

³ Jost, *Geschichte*, iv. 25, from Sanhedrin, 14.

presidency (he is said to have been the only young scholar who escaped the wreck of Bithur): five who had been named by Judah the son of Bavah, Judah the son of Ilai, Simon the son of Jochai, R. Jose,¹ R. Elasar, R. Nehemiah, and lastly, R. Meir.² The first pious care of the Rabbins was to obtain permission to perform funeral rites for their brethren; this indulgence was long celebrated by a thanksgiving in their daily prayers; their next was to obtain an abrogation of the persecuting edicts.³ For this purpose Simon Ben Jochai and a youth of great promise were sent to Rome. This journey is adorned with the customary fables. They obtained the favor of the Emperor by a miraculous cure of his sick daughter. It is certain, however, that Antoninus issued an edict which permitted the Jews to perform the rite of circumcision;⁴ but, as though he apprehended that the religion of this despised people might still make proselytes, they were forbidden to initiate strangers into the family of Israel.⁵

¹ The Talmud describes these teachers as Jose B. Halepha, the deep thinker; Judah B. Ilai, the holy; Meir, the judicious; Simon ben Jochai, the cabalist; Simeon ben Gamaliel, the Nasi. Jost, *Geschichte*, iv. p. 32. In his later work, *Judenthum*, ii. 87 *et seq.*, Jost is not much more full on their specific characters and sayings, though he adduces other instances of their learning and wisdom.

² Of R. Meir it is reported in the Talmud that he was not of Jewish descent, but sprung from the Impostor who set himself up for Nero (after the death of that Emperor) in the East. He was a scholar of Akiba.

³ Jost, *Geschichte*, iv. 44.

⁴ Digest. xlviii. viii. 11: "Circumcidere Judæis filios suos tantum, rescripto Divi Antonini permittitur, in non ejusdem religionis qui hoc fecerit, castrantis pœna irrogatur." A law of this period was necessary to prohibit Jews from making and circumcising converts. "Cives Romani, qui se Judaico ritu vel servos suos circumcidi patiuntur, bonis ademptis in insulam perpetuo relegantur; *medici capite puniantur.*"

"Judæi si alienæ nationis comparatos servos circumciderint, aut deportantur aut capite puniuntur." Jul. Paulus, *Rec. Sent.* v. 22, *De Seditiosis*.

⁵ Perhaps the confusion between the Jews and Christians, whose rapid

Still it should seem that in Palestine they were watched with jealous vigilance.¹ A story is related of the fall of the school in Jamnia (Jabne), which shows as well the unruly spirit of the Jews as the rigorous police of the Romans. Simon Ben Jochai, who appears to have been by no means a safe person to be intrusted with a mission to Rome, makes a prominent figure in the narrative.² During a public debate, at which R. Jehuda, R. Jose, and R. Simon Ben Jochai, were present, the topic of discussion was the national character of their Roman masters. The cautious Jehuda turned the dangerous subject to their praise, on those points on which a Jew might conscientiously admire his oppressors. "How splendid," he exclaimed, "are the public works of this people! In every city they have built spacious market-places for the public use, for the commerce and for the amusement of the inhabitants. They throw noble bridges over rivers, and thus unite separate provinces, and facilitate the mutual intercourse of distant regions. How beautiful are their baths, which contribute as much to the health as to the enjoyment of the people!" Thus spoke R. Jehuda, the president. The fiery Simon Ben Jochai sprang up, and cried aloud, "Why this adulatory encomium on heathens? For what purpose are all these works erected, but to gratify

progress excited great alarm, might be the real cause of this limitation; or it might be aimed at the Judaizing Christians, who insisted on circumcising their new converts; though, after all, it is by no means improbable that Judaism still made proselytes from the heathen.

¹ It is impossible to date the vague sentence in Capitolinus, who, among the victories of Antoninus Pius, writes, "*Judæos rebellantes contudit per præsides et legatos.*" H. A. S. p. 133. Vit. Anton.

² Jost, in his *Judenthum*, places this embassy under the reign of M. Aurelius. But compare the Anhang (Israeliter), iv. 226. A Christian bishop is a rival for the cure, by dispossession, of the Princess Lucilla. According to Baronius, *sub ann.* 163, Lucilla was the daughter of M. Aurelius

their own rapacity and to facilitate their exactions? Why do they build spacious market-places, but for the assembling together of harlots to gratify their licentiousness? Their baths are erected only for their own sensual delights; their bridges, that their collectors of tribute may pass from land to land. *We* occupy ourselves in Divine lore; *we* study eternal and disregard temporal advantages.”¹

The consequence of this imprudent speech was a formal accusation before the authorities. Simon was adjudged to have forfeited his life. R. Jose, because he had maintained a suspicious silence, was banished. R. Jehuda alone obtained a general license to teach. Simon fled, but the school was suppressed. Another proof of the perpetual apprehension of insurrection is thus related:—The trumpet-blast, which was sounded at the commencement of the month Tisri, awakened the suspicion of a governor, ignorant of Hebrew customs: it was reported to be a signal for general revolt. The governor was appeased by a prudent arrangement of Simon, the son of Gamaliel,² who ordered that the trumpet should sound, not at the commencement, only

¹ This remarkable story from the Talmudic Treatise Schabbath, cited by Jost, is curious on account of the boldness of what the Jews said, and not less from their prudential silence. They cannot have been ignorant of the magnificent heathen temples which were erected or restored, if not in Palestine, all around it, during the reigns of the Antonines. To this the costliness and splendor, as well as the noble, if debased, architecture, still bear witness. To that time belong, as well as many temples in Egypt, the temples of Baalbec, probably of Palmyra, of Petra, Gerasa, and those other cities beyond the Jordan visited by Mr. Cyril Graham. On this remarkable subject the history of the Antonines (in truth almost a total blank) gives no information, and it has not been worked out with sufficient accuracy by architects, the masters in the history of their art, from the buildings themselves. Capitolinus, after reciting the magnificent buildings of Antoninus at Rome, adds, “*Multas etiam civitates adjuvit pecuniâ, et opera vel nova facerent, vel vetera restituerent.*” In Antonin.

² Jost, iv. 52.

in the middle of the prayers, thus clearly forming part of the service.

Nor was the reign of the philosophic M. Aurelius without danger to, perhaps not without well-grounded suspicion of, the Jews. The victories of Avidius Cassius over Vologeses, king of Parthia, and the capture of Ctesiphon, after a long siege, brought the Mesopotamian Jews once more under the dominion of Rome. Seleucia, in which there were many Jews, capitulated; but, in violation of the terms, four or five thousand were put to the sword. Cassius assumed the purple in Syria; the Jews are supposed to have joined his standard, for Marcus Aurelius, though he displayed his characteristic lenity towards the Roman insurgents, punished the intractable Jews with the repeal of the favorable laws of Antoninus Pius. Their conduct seems to have ruffled the temper of the philosophic emperor, who declared that they were more unruly than the wild Sauromatæ and Marcomanni, against whom he was engaged in war.¹

Yet these severe laws were either speedily annulled, or never carried into execution. The Rabbinical dominion gradually rose to greater power; the schools flourished; perhaps in this interval the great Synagogue or Sanhedrin had its other migrations, from Osha to Shepharaam, from Shepharaam to Bethshaaraim, from Bethshaaraim to Sepphoris, and finally to Tiberias, where it fixed its pontifical throne, and maintained its supremacy for several centuries. Tiberias, it may be remembered, was a town built by Herod Antipas, over

¹ "Ille (M. Aurelius), cum Palæstinam transiret *fœtentium* Judæorum et tumultuantium tædio percitus dolenter dicitur exclamasse, O Marcomanni! O Quadi! O Sauromatæ! tandem alios vobis inquietiores inveni?" Ammian. Marcell. xxii. 5. Inquietiores must be the right reading, not inertiores. The "*fœtentium*" is rather of the time of Ammianus than of M. Aurelius.

an ancient cemetery, and therefore abominated by the more scrupulous Jews, as a dwelling of uncleanness. But the Rabbins soon obviated this objection. Simon Ben Jochai,¹ by his cabalistic art, discovered the exact spot where the burial-place had been; this was marked off, and the rest of the city declared, on the same unerring authority, to be clean. Here, then, in this noble city, on the shore of the sea of Galilee, the Jewish pontiff fixed his throne; the Sanhedrin, if it had not, as the Jews pretend, existed during all the reverses of the nation, was formally reëstablished. Simon, the son and heir of Gamaliel, was acknowledged as the Patriarch of the Jews, and Nasi or President of the Sanhedrin. R. Nathan was the Ab-beth-din; and the celebrated R. Meir, the Hachim, or Head of the Law. In every région of the West, in every province of the Roman empire, the Jews of all ranks and classes submitted, with the utmost readiness, to the sway of their Spiritual Potentate. His mandates were obeyed, his legates received with honor, his supplies levied without difficulty, in Rome, in Spain, in Africa. At a somewhat later period, probably about the reign of Alexander Severus, the Christian writer, Origen, thus describes the power of the Jewish Patriarch: "Even now, when the Jews are under the dominion of Rome, and pay the didrachm, how great, by the permission of Cæsar, is the power of their Ethnarch! I myself have been a witness that it is little less than that of a king. For they secretly pass judgments according to their Law, and some are capitally condemned, not with open and acknowledged authority, but with the connivance of the Emperor. This I have learned, and am fully acquainted with, by long residence in their country."²

¹ Jost, iv. 69.

² Origenes ad Africanum, Epist. cxiv.

Here, then, it may be well to take a survey of these dominions of the Western Patriarch, to ascertain, as far as possible, the origin and condition of the different settlements of Jews in Europe, Western Asia, and Africa, the constitution of their societies, and the nature of the authority exercised by the supreme pontiff.

It will have been seen, in many incidental notices, that long before the dissolution of the Jewish state, and before the promulgation of Christianity, this people were widely dispersed over the whole face of the globe. The following passage of Philo, in his letter to Agrippa, which might be confirmed by other quotations from Josephus, describes their state in his own days (the reign of Caligula):—"Jerusalem is the city of my ancestors, the metropolis, not only of Judæa, but of many other provinces, in consequence of the colonies which it has at different times sent out into the neighboring countries, Egypt, Phœnicia, Syria, and Cœlesyria; and into more distant regions, Pamphylia, Cilicia, the greatest part of Asia Minor, as far as Bithynia, and the remotest shores of the Euxine; so also into Europe, into Thessaly, Bœotia, Macedonia, Ætolia, Attica, Argos, Corinth, and into most, and those the best, parts of the Peloponnesus: and not only are the Continents full of Jewish colonies, but the principal islands also, Eubœa, Cyprus, and Crete. I say nothing of the countries beyond the Euphrates; for all of them, except a small portion, particularly Babylon and the Satrapies of the rich adjacent districts, have many Jewish inhabitants."¹ The events of

¹ Many passages in Josephus illustrate and confirm this statement of Philo. The following, quoted from Strabo, is of perhaps higher authority than the statement of any Jew:—*καὶ τόπον οὐκ ἔστι ῥαδίως εὐρεῖν τῆς*

Jewish History in Palestine tended to increase rather than to diminish the number of those who were either dragged away as captives, or sought peace and security from the devastation of their native land in the less troubled provinces of the empire. Even where they suffered most, through their own turbulent disposition or the enmity of their neighbors, they sprang again from their undying stock, however it might be hewn by the sword or seared by the fire. Massacre seemed to have no effect in thinning their ranks, and, like their forefathers in Egypt, they still multiplied under the most cruel oppression. In Egypt and Cyrene, indeed, they had experienced the greatest losses, but on the visit of Hadrian to Alexandria, he found the city and country still swarming with Jews. The origin and history of the Egyptian, as well as of the Syrian Jews, have been already traced. The Jews of Asia Minor owed their first establishment to Antiochus the Great, who settled vast numbers in the different cities in that region. From Asia Minor they probably spread to Greece and to the Islands. The clearest notion of their numbers in all this part of the world, including Galatia, Bithynia, and Cappadocia, may be formed from the narrative of the Apostolic journeys. Whatever city Paul enters, he seems to find a synagogue and a number of his countrymen, many of whom were powerful and opulent. I need only name the cities of Ephesus, Laodicea, Pergamus, Thessalonica, Athens, and Corinth. It is probable that in Asia Minor, and in Alex-

οίκουμένης, ὃς οὐ παραδέδεκται τοῦτο τὸ φῶλον, μηδ' ἐπικρατεῖται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Strabo enlarges on their vast numbers in Egypt and Cyrene. *Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῆς οίκουμένης δῆμος, ὃ μὴ μοῖραν ὑμετέραν ἔχων* — from the speech of Agrippa, B. J. ii. 16. 4. Compare B. J. vii. 3, as to the vast numbers in Syria, especially in Antioch. Proselytes were numerous in Antioch.

andria, the later Jews first generally adopted their commercial habits; but their condition was much more secure in the former country than among the fiery inhabitants of the factious Egyptian city. Many public decrees are extant,¹ not only of the Roman authorities, particularly Julius Cæsar, which secure important privileges to the Jewish residents in Asia Minor, but likewise local ordinances of the different cities, Pergamus, Halicarnassus, Laodicea, Ephesus, and Miletus, highly favorable to these foreign denizens, and seeming to show that the two races lived together on terms of perfect amity. In some of the occurrences related in the Acts of the Apostles, the Jews, in those times, appear a considerable and influential, by no means the proscribed and odious, race which they were held to be in other quarters. The public decrees usually gave them the title of Roman citizens, a privilege to which many of the Jews (the well-known instance of St. Paul will occur to every one) had undoubtedly attained. It was their great object to obtain exemption from military service. In other times they do not seem to have objected to enroll themselves in the armies of their rulers. Some are said to have been in Alexander's army; and an improbable story is told, by a doubtful authority, Hecataeus, of their refusing, and obtaining an exemption from being employed in building an idolatrous temple in Babylon. The striking story of Mosellama is more authentic.² But most likely, having

¹ Read the elaborate dissertation of Krebs, *Decreta Romanorum pro Judæis facta*, Lipsiæ, 1768.

² While some Greek soldiers were watching with superstitious anxiety the flight of a bird, which was to be of good or evil omen, they were horror-struck to see it fall, transfixed by an arrow of their Jewish comrade. The Jew calmly answered, "How much must yonder bird have known of the secrets of futurity, which knew not how to avoid the arrow of Mosellama the Jew?"

betaken themselves to the more lucrative occupations of peace, at later periods they pleaded that it was contrary to their religion to fight, or to work, or even to march on the Sabbath, and that they could not partake of the same meat with the other soldiers; their plea seems to have been admitted. Of their wealth we have a curious evidence. Their contributions to the Temple were so ample as to excite the jealous rapacity of the Roman governor. Cicero, in a memorable oration, vindicates Flaccus for not having permitted the provinces to be drained of their wealth for such a purpose, and holds up his example to other governors, complaining that Italy itself suffered by the exportation of so much wealth.¹

The origin of the Jews in Italy, or rather in Rome, is very obscure. It is usually ascribed to the vast number of slaves brought to the capital by Pompey after his conquest of Jerusalem. These slaves were publicly sold in the markets; yet, if we are to believe Philo, they were emancipated almost without exception by their tolerant masters, who were unwilling to do violence to their religious scruples. Is it not more probable that there were some, if not many, opulent commercial Jews already in Rome, who, with their usual national spirit, purchased, to the utmost of their means, their unhappy countrymen, and enabled them to settle in freedom in the great metropolis? The passage in Cicero alluded to above, is conclusive evidence to the wealth of the Jewish community in Italy. They were among the mourners, the most sincere mourners, at the obsequies of Julius Cæsar.² They wailed for

¹ Cic. pro Flacco. Comp. ii. p. 50.

² "Præcipuè Judæi qui noctibus continuis bustum frequentârunt." Suet. Jul. c. 84.

many nights around his entombment. No doubt their letestation of Pompey, the first Roman violator of their sanctuary, would deepen their respect for his rival and conqueror. However they obtained their freedom, it is certain that a vast number of Jewish libertines or freed slaves inhabited Rome. Tacitus states their number at 4000.¹ It appears from Josephus, as we have seen, that 8000 were present when Archelaus appeared before Augustus, and a vast number poured out to welcome the false Alexander. They formed the chief population of the trans-Tiberine region.² They

¹ If credit is to be given to a reading in Valerius Maximus, as it is found in two Epitomators, Julius Paris and Januarius Nepotianus, the Jews were of much older date in Rome. The old reading was, "Idem (C. Cornelius Hispalla, prætor peregrinus) [Hispalla lived in the consulship of M. Popilius Lænas and Cn. Calpurnius, A. U. 615, B. C. 139] qui Sabazii Jovis cultu simulato mores Romanos inficere conati sunt, domos suas repetere coegit."

The Epitomators read:—

Paris.

"Idem *Judæos* qui Sabazii Jovis cultu Romanos inficere mores conati erant, repetere domos suas coegit."

Nepotianus.

"*Judæos* quoque qui Romanis tradere sacra sua conati erant, idem Hispallus urbe exterminavit, arasque privatas a publicis locis abiecit."

If this reading be genuine, we find the Jews not merely settled in Rome, but a dangerous and proselyting people, three quarters of a century before the taking of Jerusalem by Pompey. But this fact requires, in my judgment, much better authority. The age of Julius Paris is altogether uncertain; he has been placed as early as Hadrian (Kemf, Præf. p. 66). Nepotianus is not earlier than the fourth century. But both are post-Christian writers. The fact itself is sufficiently startling. And what have the Jews to do with Jupiter Sabazius — a Phrygian god? Some indeed have suggested Sabati; others D. Sabaoth. The private altars of the Jews erected in public places is a manifest absurdity. I have no hesitation in rejecting the whole as a flagrant anachronism, introduced into the text of Valerius, after the time when the Jews, either of themselves or as connected with the Christians, had become much more familiar to the general ear. See the new edition of Valerius, by Kemf, Berlin, 1834. The Epitomators were first published by Cardinal Mai.

² "Hoc quod *Transtiberinus* ambulator,
Qui pallentia sulfurata fractis
Permutat vitreis." — MART. i. 42.

This was the case in the time of Caligula: τὴν περὶ τοῦ Τιζέρεως ποταμοῦ μεγάλην τῆς Ῥώμης ὑποδοιὴν, ἣν οὐκ ἡγνόει κατεχομένην καὶ

shared (that is, the less wealthy) in the general largess of corn which was distributed among the poorer inhabitants of the city ; by a special favor of Augustus,¹ if the distribution fell on a Sabbath, their portion was reserved. They were expelled by Tiberius, and a great number drafted off as soldiers to the unwholesome island of Sardinia ;² by Caligula they were oppressed ; by Claudius once more expelled, or at least their synagogues closed on account of the feuds between the Jews and Christians.³ Yet here, as elsewhere, oppression and persecution seemed not to be the slightest check to their increase. They had a sort of council, or house of judgment, which decided all matters of dispute. To this, no doubt, either in the synagogue or law court attached to it, St. Paul expected to give an account of his conduct. The numbers of the Jews in Rome were doubtless much increased, but their respectability as well as their popularity much diminished, by the immense influx of the most destitute as well as

οίκουμένην πρὸς Ἰουδαίων. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ πλείους ἀπελευθερωθέντες αἰχμαλῶτοι γὰρ ἀχθέντες εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ὑπὸ τῶν κτησαμένων ἐλευθερώθησαν, οὐδὲν τῶν πατρίων παραχαράξαι βιάσθαι τε. Philo, Leg. ed Mangey, ii. p. 560.

It is amusing to see the malicious satisfaction with which Basnage attempts to prove against his Roman Catholic opponents that they were possessors of the Vatican.

¹ It seems to have been the amusement of the idle youth of Rome to visit the Jewish synagogue. The well-known passage in the ninth satire of Horace will occur to the classical reader. Though I have some doubts whether the Judaism of the poet's friend, Fuscus Aristius, has not been inferred on insufficient grounds.

² " Si ob gravitatem cœli interirent, vile damnum," writes the contemptuous historian.

³ " Judæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Româ expulit." Suet. Claudius.

Dion gives a milder edict. They were not expelled on account of their numbers: τοὺς δὲ Ἰουδαίους, πλεονασάντας αὐθις, ὥστε χαλεπῶς ἂν ἄνευ παραχῆς, ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄγλου σφῶν τῆς πόλεως εἰρχθῆναι, οὐκ ἐξήλασε μὲν, τῷ δὲ πατρίῳ νόμῳ καὶ βίῳ χρησαμένους ἐκέλευσε μὴ συναθροίζεσθαι. I. l. x. 6.

of the most unruly of the race, who were swept into captivity by thousands after the fall of Jerusalem. The change appears to be very marked. The language of the incidental notices which occur about the Jews in the Latin authors, after this period, seems more and more contemptuous, and implies that many of them were in the lowest state of penury, the outcasts of society. Juvenal¹ bitterly complains that the beautiful and poetic grove of Egeria was let out to mendicant hordes of Jews, who pitched their camps, like gypsies, in the open air, with a wallet and a bundle of hay for their pillow, as their only furniture. Martial² alludes to their filth, and, what is curious enough, describes them as peddlers, venders of matches, which they trafficked for broken glass.³

¹ "Nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur
Judæis, quorum cophinus fœnumque supellex." — *S.* iii. 12.

See also the passage about the Jews, xiv. 96 *et seq.*

² More fœtid

" . . . quam jejunia sabbatariorum." — iv. 6, 7.

"A matre doctus nec rogare Judæos,
Nec sulfuratæ lippus institor mercis." — xii. 57.

Compare vi. 94; vii. 30, 35, 82.

So too Statius: —

"Illic agmina confremunt Syrorum,
Hic plebs scenica, quique comminutis
Permutant vitreis gregale sulphur." — *Silvæ*, l. iv. 72.

³ Another curious illustration of the numbers of Jews in Rome is to be found in their catacombs. There can be no doubt, as observed by a late writer, Mr. Burgon, "that the motive of burying in a catacomb was in the first instance neither heathen nor Christian, but Jewish." Burgon, *Letters from Rome*, p. 130. The Jews had a religious horror of burning the dead. The catacombs, whatever their origin, would bear a strong likeness to the caves in the rocks, in which, from Abraham to the burying-place of Nicodemus, they had been wont to inter their ancestors. The chapter of Bosio (xxii.) is full on the Jewish catacomb near the Porta Portese, conveniently situated for the trans-Tiberine Jews. It is curious that another Jewish catacomb has been recently discovered at no great distance from their settlement, alluded to by Juvenal, near the fountain of Egeria. In this, all the inscriptions, I believe, as far as yet discovered, have been in Greek, except one or two Latin. Of the older Jewish inscriptions Mr. Burgon cites

Of their establishment in the other provinces in the Roman Empire, we have no certain information. In the Middle Ages the most extraordinary fables were invented concerning their first settlement in Germany, France, and Spain. Those relating to the latter country may serve as a specimen. There they claimed descent from maritime adventurers in the time of Solomon, or from a part of their race transported to that country when Nebuchadnezzar¹ conquered Spain!² Hebrew derivations were found for many of the Spanish cities, which proved, to the satisfaction even of later antiquaries,³ the early settlement of the Jews in that region; forgetting entirely the close affinity of the Phœnician and Punic dialects with the Hebrew, and the successive occupation of (at least maritime) Spain

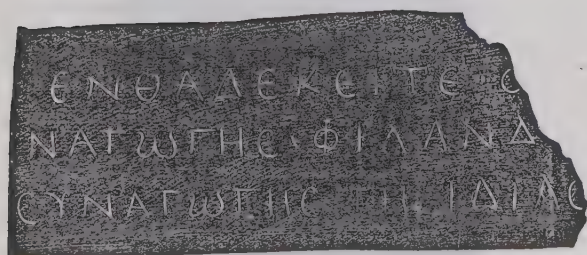
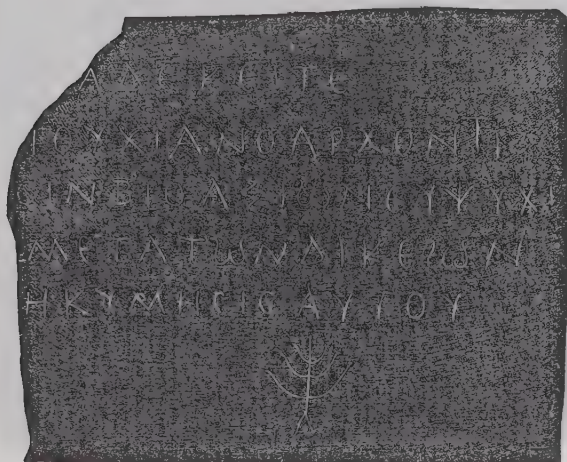
four in Greek. In Bosio may be seen the seven-branched candlestick from the catacomb near the Porta Portese. Nor is it only at Rome that Jewish catacombs have been discovered. At Venosa there have been found some very remarkable ones, with many inscriptions, twenty-four in Hebrew. They bear the seven-branched candlestick and a pigeon with an olive-branch. "The Latin and Greek inscriptions are misspelt, but the Hebrew ones are more correct; they generally consist of a prayer for the repose and blessing of the dead." Others are well known at Naples, also in other places (Lavello and Oria) in that kingdom. Murray's *Hand-Book for Southern Italy*, p. 382.

By the favor of Signore Visconti I am able to insert one or two of the inscriptions from the newly discovered catacomb, and some of the rude emblems, perpetually found in the Jewish catacombs (see next page).

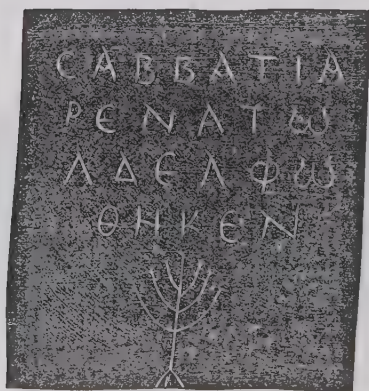
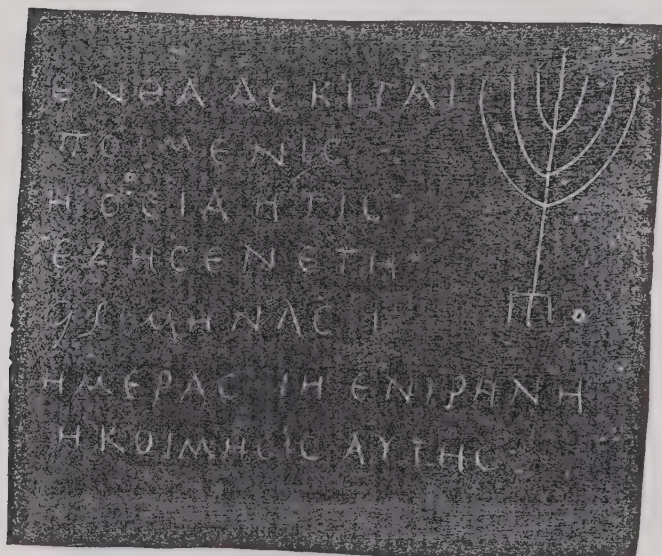
¹ In the *Études sur les Juifs d'Espagne*, (translated by J. G. Magnabal, from the Spanish of J. Amador de los Ríos, Paris, 1861,) these fables are related, and rejected as utterly unhistoric. The curious reader may find the letter said to have been written by the Head of the Synagogue at Toledo, reproving the High Priest Eleasar . . . Annas and Caiaphas with the unjustifiable death of our Saviour.

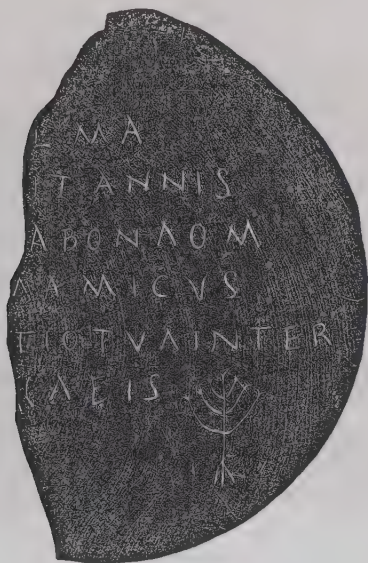
² These fables were probably invented for the purpose of exculpating themselves with the Christians, as, having long before been separated from the nation, they could not have borne any part in the guilt of the Crucifixion of Christ. When the Christians took Toledo, this plea was urged; perhaps it was invented at that time.

³ *i. e.* Escalona from Ascalon, Toledo from Toledoth, "the Generations," &c.



JEWISH INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CATACOMBS — ROME.





JEWISH INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE CATACOMBS.

¹ Later excavations have brought to light other curious circumstances concerning this Jewish catacomb. See *Cimitero degli Antiche Ebrei*, per Raffaelli Garrucci, Romæ, 1862. I. Before the entrance of the actual cemetery, there appears to have been a synagogue or proseucha (p. 5), closely resembling the mortuary chapels or places of worship of the early Christians. II. Of forty-three inscriptions, twelve only were in Latin (p. 63), thirty-one Greek, a singular illustration of the prevalence of Greek among the early Christians. But "the Latin proper names are double the number of the Greek; the Greek, again, twice as many as the Hebrew or Aramaic." Is not this easily accounted for? A large proportion of the Jews were freedmen, who, as usual, took the name of the master who had emancipated them. There is not a single Hebrew or Aramaic epitaph, but the words **שלום** and **ישראל שלום על** frequently occur (p. 26).

Moreover, if Signore Garrucci is right in his conclusions, there were seven synagogues of the Jews in different quarters of the city, each with its special name, the prototypes of the Christian tituli or parishes of Rome. Each had its archon or archontes, the archi-synagogi, or presbyters—elders (p. 53), &c.

by these kindred nations: In fact, the Jews spread with the dominion of the Roman arms, part as slaves, part as free men with commercial objects, or seeking only a safe and peaceful settlement. Some, no doubt, made their livelihood by reputable traffic or industry, and attained to opulence; others were adventurers, more unscrupulous as to the means by which they obtained their subsistence. The heathen could not but look with something of the interest excited by wonder on this strange, unsocial, and isolated people, who dwelt among them and yet were not of them. While the philosopher despised the fanaticism which he could not comprehend, the populace mingled something like awe with their dislike. The worse and more destitute of the race probably availed themselves of this feeling; many, half impostors and half enthusiasts, gained their livelihood by working on the superstitious terrors of the people, who were never more open to deception than in this age of comparative advancement. The empire swarmed with Jewish wonder-workers, mathematicians, astrologers, or whatever other name or office they assumed or received from their trembling hearers.¹

Yet, in some points, all of Hebrew blood, rich and poor, high and low, concurred, in their faithful attachment to their synagogue, their strict subordination to their religious teachers, and through their synagogue and teachers to the great spiritual head of their community, the Patriarch of Tiberias. While the Temple stood, these scattered settlements of the Jews were colonies of a nation; after its fall, they became independent communities, yet held together by their unchangeable usages, by the worship in the synagogues,

¹ "Qualiacunque voles Judæi somnia vendunt." — JUV. *vi.* 547.

by the Law and the interpreters of the Law (the Rabbins), by their schools of learning, by aversion, not without ground, for the idolatries and vices, as well as the hatred, of the heathen.¹ Wherever Jews resided,

¹ Among the tracts in the Mishna, one of the most historically curious and instructive is the *Avoda Sara* on foreign worship. It is directed exclusively against idolatry, and manifestly belongs to a period when Heathenism, not Christianity, was the enemy and antagonist of Judaism. It is the Law of a people dwelling among, and in constant intercourse with, idolaters. Three entire days before the great festivals of the heathen, and three after, it was prohibited to Israelites to have commerce, either of buying or selling, lending or borrowing with them, lest the Jew should contribute to the worship of false gods. The great festivals were the Calends, the Saturnalia, the commemoration of conquests, the days of the inauguration of the birth and of the death of the Emperor. All funeral pomp, of burning, or apotheosis, was idolatrous; where this did not take place it was not idolatrous. It was prohibited to have intercourse with the heathen on days of private worship, as when a man began to shave his beard to commemorate his escape from shipwreck or from prison. If a city celebrated a festival, the Jew might have intercourse with the heathen in the suburbs, and there only; if the suburbs, only in the city. Certain things might not be sold to idolaters, — citrons, large white and some other kinds of figs, frankincense, white fowls (if these were sold, the sellers were to cut off a claw, as the heathen would not offer mutilated victims); neither bears nor lions, nor any hurtful things, arms, or military engines, chains, or fetters. They were not to aid in building basilicas or scaffolds for execution, neither circuses nor theatres; as to baths, not the niches or shrines which contained images; neither to work ornaments for idols, such as chains, ear-rings, rings. (But R. Elieser said these might be sold, if a fair price were paid!) They might not let houses or fields to the heathen in Judæa; in Syria or elsewhere they might. No Jewish woman might remain alone with an idolater. They might buy medicines of the heathen, but not allow idolaters to mix up medicines for them. These are but a few of the subtle provisions which went into the most minute questions of food, the use of the same vessels and furniture, even of personal contact. The Jew might drink milk if he saw it drawn by a pagan (he must see it, lest the animal should be unclean). He might not sit under the shade of a tree worshipped by an idolater; trees by the public wayside did not make unclean; wood might not be used cut from a sacred tree unless the tree had been profaned. There were certain rules by which a pagan was considered to have rendered even an idol profane. If he sold or purchased it, it became profane. I conclude this brief summary of these singular provisions with this story: — The senators of Rome asked the Jews, "If God, the one true God as you assert, is not within those things which we worship as idols, why does he not utterly destroy them?" "No doubt," answered the Jews, "he would so destroy them, if they were things of which the

a synagogue might be, and usually was, formed. Every synagogue was visited in turn by the Legate of the Patriarch. These legates were called apostles. The office probably existed before the fall of Jerusalem. The apostles collected the contributions for the Temple. They had authority to regulate all differences which might arise, and to receive the revenue of the Patriarch. Every year a proclamation was made by sound of trumpet in every synagogue, commanding the payment of the tribute: its final day of settlement was on the last of May. On the return of these legates they informed the Patriarch of the state of the synagogues, assisted him as counsellors, and held a distinguished rank among the people. The early Christians accuse the Jews of having sent messengers throughout the world, for the purpose of anathematizing them in their synagogues, and uttering a solemn curse upon the name of Jesus Christ. It is by no means unlikely that these ordinary legates received instructions to warn all the faithful Israelites against this detested innovation, and to counteract by every means in their power the progress of the new religion. No doubt the rapid growth of Christianity tended to strengthen the power of the synagogue, by constantly keeping alive the vigilance, and inflaming the zeal, of the more steadfast and ardent adherents to the Law. Indeed the point which mitigates, more than any other, our compassion for the sufferings of the Jews, is the readiness with which they

world has no great need. But idolaters worship the sun, the moon, and the stars. Were it just that, on account of fools, God should make desolate the world?" They rejoined, "But why does he not destroy those things of which we make idols, which the world needs not?" The Jews answered, "The idolaters would only be confirmed in their superstition; they would say there must be divinity in those things left for our worship, all other things being destroyed."

joined the heathen in the persecution of the Christians. Too often the Jews, though themselves eating the bitter bread of slavery, and instructed in the best school for the humaner feelings, adversity, were seen rejoicing by the stake of the expiring Christian. In the beautiful description of the death of Polycarp, there is a frightful incident of the Jews shouting for the execution, and busy in keeping the wood around the body of the holy martyr.¹

The worship of the synagogue, with its appendant school or law court, where lectures were given, and knotty points of the Law debated, became the great bond of national union, and has continued, though the monarchical centre of unity in Tiberias disappeared in a few centuries, to hold together the scattered nation in the closest uniformity.² The worship of the synagogue is extremely simple.³ Wherever ten Jews were found, there a synagogue ought to be formed. The Divine Presence, the invisible Shechinal, descends not but where ten are met together; if fewer, the Divine Visitant was supposed to say, "Wherefore come I, and no one is here?" It was a custom, therefore, in some of the more numerous communities, to appoint ten "men of leisure," whose business it was to form a congregation.⁴ The buildings were plain; in their days

¹ Polycarp. Martyr. c. xii. xiii. *et seq.* There is a curious passage in the account of the martyrs of Palestine, by Eusebius, recently discovered in Syriac, and translated by Dr. Cureton. It describes the Jews of Lydda (Diospolis), when witnessing several martyrdoms of Christians, surprised to hear the Christians, being Egyptians, called by Jewish names, Elias, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Daniel. One of the martyrs prayed for the Jews and Samaritans who stood around. Cureton, pp. 37, 38.

² This is chiefly compiled from Lightfoot, Vitringa de Syn. Vet., Jost, and other authorities.

³ On the Liturgies or forms of prayer, read Jost, i. 173 *et seq.*

⁴ Such seems the simple solution of a question on which learned volumes have been written.

of freedom it was thought right that the house of prayer to God, from its situation or its form, should overtop the common dwellings of man; but in their days of humiliation, in strange countries, the lowly synagogue, the type of their condition, was content to lurk undisturbed in less conspicuous situations.¹ Even in Palestine the synagogues must have been small, for Jerusalem was said to contain 460 or 480; the foreign Jews, from the different quarters of the world, seem each to have had their separate building, where they communicated in prayer with their neighbors and kindred. Such were the synagogues of the Alexandrians, the Cyrenians, and others. Besides the regular synagogues, which were roofed, in some places they had chapels or oratories open to the air, chiefly perhaps where their worship was not so secure of protection from the authorities; these were usually in retired and picturesque situations, in groves, or on the sea-shore. In the distribution of the synagogue, some remote resemblance to the fallen Temple was kept up. The entrance was from the east: in the centre stood an elevated tribune or rostrum, in the place of the great altar, where prayer, the only permitted sacrifice, and if from an humble and contrite heart, doubtless most acceptable to their Almighty Father, was constantly offered, and the Book of the Law was read. At the west end stood a chest, in which the Book was laid up, making the place, as it were, an humble Holy of Holies, though now no longer separated by a veil, nor protected by the Cherubim and Mercy-Seat. Particular seats, usually galleries, were railed off for the women.

¹ We shall see hereafter that in their days of splendor in the Spanish peninsula, and perhaps in some other countries, they aspired to higher architectural grandeur.

The chief religious functionary in the synagogue was called the angel, or bishop. He ascended the tribune, repeated or chanted the prayers, his head during the ceremony being covered with a veil. He called the reader from his place, opened the book before him, pointed out the passage, and overlooked him that he read correctly. The readers, who were three in number on the ordinary days, seven on the morning of the Sabbath, five on festivals, were selected from the body of the people. The Law of course was read, and the prayers likewise repeated, in the Hebrew language.¹ The days of public worship in the synagogue were the Sabbath,² the second and fifth days of the week, Monday and Thursday. There was an officer in the synagogues out of Palestine, and probably even within its borders, called an interpreter, who translated the Law into the vernacular tongue, usually Greek in the first case, or Syro-Chaldaic in the latter. Besides the bishop, there were three elders, or rulers, of the synagogue, who likewise formed a court or consistory for the judgment of all offences. They had

¹ In the earlier times there can be no doubt that the version of the LXX. was read in the Greek or Hellenist synagogues (Basnage, viii. 1). But the gradual withdrawal of the Jews within themselves, the disputes with the Christians, who almost invariably cited the LXX., (read Justin Martyr against Trypho,) first limited this usage, as the Gemara states, to the five Books of the Law, afterwards proscribed it: and the old adage, "He who teaches his son Greek, is as he who eats swine-flesh," became an orthodox maxim. The Hellenists from a respectable class of brethren became an odious sect. But the later Jews were too wise rigidly to confine their prayers, however they might keep their Scriptures in their inviolable sanctity, to a learned language.

² For the thirty-nine things forbidden on the Sabbath, see Jost, *Judenthum*, i 178. They were chiefly works of husbandry, sowing, ploughing, reaping, &c.; of handicrafts, spinning, weaving, &c.; hunting, killing game, &c.; writing two letters, or effacing them to write them again; building; putting out or lighting fires. To these prohibitions the *wise* added many others: playing with nuts or almonds, climbing, riding, or whatever gave cause for forbidden work.

the power of inflicting punishment by scourging;¹ from Origen's account, the Patriarch of Tiberias had assumed the power of life and death. But the great control over the public mind lay in the awful sentence of excommunication. The anathema of the synagogue cut off the offender from the Israel of God; he became an outcast of society. The first process, usually, was the censure; the name and the offence of the delinquent were read for four succeeding Sabbaths, during which he had time to make his peace with the congregation. At the end of that period the solemn Niddui, or interdict, was pronounced with the sound of trumpets,² which for thirty days separated the criminal from the hopes and privileges of Israel. For more heinous offences, and against contumacious delinquents, the more terrific Cherem, or the still more fatal Shammata, the excommunication, was proclaimed. The Cherem inflicted civil death, but, on due repentance and reparation for the crime, the same authority which denounced, might repeal the Cherem,—the absolved offender was restored to life. But no power could cancel the irrevocable Shammata. Some indeed have doubted whether the last sentence was ever pronounced, or even was known to the Law.³ Prudence would certainly have advised the disuse of a practice which might drive the desperate offender to seek that consolation in another faith which was irrevocably

¹ The scourging with forty stripes save one was long in the power of the synagogue. "Has any Montanist," demands the orthodox writer against the Montanists, (Euseb. v. 16,) "ever been scourged or stoned in the synagogue of the Jews?" The adventurer Acosta, in the seventeenth century, describes his own scourging in Amsterdam. Bayle, Acostæ.

² Compare Vitringa on the blowing of trumpets at the time of excommunication, i. 204; on the general subject, p. 743 *et seq.*; Eisenmenger, i. 119.

³ Vitringa questions the use of the Shammata.

denied him in his own : the Church would have opened its gates to receive him who was doomed to perpetual exile from the Synagogue. The sentence of excommunication was couched in the most fearful phrases. The delinquent was excommunicated, anathematized, accursed — by the Book of the Law, by the ninety-three precepts, by the malediction of Joshua against Jericho, by that of Elisha against the children who mocked him, and so on through all the terrific threatenings of the ancient law and history. He was accursed by the mysterious names of certain spirits of deadly power. He was accursed by heaven and earth, by the Seraphim, and by the heavenly orbs. “ Let nothing good come out of him, let his end be sudden, let all creatures become his enemies, let the whirlwind crush him, the fever and every other malady and the edge of the sword smite him, let his death be unforeseen, and drive him into outer darkness.” Excommunication, as we have said, inflicted a civil death ; how far, at least in the milder form, it excluded from the synagogue, seems not quite clear. But no one, except his wife and children, might approach the moral leper, — all others must avoid him the distance of a toise. If there were a dead body in his house, no one might inter it ; if a child were born, the father must circumcise it. Public detestation was not appeased by death. No one mourned him who died excommunicated ; his coffin was stoned, and a heavy slab was placed over his remains by the hands of justice, either as a mark of infamy, or to prevent him from rising again at the last day. No doubt these spiritual terrors were often abused by the domineering Rabbi ; but it is as little to be questioned that they exercised a high moral influence. The excommunication smote the adulterer, or

the unnatural father, who, in their striking language, more cruel than the ravens, neglected the children whom God had given.

The influence of the Rabbins was not grounded on the public services of religion alone. The whole course of education was committed to their care, or at least to their superintendence.¹ In all those interesting epochs of domestic life in which the heart is most open to impressions of reverence and attachment, the Rabbi, even where the ancient Levite had no office, had made himself an indispensable part of the ceremony. When the house rejoiced in the birth of a man-child, though circumcision was not necessarily performed in the synagogue, nor was the operator usually of that order, yet ill-omened and unblest was the eighth-day feast which was not graced by the presence of a Rabbi. In marriages the Rabbi joined the hands, pledged the cup, and pronounced the seven prayers of benediction over the wedded pair. The Rabbi attended the sick man, and consoled him with the assurance of the certain resurrection of all faithful Israelites to their exclusive

¹ The following is considered the authorized course of Jewish education. As soon as the children can speak, they are taught certain religious axioms; from three or four to six or seven they learn their letters; at that age they go to school, and are taught to read the Pentateuch; at ten they commence the Mishna; at thirteen and one day they are considered responsible, and are bound to keep the 613 precepts of the Law; at fifteen they study the Gemara, *i. e.* the Talmud; at eighteen they marry; at twenty they enter into business.

"Filius quinque annorum ad Biblia. Filius decem annorum ad Mishna. Filius tredecim annorum ad præcepta. Filius quindecim annorum ad Talmud. Filius decem et octo annorum ad nuptias. Filius viginti annorum ad sectandum (divitias). Filius triginta annorum ad robur. Filius quadraginta annorum ad prudentiam. Filius quinquaginta annorum ad consilium. Filius sexaginta annorum ad senectutem. Filius septuaginta annorum ad canitiem. Filius nonaginta annorum ad foveam. Filius centum annorum (reputatus est) quasi mortuus sit, et transierit ex hoc mundo." Mishna, Capita Patrum, iv. p. 481.

Paradise, and he was present at the interment of the dead. Nor was this all : by degrees the whole life of the Jew was voluntarily enslaved to more than Brahminical or monkish minuteness of observance. Every day, and every hour of the day, and every act of every hour, had its appointed regulations, grounded on distorted texts of Scripture, or the sentences of the Wise Men, and artfully moulded up with their national reminiscences of the past or their distinctive hopes of the future, — the divine origin of the Law, the privileges of God's chosen people, the restoration to the Holy City, the coming of the Messiah. The Jew with his early prayer was to prevent the rising sun, but more blessed he who encroached upon the night to lament, before the dawn, the fate of Jerusalem.¹ His rising from his bed, his manner of putting on the different articles of dress, the disposition of his fringed tallith, his phylacteries on his head and arms, his ablutions, his meals, even the calls of nature were subjected to scrupulous rules, — both reminding him that he was of a peculiar race, and perpetually reducing him to ask the advice of the Wise Men, which alone could set at rest the trembling and scrupulous conscience. Nor was it enough that the all-seeing eye of God watched with jealous vigilance the minutest acts of His Chosen. Rabbinical authority peopled the air with spirits of beneficent or malign aspect ; the former might be revolted by the least uncleanness, the latter were ever ready to take advantage of every delinquency. The Wise Men alone were well acquainted

¹ It was ruled, and there is something deeply pathetic in the rule, "that the Jew should rise early in the morning ; his first thoughts and prayers should be on the desolation and restoration of Jerusalem. God hears the prayers of those who rise by night to weep for Jerusalem." Buxtorf, *De Synagoga*.

with the nature, the orders, the powers, or the arts of these mysterious beings ; and thus a new and unbounded field was opened for their interference. Such was the character of the Rabbinical dominion as it was gradually, though perhaps not as yet perfectly, developed. The Rabbins slowly withdrew into a spiritual order ; they stood aloof from the worldlings (the Am-haarez) ; they avoided all familiar intercourse with them, they would not degrade themselves to intermarriage with them ; they expected to be treated with reverence, would hardly return the common salutation.¹ Such (for this dominion now assumed a monarchical form) was the kingdom of the Patriarch of Tiberias, in its boundaries as extensive as that of Rome, and founded on the strongest basis, the blind and zealous attachment of its subjects.²

Before long the Sanhedrin of that city began to assume a loftier tone ; their edicts were dated as from Jerusalem, their school was called Sion.³ But into this spiritual court, as into that of more splendid and worldly sovereigns, ambition and intrigue soon found their way. The monarch could not brook any constitutional limitation to his state or authority ; the subordinate officers, the aristocracy of this singular republic, were eager to usurp the rights of the throne. The first collision was on the all-important point of etiquette. No sooner was Simon, son of Gamaliel, quietly seated in the Patriarchate, than he began to assert or enlarge his prerogative. His Ab-beth-din, R. Nathan, and his Hachim, R. Meir, enjoyed a larger share of his state than he was willing to concede. When any one of

¹ Jost, iv. 133, gives several pages of instances of their haughtiness, to which R. Jehuda was not superior.

² Jost, iv. 75.

³ Chiefly from Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliter*, with his authorities

these heads of the spiritual senate entered, the whole assembly was accustomed to rise, and to remain standing till he was seated. This equality of respect was galling to the pride of Simon ; he determined to vindicate the superior dignity of his chair, and took an opportunity of moving, in the absence of the parties concerned, that the whole assembly should rise only on the entrance of the Patriarch, on that of the Ab-beth-din two rows, on that of the Hachim only one. The next time that R. Nathan and R. Meir made their appearance, this order was observed. The degrading innovation went to their hearts. They dissembled their resentment, but entered into a secret conspiracy to dethrone or to humiliate the unconstitutional despot. "He," said R. Meir, "who cannot answer every question which relates to the Word of God, is not worthy to preside in the great Sanhedrin. Let us expose his ignorance, and so compel him to abdicate. Then you shall be Patriarch, and I your Ab-beth-din." In secret counsel they framed the most intricate and perplexing questions to confound the despot. Happily for him, their conversation was overheard by a learned and friendly member of the Sanhedrin, who began to discuss in a loud tone, so as to be heard by Simon in the neighboring chamber, the points on which it was agreed to attack and perplex the overbearing Patriarch. At the next sitting, the rebels, Nathan and Meir, advanced to the charge with their formidable host of difficulties. To their confusion, Simon, forewarned, repulsed them on all points, and unravelled, with the utmost readiness, the most intricate questions. Simon triumphed, the rebellious Ab-beth-din and Hachim were expelled from the Sanhedrin. But still they kept up the war, and daily assailed the Patriarch

with a new train of difficulties, for which they required written answers. At length the civil contest ended, through the intervention of the more moderate. The ex-Ab-beth-din and ex-Hachim were reinstated ; but, on the momentous point whether the whole Sanhedrin rose on their entrance, or only two rows, I deeply regret that I must leave the reader in the same lamentable ignorance with myself.

Not content, or rather flushed with this advance towards unlimited monarchy in his own dominions, the high-minded Simon began to meditate schemes of foreign conquest.¹ The independence or equality of the head of the Babylonian community haunted him, as that of the Patriarch of Constantinople did the early Popes ; and a cause of quarrel, curiously similar to that about the time on which Easter was to be kept, speedily arose. The schools of Babylonia and Palestine fell into an open schism concerning the calculation of the day for the Paschal feast. Simon determined to assert the superiority of the Patriarchate of Tiberias over his disobedient brethren. The scene is in the highest degree characteristic. It must, however, be premised that it is by no means certain at what time the Princes of the Captivity commenced their dynasty. In the following story, Ahia appears as the head of the community ; but probably the Prince had not yet obtained the influence, or assumed the state, which, during the first fifty years of the third century, distinguished the Jewish sovereign of the East. Hananiah, who taught at Nahar-pakod, and Judah ben Bethuriah, were the most eminent of the learned teachers in the schools of Babylon ; and to humble their pride and bring them into subordination

¹ Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliter*, iv. 59 *et seq.*, with Talmudic authorities. Compare *Judenthum*, ii. p. 168 *et seq.*

to the seat of learning in Tiberias, was the great object of the mission which was dispatched by the Patriarch. The two legates were furnished with three letters. They delivered the first to Hananiah, which bore the superscription, "To Your Holiness." Delighted with their recognition of a title considered of high importance, Hananiah courteously inquired the reason of their coming; — "To learn your system of instruction." Still more flattered, Hananiah received the ambassadors with the utmost cordiality, and commended them to the people, as worthy of every honor, both as descendants of the High Priest (for the Patriarch of Tiberias claimed his lineage from Aaron) and for their own personal merit. When the treacherous legates had secured their ground in the good opinion of the people, they began to controvert the judgments of Hananiah, to animadvert on his opinions, and to lessen him by every means in the public estimation. Hananiah, enraged at this abuse of his kindness, summoned a second assembly of the people, and denounced the legates as traitors and ignorant men. The people replied, "That which thou hast built, thou canst not so soon pull down; the hedge which thou hast planted, thou canst not pluck up without injury to thyself." Hananiah demanded their objections to his system of instruction. They answered, "Thou hast dared to fix intercalations and new moons, by which great inconformities have arisen between the brethren in Babylonia and Palestine." "So did Rabbi Akiba," said Hananiah, "when in Babylon." "Akiba," they rejoined, "left not his like in Palestine." "Neither," cried the desperate Rabbi, "have I left my equal in Palestine." The legates produced their second letter, which ran in these mysterious words: "That which thou leftest a kid, is grown up a strong-horned

goat ; ” — it meant that the Sanhedrin, which he left without power, had regained all its authority. Hananiah was struck dumb. R. Isaac, one of the deputies, saw his time ; he mounted the tribune, from which the Law was usually read. “ These,” he said, naming them, “ are the holy days of God — these the holy days of Hananiah ! ” An indistinct murmur ran through the synagogue. R. Nathan, the second deputy, arose and read the verse of Isaiah, “ Out of Sion goeth forth the Law, and the Word of God from Jerusalem.” Then, with a bitter intonation, “ Out of Babylon goeth forth the Law, the Word of God from Nahar-pakod ! ” The assembly was in an uproar. “ Alter not the Word of God,” was the universal cry. The legates followed up their advantage and produced their third letter, which threatened excommunication against the factious opponents of their authority. They added these emphatic words : — “ The *learned* have sent us, and commanded us thus to say : ‘ If he will submit, well ; if not, utter at once the interdict. So likewise set the choice before our brethren in foreign parts. If they will stand by us, well ; if not, let them ascend their high places ; let Ahia build them an altar, and Hananiah [he was of Levitical descent] sing at the sacrifice ; and let them at once set themselves apart and say, We have no portion in the Israel of God.’ ” From all sides an instantaneous cry arose, “ Heaven preserve us from heresy ! We have still a portion in the Israel of God.” The authority of the Sanhedrin in Tiberias was universally recognized. Judah ben Bethuriah, as well as Hananiah, was forced to bow to the yoke ; and till the political separation of the Babylonian from the Western Jews, on the restoration of the Persian monarchy (for the province had

now been again brought under the Roman dominion by the conquests of Verus), the Patriarch of Tiberias maintained his uncontested supremacy over the whole Jewish commonalty. In the preceding history, both in the object and the manner in which it was conducted, we are almost tempted to inquire whether it is not a scene borrowed from the annals of the Papal Church.

But before we describe the reestablishment of the Resch-Glutha, or Prince of the Captivity, in all the state and splendor of an Oriental sovereign, far outshining, at least in pomp, his rival-sovereign in Tiberias, we return to the West to trace the history of the Palestinian Jews, as connected with that of their Roman masters.¹ During all the later conflicts with Rome, the Samaritans had escaped by quiet submission the miseries which had so perpetually fallen on their more unruly brethren; they had obtained the rights of Roman citizenship for their fidelity. During the first establishment of the Rabbinical dominion at Tiberias, its chiefs had displayed an unprecedented degree of liberality towards their once detested neighbors. Though they sarcastically denominated them "the proselytes of the lions," yet they would inhabit the same city, sleep in the same house, eat at the same table, and even partake of animals which they had killed. This unusual mildness rested on the authority of R. Akiba, and seems to strengthen the suspicion that it was grounded on policy, and that the enterprising Rabbi had laid a deliberate scheme of uniting in one league all who claimed Jewish descent. But this amity between the two hostile sects was but transient. One Rabbi declared it was better to use water for an offering than Samaritan wine. Another, in their own city,

¹ Jost, iv. p. 79 *et seq.*

openly accused them of worshipping idols on Gerizim ; he hardly escaped with his life. Political circumstances increased the jealousies, which at last broke out into open hostilities ; and opportunities occurred in which they might commit mutual acts of violence, without the interference of the ruling powers.

In one of the great contests for the empire, they espoused opposite parties. The Samaritans, unfortunately for themselves, were on the losing side. Pescennius Niger had assumed the purple in Syria. The Jews presented a petition for the reduction of their taxation. "Ye demand," said the stern Roman, "exemption from tribute for your soil, — I will lay it on the air you breathe."¹ The Samaritans took up arms for Niger, the Jews threw themselves into the party of Severus. That able general soon triumphed over all opposition, and severely punished the partisans of his rival : the Samaritans forfeited their privilege of Roman citizenship. The presence of the Emperor overawed the conflicting factions, though Severus himself was in great danger from a daring robber of the country, named Claudius, who boldly rode into his camp, saluted and embraced him, and, before orders could be given for his seizure, had escaped.² Severus celebrated a Jewish triumph, probably on account of the general pacification of the province. His laws were favorable to the Jews. The edict of Antoninus was reënacted, though still with its limitation against circumcising proselytes.³ The Jews were permitted to undertake the tutelage of pagans, which shows that they had still the privileges of Roman citizenship, and

¹ Spartian, Pescennius Niger, H. A. S., p. 377; Eusebii Chronicon ccii.

² Spartiani d. Severus.

³ "Judæos fieri vetuit."

they were exempt from burdens incompatible with their religion. Still they were interdicted from approaching the walls of the Holy City, and their general condition is thus described by Tertullian, who wrote during the reign of Severus:—"Dispersed and vagabond, exiled from their native soil and air, they wander over the face of the earth, without a king, either human or divine; and even as strangers they are not permitted to salute with their footsteps their native land."¹

The Jews and Christians contest the honor of having furnished a nurse to the fratricide son of Severus, Caracalla.² If this tyrant indeed sucked the milk of Christian gentleness, his savage disposition turned it to gall.³ According to the Rabbinical legends, he was so attached to his Jewish playmates, as to have shed tears when one of them was whipped by order of the Emperor. Indeed, for several reigns Judaism might

¹ Tertullian, *Apologet.* xxii. Tertullian, it must be remembered, writes as an orator, not as a historian.

² Jost, in his *Geschichte der Israeliten seit der Zeit der Maccabäer*, conceives that the strange stories in the Jewish writers, about the intercourse between one of the Antonines (most assert the first, the Pious) and the head of the Sanhedrin of Tiberias, and his secret Judaism, are grounded on this tale of Caracalla. I take the opportunity of expressing my obligation to this work, which has been of the greatest use in the composition of this last volume of my History. I differ from Jost, who is a pupil of Eichhorn, on many points, particularly on the composition of the older Scriptures, but I gladly bear testimony to the high value of his work, which, both in depth of research and arrangement, is far superior to the desultory, and by no means trustworthy, volumes of Basnage. (*Note in former editions.*) The later book of Jost (*Geschichte des Judenthums*) is the more mature work of an indefatigable and eminently fair writer. Of course, as a Jew, he presents the doctrines and usages of his race in a favorable light, but he always fully deserves a respectful and candid hearing.

³ The Jews confounded the best and first with the last and worst of the Antonines. Lightfoot and Selden were misled by David Ganz. The chronology makes any intercourse between Antoninus Pius and Jehuda the Holy impossible. See also Basnage, who gives, as said above, all the stories about Antoninus Pius, viii. p. 3.

boast its influence on the Imperial throne. Among the strange medley of foreign superstitions with which the filthy Heliogabalus offended even the easy and tolerant religion of his Roman subjects, he adopted the Jewish usages of circumcision and abstinence from swine's flesh.¹ And in the reign of the good Alexander Severus, that beautiful oasis in the desert of this period of the Imperial history, the Jews enjoyed the equal protection and the favor of the virtuous sovereign. Abraham, as well as Christ, had his place in the Emperor's gallery of divinities, or men worthy of divine honors. Alexander was even called the Father of the Synagogœ.²

In the mean time the Patriarchal throne had been ascended by the most celebrated of the Rabbinical sovereigns. Jehuda, sometimes called the Nasi or Patriarch, sometimes the Holy, sometimes emphatically the Rabbi, succeeded his father, Simon, son of Gamaliel. Jehuda is said to have been born on the day on which R. Akiba died: an event predicted, according to his admirers, in the verse of Solomon, — "*One sun ariseth, and one sun goeth down.*" Akiba was the setting, Jehuda the dawning sun. He was secretly circumcised, in defiance of the law of Hadrian. His whole life was of the most spotless purity; hence he was called the Holy, or the Holiest of the Holy. R. Jehuda was the author of a new constitution to the Jewish people. He embodied in the celebrated Mischna, or Code of Traditional Law, all the authorized interpretations of the Mosaic Law, the traditions, the decisions

¹ Dion Cassius, lxxix. 11.

"Dicebat præterea Judæorum et Samaritanorum religiones, et Christianam devotionem illuc transferendam, ut omnium culturarum secretum Heliogabali sacerdotium teneret." Lamprid. Heliogab., H. A. S., p. 462.

² Lamprid. Alexander Severus, H. A. S., p. 540.

of the learned, and the precedents of the Courts or Schools.¹ It is singular that this period is distinguished by the labors of the great Roman lawyers in the formation of a Code of Jurisprudence for the whole empire. It might seem as if the Jews, constituting thus as it were an *imperium in imperio*, a state within a state, were ambitious of providing themselves with their own Pandects, either in emulation of their masters, or lest their subjects might discover the superior advantage of a written code over the arbitrary decisions of the Rabbinical interpreters of their original polity.² The sources from which the Mischna was derived may give a fair view of the nature of the Rabbinical authority, and the manner in which it had superseded the original Mosaic Constitution. The Mischna was grounded, 1. On the Written Law of Moses. 2. On the Oral Law, received by Moses on Mount Sinai, and handed down, it was said, by uninterrupted tradition. 3. The decisions or maxims of the Wise Men.³ 4. Opinions of

1 "From Moses, our Teacher, to our Holy Rabbi, no one had united in a single body of doctrine what was publicly taught as the Oral Law; but in each generation the Prince of the Sanhedrin, or the Prophet of his day, notes down in writing for his own use, and as an aid to his memory, the traditions which he had heard from his teachers; but in public he taught them only orally. In the same manner each transcribed that which best pleased him in the Commentaries and Expositions of the Law. As for those points on which changes took place as regards the judicial forms, they were derived rather from reason than tradition, and depended on the authority of the great Consistory. Such was the form of proceeding until our Rabbi the Holy (Jehuda), who first collected all the traditions, the judgments, the sentences, the expositions of the Law, heard by Moses our Master, and taught in each generation." Moses Maimonides, Preface to Mischna. The Mischna is derived from the Hebrew מִשְׁנָה, the repetition; in Greek, δευτέρωσις.

2 The Mischna was accepted in Babylonia as of equal authority with that which it had acquired in Palestine. It is the foundation of the Babylonian as of the Jerusalem Talmud.

3 Jost acknowledges that, excepting a few sayings ascribed to the pre-Asmonean times, there is nothing older in the Mischna than the age of

particular individuals, on which the schools were divided, and which still remained open. 5. Ancient usages and customs. The distribution of the Mischna affords a curious exemplification of the intimate manner in which the religious and civil duties of the Jews were interwoven, and of the authority assumed by the Law over every transaction of life.¹ The Mischna commenced with rules for prayer, thanksgiving, ablutions; it is impossible to conceive the minuteness or subtlety of these rules, and the fine distinctions drawn by the Rabbins. It was a question whether a man who ate figs, grapes, and pomegranates, was to say one or three graces (p. 23). The schools of Shammai and Hillel differed on the points, whether the believer having washed his hands, he should put the napkin on the table or on a cushion; whether he should sweep the house and then wash his hands, or wash his hands and then sweep the house (29). But there are nobler words. "These are the things of which man has the usufruct in this life, the reward in the life to come: honor rendered to father and mother; beneficence; the propagation of peace among men. But the doctrine of the Law is like all these." Against the tithing of "mint, anise, and cummin," may be set the rigid and generous provisions by which the corner of the field is set apart for the poor (De Angulo). There is a whole book (De Heterogeneis) as to what things may be sown together, or mingled together, and what

Hierod: "Die in diesem Werk niedergelegten Lehrsätze reichen nicht über das Herodaische Zeitalter hinaus, einige wenige Sätze ausgenommen, die den vor-Herodaischen Lehrern zugeschrieben werden;" iv. 105.

¹ The Mischna was published by Surenhusius (Amsterdam, 1698), in excellent print and with acknowledged accuracy. It contains the Mischna, with the commentaries of Bartenora and Moses Maimonides, and notes by Guisius, Surenhusius himself, and other modern Hebraists.

may not ; the strictest rules about the divisions in fields and gardens ; the most ordinary, and what might seem the most unimportant, questions of cultivation are subject to the severest regulations, and are controverted between the schools. There is one on the Sabbatarian year, as if still rigidly observed by the cultivators of the soil, which it presumes that the Jews will forever continue to be. The second book, which treats on the Sabbath, the festivals, and fasts, displays the whole religious life of the Jew. On the Sabbath, of course, there are the most precise and rigorous definitions of the innocence and guilt of every act, almost of every thought. This is characteristic of the tenet and of the people. If on the Sabbath one extinguishes a light from fear of the Gentiles, or of robbers, or on account of an evil spirit, or on account of a rich man who is asleep, he is guiltless ; if he does it to save his oil or his candle, he is guilty (i. p. 13). Throughout, as in all priest-ridden races (for the Rabbins were essentially a priesthood), there was the same strange admixture of the loftiest piety with the lowest superstition ; there are solemn and imposing rites preserving the sacred memory of the wonderful events in their history, hedged round with the most puerile and servile provisions. The history of the Mosaic Law, intricate enough, as perhaps was necessary to keep asunder a half-barbarous people, is woven into an inextricable net-work of decrees, which left nothing to the free and enlightened conscience, and therefore nothing ennobling or praiseworthy in man. God, from a wise taskmaster, sank to a petty tyrant. In the third book are the rules on marriage and divorce, on the charge of idolatry, on vows and Nazaritism. The Levirate law is treated as of perpetual obligation ; the learned, how-

ever, seem to have been disposed to mitigate its force, and to multiply the causes which justified either party in eluding it. The *Mischna* fully admits polygamy. If a man leaves many wives, the Law determines that one only can claim the Levirate right.¹ The first of two wives takes precedence, and her children inherit. Yet these are rare instances, and the impression of the whole book is that the usage of the Jews was monogamy. The fourth book treats, I. of Injuries. It is remarkable that the injuries or damages are almost exclusively those of an agricultural people; their chief causes are: *a*, wells, as, if left open, dangerous to life or limb; *b*, the ox, as goring or hurting man or beast; *c*, trespass of men or cattle (*De Pascuis*); *d*, fire, as consuming standing crops. II. The Treatise *Sanhedrin* is full of historical matter on the origin and power of those courts. Smaller crimes were adjudged by three, the greater by twenty-three, the greatest by the whole seventy-one. Every Israelite has a portion in the world to come, except those who deny the resurrection of the dead, and the Epicureans. Three kings and four private men have no share in eternal life: Jeroboam, Ahab, Manasseh; Balaam, Ahitophel, Doeg, Gehasi. This tract assumes the power of capital punishment. This is of four kinds: stoning, burning, slaying by the sword, strangling. There are rules for each. The other punishments in this, and in the smaller tract (*De Pœnis*), are exile, fine, flagellation. Two treatises follow, on Oaths and on Witnesses. The fifth book is on sacrifices, offerings, vows, and the measurements of the Temple. It is remarkable only

¹ "Si multas reliquerit mulieres uni ex illis tantum imponetur extractio caicei aut leviratio." This is the comment of Maimonides, fol. i. In the law of marriage, — "si quis duas duxerit uxores, et mortuus est;" 91-95.

for the elaborate minuteness of its provisions. Finally, the sixth is on the somewhat difficult subject of uncleanness and ablution ; it is rigid and particular to the utmost repulsiveness.

As the object of this great work was to fix, once for all, on undoubted authority, the whole Unwritten Law, some of the more zealous Rabbins reprobated this measure of Jehuda the Holy, as tending to supersede or invalidate their own personal power. But the multiplication of written statutes enlarges rather than contracts the province of the lawyer ; a new field was opened for ingenuity, and comment was speedily heaped upon the Mischna, till it was buried under the weight, as the Mosaic Law had been before by the Mischna. The interpreters of the Mischna assumed a particular name, the Tanaim. In fact, the acknowledgment of the Mischna as a sort of new constitution powerfully contributed to the maintenance of the Rabbinical authority after the fall of the Patriarchate and the extinction of the Schools. It threw back the Written Law into a sort of reverential and mysterious obscurity. Never was such honor paid to the Books of Moses as by the Rabbins of Tiberias, or such labor employed in their preservation : every letter was counted, every dot, every iota sanctified, as perhaps of the deepest import. But they were dark oracles, whose profound meaning could not be caught by the vulgar ear, while from the formal and as it were constitutional recognition of the Unwritten Law, as embodied in the Mischna, it became the popular and practical code until the more voluminous Talmud superseded, in its turn, the Mischna. Those ponderous tomes were at once the religious and civil institutes of the Jewish people, and swayed the Jews with an uncontested authority, in

like manner as the Acts of the Saints and the Canon-law the nations of Christian Europe.

In the mean time the rival throne in Babylonia, that of the Prince of the Captivity, was rapidly rising to the state and dignity which perhaps did not attain its perfect height till under the Persian monarchs. There seems to have been some acknowledged hereditary claim in R. Hona, who now appears as the Prince of the Captivity, as if his descent from the house of David had been recognized by the willing credulity of his brethren: at least, if any reliance is to be placed in a speech attributed to R. Jehuda, that if R. Hona were to make his appearance he should do homage to him.¹ Such submission would not, it may be thought, have been extorted from the Patriarch of Tiberias, even from the modest and humble R. Jehuda, unless general opinion had invested the rival chieftain with some peculiar sanctity. The Prince of the Captivity might recall in his splendor, particularly during his inauguration, some lofty reminiscences of the great Jewish monarchy under the ancestors from whom he claimed his descent, the holy David and the magnificent Solomon, though affectingly mingled with allusions to the present state of degradation. The ceremonial of his installation is thus described. The spiritual Heads of the people, the Masters of the learned schools, the Elders, and the people, assembled in great multitudes within a stately chamber, adorned with rich curtains, in Babylon, where, during his days of splendor, the Resch-Glutha fixed his residence. The Prince was seated on a lofty throne.

¹ Another version of this story shows the Rabbi in not so humble a light. To the wish of R. Jehuda, the learned Haja replied, "He is here." — R. Jehuda turned pale. — "His corpse is here." It might seem that the feeling that all true Jews ought to be buried in the Holy Land extended to the chiefs of Babylonia. Jost, *Judenthum*, ii. 116.

The heads of the schools of Sura and Pumbeditha were on his right hand and his left. These chiefs of the learned men, having laid their hands upon the Prince, with the sound of trumpets and other music, then delivered an address, exhorting the new monarch not to abuse his power; he was called to slavery rather than to sovereignty, for he was prince of a captive people. On the next Thursday he was inaugurated by the laying-on of hands, and the sound of trumpets, and acclamations. He was escorted to his palace with great pomp, and received magnificent presents from all his subjects. On the Sabbath all the principal people assembled before his house, he placed himself at their head, and, his face covered with a silken veil, proceeded to the synagogue.¹ Benedictions and hymns of thanksgiving announced his entrance. They then brought him the Book of the Law, out of which he read the first line; afterwards he addressed the assembly, with his eyes closed out of respect. He exhorted them to charity, and he set the example by offering liberal alms to the poor. The ceremony closed with new acclamations and prayers to God that, under the new Prince, He would be pleased to put an end to their calamities. The Prince gave his blessing to the people, and prayed for each province that it might be preserved from war and famine. He concluded his orisons in a low voice, lest his prayer should be repeated to the jealous ears of the native monarchs, for he prayed for the restoration

¹ There is a description of the installation of the Resch-Glutha in the Schevet Judah: "Die Jovis in sacram ædem frequenter conveniebant, ubi dum Academiæ rectores Principi manus suas imponerent, alii interea tubis, alii vero cornibus accinebant, cuncti autem bene ominantes festâ voce acclamabant, 'Noster vivat Princeps vigeatque æternum! Ille Princeps noster, ille exulum caput est, exulum caput est Israelitarum,' &c., &c." p.

of the kingdom of Israel, which could not rise but on the ruins of their empire. The Prince returned to his palace, where he gave a splendid banquet to the chief persons of the community. After that day he lived in a sort of stately Oriental seclusion, never quitting his palace except to go to the schools of the learned, where, as he entered, the whole assembly rose, and continued standing till he took his seat. He sometimes paid a visit to the native Sovereign in Babylon (Bagdad). This probably refers to a somewhat later period. On these great occasions his imperial host sent his own chariot for his guest; but the Prince of the Captivity dared not accept the invidious distinction; he walked in humble and submissive modesty behind the chariot. Yet his own state was by no means wanting in splendor: he was arrayed in cloth of gold; fifty guards marched before him; all the Jews, who met him on the way, paid their homage, and fell behind into his train. He was received by the eunuchs, who conducted him to the throne, while one of his officers, as he marched slowly along, distributed gold and silver on all sides. As the Prince approached the imperial throne, he prostrated himself on the ground, in token of vassalage. The eunuchs raised him and placed him on the left hand of the Sovereign. After the first salutation, the Prince represented the grievances or discussed the affairs of his people.

The Court of the Resch-Glutha is described as equally splendid; in imitation of his Persian master, he had his officers, counsellors, and cupbearers. Rabbins were appointed as satraps over the different communities. This state, it is probable, was maintained by a tribute raised from the body of the people, and substituted for that which, in ancient times, was paid for

the Temple in Jerusalem.¹ His subjects in Babylonia were many of them wealthy. They were husbandmen, shepherds, and artisans. The Babylonian garments were still famous in the West, and probably great part of that lucrative manufacture was carried on by the Jews. Asinai and Asilai, it will be recollected, were weavers. It is said, indeed, in the usual figurative style, of a Jew merchant of Babylon, that he had 1000 vessels on the sea, and 1000 cities on land. They prided themselves on their learning as well as on their wealth. Though the Palestinian Jews affected to speak with contempt of Babylonian wisdom, yet in general estimation the schools of Nahardea, Sura, and Pumbeditha might compete with Sepphoris and Tiberias.²

Whether the authority of the Prince of the Captivity extended beyond Babylonia and the adjacent districts is uncertain. The limits of Persia form an insuperable barrier to our knowledge, and almost all the rest of Asia, during this period, is covered, as it were, with impenetrable darkness. Many Jews were no doubt settled in Arabia. Mohammed found them both numerous and powerful, and a Jewish dynasty had long sat on one of the native thrones; but this subject will come under our notice when we consider the influence of the progress of Mohammedanism as connected with the History of the Jews. All other accounts of Oriental Jews, at this early period, are so obscure,³ so entirely

¹ Jost supposes that when the Jewish settlements passed under the Parthian and Persian dominion, the Jews continued to pay to their own Prince the Temple tribute, exacted from them by the Romans; iv. 267.

² Jost, both in his *Israeliter* and *Judenthum*, enlarges on the succession of famous Doctors who maintained the renown of the Babylonian Schools, their ambition to surpass the Resch-Glutha in power and influence, their internal jealousies and rivalries, and their rivalries with the Palestinian teachers. The *Mischna* was received and acknowledged as of equal authority in Nahardea and Pumbeditha as in Tiberias.

³ That there were Parthian as well as Elamite (Persian) and Mesopota-

or so nearly fabulous, that they may wisely be dismissed; but there is one curious point, which, as it seems to rest on better evidence, demands more particular notice,—the establishment of a Jewish colony in China, if not anterior, certainly immediately subsequent to the time of our Lord. This singular discovery was made known to Europe by the Jesuit missionaries, but unfortunately the Father Gozani, who had the best opportunity of obtaining accurate information both as to their history and the manuscripts of the Law which they possessed, was ignorant of the Hebrew language. It was inferred from their tradition, in my opinion somewhat hastily, that Jews had been settled in the country 249 years before the Christian Era. More authentic statements fixed their introduction into the empire towards the close of the reign of Mingti, of the dynasty of Han, who reigned from 58 to 75 A. C. They were originally 70 *sings*, or families, and settled in the cities of Nimpo, Ninghin, Hamtcheu, Peking, and Caifongfou. Only seven remained in the middle of the seventeenth century, all in the latter city, the capital of Honan. They came from Si-yu, the west country, and their Hebrew language betrayed evident signs of corruption from the introduction of Persian words. They could not have been of the earlier dispersion, for they had the Book of Ezra, and highly revered his name. They knew nothing, or at least had preserved no knowledge of Christ or his religion. They were employed in agriculture and traffic. They had cultivated learning with success, and some of them, as was attested by extant inscrip-

mian Jews, is clear from the Acts of the Apostles; the traditions of Christianity assert the early propagation of the faith in those regions, which intimates, I am inclined to think, that the Jews were numerous; but little is known which is either distinct or certain.

tions, had been highly honored with the imperial favor, and had attained the rank of Mandarins. One of these inscriptions, bearing date in 1515, praises the Jews for their integrity and fidelity, in agricultural pursuits, in traffic, in the magistracy, and in the army, and their punctual observance of their own religious ceremonies; it assures them of the Emperor's high esteem. They paid great respect to the name of Confucius, and after the Chinese customs preserved the memory of their fathers with religious reverence, on tablets inscribed with their names. In other respects they were strict Jews: they observed the Sabbath, lighting no fire, and preparing their food on the preceding day; they practised circumcision on the eighth day; they intermarried only among themselves. They believe (so writes the Jesuit) in Purgatory, Hell, Paradise, the Resurrection, and the Last Judgment; in Angels, Cherubim and Seraphim. They neither make, nor attempt to make proselytes. Their sacred edifice (a remarkable fact) resembles much more the Temple than the modern synagogue. It is situated in an open space, among pavilions or avenues of trees. It consists of a nave and two aisles; the centre is divided into a Holy Place, and a Holy of Holies, which is square without and circular within; here are deposited the Books of the Law,¹ and the sacred chamber is entered only by

¹ Notice d'un Manuscrit du Pentateuque conservé dans la Synagogue des Juifs de Cai-fong Fou. Notices et Extraits des MS. de la Bibl. du Roi vol. iv.

The learned Baron de Sacy has clearly shown that the existing copies of the sacred writings among the Chinese Jews, imperfect as they are, are not older than the year 1620 A. C. Their former sacred books had been destroyed, first by an inundation of the great Yellow River in 1446, afterwards by a fire about 1600, and lastly, those they possess were greatly damaged by a second inundation in 1642.

Compare J. de Guignes, *Mémoires de l'Académie*, t. xlviii. See also, in Trigaultii de Christianâ Expeditione apud Sinas, a curious account of

the Chief Priest. The Chief Priest is not distinguished by any splendor of apparel, only by a red belt of silk, which passes over his right and under his left shoulder. They chant the sacred Scripture and their prayers, as Father Gozani had heard the Jews in Italy. They entertain distinct though remote hopes of the coming of the Messiah.

Such, in a brief outline, is the history of one branch of this extraordinary people, thus, in the eastern as well as the western extremity of the Old World, resisting

an interview between a Chinese Jew and Father Ricci the Jesuit, p. 118. The Jew recognized the Hebrew characters in a printed Bible, but could not read them. The Jews, it was said, had ten or twelve families in Peking, with a synagogue, which they had just repaired at the cost of 10,000 pieces of gold. They had the Pentateuch wrapt up and kept with great care; they had possessed it, they said, five or six hundred years. In Hamcheu, they said, they had many more Jews, with their synagogues. In other places in China they were dying out from want of synagogues.

In a memoir of Ignatius Kugler, reprinted by De Murr (*Halæ ad Salam*), it appears that the Chinese Jews called the Pentateuch the Canonical Book; but they had Esther, as well as Ezra, and the Book of the Maccabees. They had not Job, Proverbs, Canticles, or Ecclesiastes. They were said to date from the Seleucidæ! (?)

See also an excellent memoir in Brotier's *Notes on Tacitus*.

Barrow conceived it possible that the Jews may have introduced silk into China. "Many of them, indeed, forsake the religion of their forefathers, and arrive at high employments in the State. Few among them, I understand, except the Rabbis, have any knowledge of the Hebrew language; and they have been so long intermingled with the Chinese, that the priests at the present day are said to find some difficulty in keeping up their congregations. So different are the effects produced by suffering instead of persecuting religious opinions;" p. 438. Barrow concludes, from their knowing no Jesus but the son of Sirach, that they were the followers of Alexander's army! — a curious illustration of the common fault of intelligent travellers writing about that of which they know nothing. Those Jews of whom Barrow wrote may be, for all which appears, very modern immigrants.

The best recent summary of this question with which I am acquainted is in Delitzsch (*Zur Geschichte der Jüdischen Poesie*, von Franz Delitzsch, Leipsic, 1836), especially a note (p. 59) describing the Synagogue, and a passage about their Book of Prayer. Their language is a jargon of mingled Hebrew and Chinese. See on their present low state the concluding chapter of this work.

the common laws by which nations seem to be absorbed into each other. However opposite the institutions, the usages, the manners of the people among whom they dwell, whether the government be mild or intolerant, the Jews, equally inflexible and unsocial, maintain their seclusion from the rest of mankind. The same principles operate on the banks of the Yellow River, and on those of the Tiber or the Seine. The Jew, severed for ages from all intercourse with his brethren, amid the inaccessible regions of the Celestial Empire, in most respects remains as he would have remained if he had continued to inhabit the valleys of Palestine, under the constant and immediate superintendence of the national chief of his religion, the Patriarch of Tiberias.

THE
HISTORY OF THE JEWS,

FROM THE
EARLIEST PERIOD DOWN TO MODERN TIMES.



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THE middle of the third century beheld all Israel thus incorporated into their two communities, under their Papacy and their Caliphate. The great events which succeeded during the five following centuries, to the end of the seventh or the middle of the eighth, which operated so powerfully on the destinies of the whole world, in the East as well as in the West, could not but exercise an important influence over the condition, and, in some respects, the national character of the Jews. Our History will assume, perhaps, its most intelligible form, if we depart in some degree from a dry chronological narrative, and survey it in relation to the more important of these revolutions in the history of mankind. 1st. The restoration of the Magian religion in the East, under the great Persian monarchy which arose on the ruins of the Parthian

empire. 2dly. The establishment of Christianity as the religion of the Roman empire. 3dly. The invasion of the Barbarians. 4thly. The rise and progress of Mohammedanism.

I. The first of these points we have in some degree anticipated. The Prince of the Captivity probably rose to power in the interval between the abandonment of the Mesopotamian provinces by Hadrian, about 118 A. C., and the final decay of the Parthian kingdom, about 229 A. C., when that empire, enfeebled by the conquests of Trajan, and by the assumption of independence in the Persian province, held, but with a feeble hand, the sovereignty over its frontier districts. But his more splendid state seems to have been assumed after the accession of the Persian dynasty.

The reappearance of the Magian religion as the dominant faith of the East, after having lain hid, as it were, for centuries among the mountains of Iran, is an event so singular that it has scarcely received the notice which it deserves in history. It arrested at once the progress of Christianity in the East, which was thrown back upon the western provinces of Asia and upon Europe, not without having received a strong though partial tinge from its approximation to that remarkable faith. The great Heresiarch Manes attempted to blend the two systems of belief,—an attempt the less difficult, as many among the more successful of the early heretics had already admitted into their creed the rudiments of Oriental philosophy, which formed the groundwork of Magianism. But Manes met the fate of most conciliators; he was rejected, and probably both himself and his proselytes violently persecuted by both parties.¹ In what manner the

¹ Compare Hist. of Christianity, ii. 322, &c.

sovereigns of Persia, and their triumphant priesthood, conducted themselves at first towards their Jewish subjects in Babylonia, we have little certain intelligence. Under Ardeschir, Fire Temples arose in all quarters. A new or a revived religion is never wanting in zeal, and zealous religionists are rarely tolerant. Collision was inevitable. Some stories, which bear the stamp of authenticity, appear to intimate persecution. The usage of the Jews in *burying* the dead was offensive to the Magians; and there were certain days in which no light was permitted to be burning, excepting in the Fire Temples.¹ The Jews were unwillingly constrained to pay this homage to the Guebre ceremonial.² It is said that a fire-worshipper came into a room in Pumbeditha, where Abba Bar Hona lay ill, and took away the light. R. Jehuda cried out, "Oh, merciful Father! take us under thy protection, or lead us rather into the hands of the children of Esau" (the Romans).³

But on the whole their condition must have been favorable, as the pomp of their Prince, the wealth of his subjects, and the flourishing condition of the Mesopotamian schools,⁴ are strong testimonies to the equitable and tolerant government of their Persian

¹ Jost, *Judenthum*, ii. 141. When R. Jochanan, in Tiberias, heard of the establishment of the religion of the Guebres, he fell to the earth in grief and dismay.

² Jost, *Geschichte*, iv. 308.

³ Another saying is not so intelligible; it is a Babylonian saying; "Rather under the Arabs than under the Romans, rather under the Romans than under the Guebres, rather under the Guebres than under the learned Jews (the learned were very hot-headed in those regions), rather under the learned than under widows and orphans." God severely visited any offence against widows or orphans. Jost, *Judenthum*, ii. 142.

⁴ Jost, *Geschichte*, iv. 305. See, on the schools and succession of teachers at Pumbeditha, which threw into the shade Nahardea and Sura, Jost, iv. 310 *et seq.*

rulers.¹ The Oriental cast, which many of their opinions had assumed as early as the Babylonian Captivity, and the prevalence of the cabalistic philosophy, which, in its wild genealogy of many distinct æons or intelligences, emanating from the pure and uncreated light, bore a close analogy to the Dualism of the Magians, — and its subordinate hierarchy of immaterial and spiritual beings, angels, or genii, — would harmonize more easily with, or at least be less abhorrent from, the prevailing tenets of the Magians than the more inflexible Christianity, which rejected the innovations of Manes.

The compilation of the Babylonian Talmud,² as it shows the industry of its compilers, seems to indicate likewise the profound peace enjoyed by the Jewish masters of the schools. This great work was commenced and finished under the superintendence of Rabbi Asche.³ This celebrated Head of the schools

¹ In some instances they introduced slight deviations from the Law, or rather from the Mischna, in favor of their new masters. The rule to abstain from all intercourse with the heathen for three days before each of their holy days, was limited in the case of the fire-worshipping to the holy day itself. Though Rab declared it a sin to learn anything of a Magian, yet the Jews studied astronomy in common with them. Jost, p. 143.

² The Abbé Chiarini, an Italian, proposed to publish a French translation of the whole Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds (p. 52). In his *Théorie du Judaïsme*, and in his *Talmud de Babylone*, Leipsic, 1831, he explained his views and intentions. He met with strong opposition. His death, however, while tending the sick of the cholera, in 1832, unhappily cut short his labors.

³ Chiarini assigns the date of the Talmud of Babylon to the fifth and beginning of the sixth century. R. Asche died A. D. 427. It was finished seventy-three years after the death of Asche by R. Jose (p. 35). It is anterior to the Koran, which borrows from, perhaps quotes it. Chiarini says that it has three characteristics which distinguish it from that of Jerusalem. I. The confusion with which it envelops the doctrines. II. The subtlety and suppleness which its teachers display in their unequal contest with violence and hard necessity. III. The bitterness and hatred with which they look on all who have contributed to the servitude of the Jews, especially the Christians. Each Talmud has books and chapters wanting

introduced a new mode of teaching; his scholars met twice in the year, and received each time two portions of the Law and of the Mischna, the whole circle of Jewish study, which had been divided into sixty parts. Their comments on their appointed task were brought back on the next day of meeting, the best were selected and harmonized, and from these in thirty years¹ grew the Gemara, which with the Mischna, forms the Babylonian Talmud,² that wonderful monument of human industry, human wisdom, and human folly. The reader at each successive extract from this extraordinary compilation hesitates whether to admire the vein of profound allegorical truth, and the pleasing moral apologue, to smile at the monstrous extravagance,³ or

in the other. On the borrowing of the Koran from the Talmud, read the excellent treatise of Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthum genommen*.*

¹ Chiarini makes it about a century or more in its full growth.

² Chiarini points out one more remarkable distinction between the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds, — the substitution in the Babylonian of commerce in the place of agriculture; p. 57.

³ There is undeniable truth and justice in the severe words of Edzard, quoted by Chiarini, i. 277: — “Credat Judæus Apella ista impia atque blasphemia de Deo asserta, crebras Rabbīnorum contradictiones, innumeras absurditates et falsitates, plusquam aniles fabulas, pessimas et ut plurimum ridiculas Scripturæ sacræ detorsiones, ineptas argumentationes, abjectas de verbo divino locutiones; evidentissima mendacia, plusquam ethnicas superstitiones, ipsam denique ad magiam et variū generis peccata alia multiplicem instructionem quæ singulis Gemaræ paginis maximo numero occurrunt . . . esse divina oracula Moisi in Monte Sinai tradita, ut ad posteros propagarentur.” But may it not be well to look at the same time to the beam in our own eye? If the Christianity of the Middle Ages were systematized and cast into one great authoritative book (that Christianity which, as sanctioned and maintained by the Infallible Church, is virtually

* The first edition, I., of the Babylonian Talmud is that of Bomberg, Venice, 1550. II. Justiniani, Venice, 1546-50. III. Frobenius, Basil. 1578-9-80. (But the passages hostile to Christianity were expunged by order of the Council of Trent.) IV. Cracow, 1603-5. V. Lublin, 1617-22. VI. Amsterdam, in 4to, 1644. VII., VIII. Frankfort on the Oder, 1697, 1715-21. IX. Amsterdam or Frankfort on the Maine, 1714, 1721. There are other later editions. On the translations of separate Treatises and Chapters, see Wolf and Chiarini, p. 45 *et seq.*

to shudder at the daring blasphemy. The influence of the Talmud on European superstitions, opinions, and even literature, remains to be traced; to the Jew the Talmud became the magic circle, within which the national mind patiently labored for ages in performing the bidding of the ancient and mighty enchanters, who drew the sacred line, beyond which it might not venture to pass.¹

II. The Western Jews must have beheld with deeper dismay, and more profound astonishment at the mysterious dispensations of Providence, the rival religion of Christianity (that apostasy, as they esteemed it, from the worship of Jehovah) gradually extending over the whole of Europe, till at length, under Constantine, it ascended the imperial throne,

attributed to the Holy Spirit of God), would there be not found the same conflict between the most exalted and the most debasing notions of the Godhead: the same profound piety and the same gross superstition; the same pure morality and the same doubtful moral chicanery; the same solemn trifling; the same occasional wisdom, the same folly and the same fraud; the same miserable devilry ("chacun de nous en a mille à gauche et dix mille à droite:" so says R. Huna — Chiarini, p. 289); the same trust in the providence and presence of God; the same irreconcilable and remorseless hatred of men of other faith (only that in the Jews, being few and feeble, these passions mostly evaporated in idle curses, in the Christians led to acts of merciless massacre); and the same purity, love, and charity? If on the one hand the gleams of light, wisdom, humanity, love of God, are more rare and feeble in the Talmud (take such a precept as this, "One touch of compunction in the heart of man is worth many and many flagellations," — Chiarini, p. 305, — compared with the monkish manuals of self-scourging); on the other hand apply the great principle, "*pessima est corruptio optimi*;" how much more natural, more pardonable, is this jealous hedge drawn around the imperfect Law, than the engrafting of such low and darkling, if not barbarous and wicked precepts, on the peaceful, pure, simple, and beneficent Gospel! See further on the Talmud, the close of this Book.

¹ "Depuis la naissance jusqu'à la mort, depuis la pointe du jour jusqu'au lever des étoiles, dans leurs maisons ainsi que dans la Synagogue, leur vie privée et publique n'est qu'une suite de cérémonies minutieuses et des pratiques légales qui se trouvent consignées dans le Talmud." Chiarini, p. 181

and became the established religion of the Roman world. The period between the death of the Patriarch, R. Jehuda the Holy, and the accession of Constantine to the empire, had been barren of important incidents in Jewish history. The Patriarchate of Tiberias seems gradually to have sunk in estimation. This small spiritual court fell, like more splendid and worldly thrones, through the struggles of the sovereign for unlimited sway, and the unwillingness of the people to submit even to constitutional authority. The exactions of the pontiff, and of the spiritual aristocracy — the Rabbins — became more and more burdensome to the people. The people were impatient even of the customary taxation.¹ Gamaliel succeeded Jehuda, Jehuda the Second, Gamaliel. This pontiff was of an imperious character; he surrounded himself with a sort of body-guard; at the same time he was outshone by his competitors in learning, Simon ben Laches and R. Jochanan, whose acknowledged superiority tended still farther to invalidate the supremacy of the Patriarch.²

A temporary splendor was thrown around the Jewish name by the celebrity of Zenobia, the famous Queen of Palmyra, who was of Israelitish descent. But the Jews of Palestine neither derived much ad-

¹ At a period considerably later, the Apostles of the Patriarch are called in a law of Honorius *devastators*. It is asserted in the life of Chrysostom that the heads of the synagogues were displaced if they did not send in enough money.

² Whoever wishes for a more full account of these rivalries, jealousies, and feuds in the school of Tiberias, may read the sixth chapter of Jost's xivth Book. There is one striking saying of R. Jochanan, showing the Rabbinical character: "A learned Bastard is to be preferred to an ignorant High Priest," p. 162. For other sayings of R. Jochanan, see Jost, *Judenthum*, ii. 147. The teachings of the Sopherim are intimately interwoven with the Law, and to be held in equal, if not higher estimation. On Simon ben Laches — his reproof of the pomp and pride of his Nasi, p. 150.

vantage from the prosperity, nor suffered in the fall of that extraordinary woman.¹ Her favorite, Paul of Samosata, seems to have entertained some views of attempting an union between Judaism and Christianity ; both parties rejected the unnatural alliance. The Jews spoke contemptuously of the wise men who came from Tadmor, and Paul of Samosata was rejected by the orthodox church as an intractable heretic.²

On the formal establishment of Christianity, under Constantine the Great, the more zealous Jews might tremble lest the Synagogue should be dazzled by the splendor of its triumphant competitor, and, recognizing the manifest favor of the Divinity in its success, refuse any longer to adhere to a humiliated and hopeless cause ; while the Christians, after having gained this acknowledged victory over Paganism, might not unreasonably expect that Judaism, less strongly opposed to its principles, would relax its obstinate resistance, and yield at length to the universally acknowledged dominion of the new faith.

But the Rabbinical authority had raised an insurmountable barrier around the Synagogue. Masters of the education, exercising, as we have shown, an unceasing and vigilant watchfulness, and mingling in every transaction during the whole life of each individual ; — still treating their present humiliation merely as a preparatory trial from the ever-faithful God of their

¹ Jost, *Geschichte*, iv. 167 : "Von dem angeblichen Judenthum dieser sogenannten Kaiserin von Palmyra wissen die Rabbiner nichts." *Judenthum*, ii. 155.

² Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* vii. 27 ; Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, ii. p. 256. The Jews repudiated with equal determination this attempt to reconcile the two religions. R. Jochanan refused to receive Palmyrenian proselytes. The Rabbis, like the Christians, reprove the irreligious pomp and luxury of the Palmyrene Court. Jost, ii. 157.

fathers, and feeding their flock with hopes of a future deliverance, when they should trample under foot the enemy and oppressor;—enlisting every passion and every prejudice in their cause; occupying the studious and inquisitive in the interminable study of their *Mischna* and *Talmuds*;¹—alarming the vulgar with the terrors of their interdict; while they still promised temporal grandeur as the inalienable, though perhaps late heritage of the people of Israel;—consoling them for its tardy approach by the promise of the equally inalienable and equally exclusive privilege of the children of Israel,—everlasting life in the world to come;²—these spiritual leaders of the Jews still repelled, with no great loss, the aggressions of their opponents. At the same time unhappily the Church had lost entirely, or in great degree, its most effective means of conversion,—its miraculous powers, the simple truth of its doctrines, and the blameless lives of its believers. It substituted authority, and a regular system of wonder-working, which the Jews, who had been less affected than might have been supposed by the miracles of our Lord and his Apostles, had no difficulty in rejecting, either as manifest impostures, or works of malignant and hostile spirits. In fact, the Rabbins were equal adepts in these pious frauds with the Christian clergy, and their people, no

¹ Chiarini states, with some truth, that it was one of the objects of the *Talmud* “d’élever une muraille de séparation entre les Juifs et les autres peuples de la terre, en présentant à ses compagnons d’infortune des remparts plus solides dans la haine et dans l’orgueil que ceux des villes dont ils venaient d’être dépossédés.” p. 21.

² It is a curious illustration of the growing alienation between the Jews and the Christians that Origen seems to have kept up an amicable intercourse with many Jews. Jerome, a century later, was obliged to submit to a secret and nocturnal intercourse with his teacher. *Epist. ad Pamm.* Compare *Vitringa, De Syn. Vet.*

less superstitious, listened with the same avidity, or gazed with the same credulity, on the supernatural wonders wrought by their own Wise Men, which obscured, at all events neutralized, the effects of the miracles ascribed to the Christian saints. Magical arts were weapons handled, as all acknowledged, with equal skill by both parties. The invisible world was a province where, though each claimed the advantage in the contest, neither thought of denying the power of his adversary. A scene characteristic of the times is reported to have taken place in Rome; the legend, it will easily be credited, rests on Christian authority.¹ A conference took place in the presence of Constantine and the devout empress-mother, Helena, between the Jews and the Christians. Pope Sylvester, then at the height of his wonder-working glory, had already triumphed in argument over his infatuated opponents, when the Jews had recourse to magic. A noted enchanter commanded an ox to be brought forward; he whispered into the ear of the animal, which instantly fell dead at the feet of Constantine. The Jews shouted in triumph, for it was the *Ham-semphorash*, the ineffable name of God, at the sound of which the awe-struck beast had expired. Sylvester observed with some shrewdness, "As he who whispered the name must be well acquainted with it, why does he not fall dead in like manner?" The Jews answered with contemptuous acclamations, — "Let us have no more verbal disputations, let us come to acts." "So be it," said Sylvester; "and if this ox comes to life at the

¹ Even Baronius doubts the authority of this legend. It appears first in the later Byzantines. Zonaras. t. iii. *in init.*; Simeon Metaphrastes, *pars* ii.; Glycas, p. 491 (edit. Bonn); Nicephorus, vii. 36; Cedren. t. i. p. 491 (edit. Bonn).

name of Christ, will ye believe?" They all unanimously assented. Sylvester raised his eyes to heaven, and said with a loud voice, — "If *he* be the true God whom I preach, in the name of Christ, arise, O ox! and stand on thy feet." The ox sprang up, and began to move and feed. The legend proceeds, that the whole assembly was baptized.

The Christians, by their own account, carried on the contest in a less favorable field than the city of Rome, and urged their conquests into the heart of the enemy's country. Constantine, by the advice of his mother Helena, adorned with great magnificence the city which had risen on the ruins of Jerusalem. It had become a place of such splendor that Eusebius, in a transport of holy triumph, declared that it was the New Jerusalem foretold by the prophets. The Jews were probably still interdicted from disturbing the peace or profaning the soil of the Christian city, by entering its walls. They revenged themselves by rigidly excluding every stranger from the four great cities which they occupied — Dio Cæsarea (Sephoris), Nazareth, Capernaum, and Tiberias. As it was the ambition of the Jews to regain a footing in the Holy City, so it was that of the Christians to establish a church among the dwellings of the circumcised. This was brought about by a singular adventure. Hillel had succeeded his father, Judah the Second, in the patriarchate. If we are to believe Epiphanius, the Patriarch himself had embraced Christianity, and had been secretly baptized on his death-bed by a bishop. Joseph, his physician, had witnessed the scene, which wrought strongly upon his mind.¹ The house of

¹ Epiphaniï Hæreses, c. 30. Epiphanius asserts that he heard the whole of this from Joseph himself when 70 years old.

Hillel, after his death, was kept closely shut up by his suspicious countrymen. Joseph obtained entrance, and found there the Gospel of St. John, the Gospel of St. Matthew, and the Acts, in a Hebrew translation. He read and believed. When the young Patriarch, another Judah (the Third), grew up, Joseph was appointed an apostle, or collector of the patriarchal revenue. It seems that Christian meekness had not been imbibed with Christian faith, for he discharged his function with unpopular severity. He was detected reading the Gospel, hurried to the synagogue, and scourged. The bishop of the town (in Cilicia) interfered. But Joseph was afterwards seized again and thrown into the Cydnus, from which he hardly escaped with his life. This was not the wisest means of recovering a renegade; Joseph was publicly baptized, rose high in the favor of Constantine, and attained the dignity of Count of the Empire. Burning with zeal, — it is to be hoped not with revenge, — he turned all his thoughts to the establishment of Christian churches in the great Jewish cities. He succeeded under the protection of the government, and with the aid of a miracle. As he commenced an edifice on the site of a heathen temple in Tiberias, the Jews enchanted the lime which was to be used for mortar, — it would not burn. But Joseph having sanctified some water with the sign of the cross, the spell was dissolved, and the building arose to the discomfiture and dismay of his opponents.

The laws of Constantine, with regard to the Jews, throw more real light on their character and condition.¹

¹ Constantine in a public document declared that it was not for the dignity of the Church to follow that most *hateful of all people*, the Jews, in the celebration of the Passover.

The first of these statutes appears to authenticate the early part of the history of Joseph, and was, no doubt, framed in allusion to his case.¹ It enacted that if the Jews should stone, or endanger the life of, a Christian convert, all who were concerned should be burned alive. This statute shows the still fiery zeal of the Jews, and their authority within the walls of their own synagogue; nor had they any right to complain, if proselytes to the established faith should be protected from their violence under the severest penalties. The second more intolerant clause of this statute prohibited all Christians from becoming Jews, under the pain of an arbitrary punishment; and, six months before his death, a third decree was issued by Constantine, prohibiting Jews from possessing Christian slaves.² The reason assigned for this law was that it was un-

See the Apostolic Canon: Εἰ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ ἄλλος κληρικὸς νηστεύει μετὰ Ἰουδαίων, ἢ ἐορτάζει μετ' αὐτῶν, δέχεται αὐτῶν τὰ τῆς ἐορτῆς ξένια οἷον ἄζυμα, ἢ τι τοιοῦτον, καθαιρεῖσθω· εἰ δὲ λαϊκὸς ἢ, ἀφορίζεσθω. LXII. apud Coteler. Pat. Apost. ii. 451.

1 "Judæis et majoribus eorum et Patriarchis volumus intimari: quod si quis post hanc legem aliquem, qui eorum *feralem* fugerit sectam, et ad *Dei cultum* respexerit, saxi aut alio furoris genere (quod nunc *fieri* cognovimus) ausus fuerit adtentare, mox flammis dedendus est, et cum omnibus suis participibus concremandus. Si quis vero ei populo ad eorum *nefariam* sectam accesserit, et conciliabulis eorum se applicaverit, cum ipsis pœnas meritas sustinebit." Cod. Theodos. Tit. xvi. viii.

2 There is some doubt whether this law was so early as Constantine, and whether Constantine did more than prohibit the circumcision of slaves. The law stands thus in Ritter. Cod. Theodos.: "Si quis Judæorum Christianum mancipium, vel cujuslibet alterius sectæ, mercatus circumciderit, minimè in servitute retineat circumcisi, sed libertatis privilegiis, qui hoc sustinuerit, potiatur." If the Jews were altogether prohibited from buying such slaves, the prohibition to circumcise them would seem superfluous. Later statutes show that they had many Christian slaves. Eusebius, however, writes thus, as in the text: Ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰουδαίους μηδένα Χριστιανὸν ἐνομοθέτει δουλεῦν· μὴ γὰρ θεμιτὸν εἶναι προφητοφόνταις καὶ κυριοκτόνοις, τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος λελυτρωμένους ζυγῷ δουλείας ὑπάγεσθαι· εἰ δ' εὐρεθῇ τις τοιοῦτος τὸν μὲν ἀνείσθαι ἐλ εὐθερον, τὸν δὲ ζημίᾳ χρημάτων κολάζεσθαι. Euseb. Vit. Const. iv. 27

just that those who had been made free by the blood of Christ should be slaves to the murderers of the Prophets and of the Son of God. There was another civil law, of great importance, affecting the Jews; they were constrained to take upon themselves certain public offices, particularly the decurionate, which, from the facility with which the Emperor and his predecessors had granted exemptions, had become burdensome. The law, however, shows that the right of the Jews to Roman citizenship was fully recognized. The Patriarchs and the Rabbins had the same exemption from all civil and military offices as the Christian clergy. In the markets the Jews had their own officers to regulate the price of things sold among themselves, and were not subject to the ordinary discursor or moderator.¹

But still earlier than these statutes of Constantine, Spain, the fruitful mother and nurse of religious persecution, had given the signal for hostility towards the Jews, in a decree passed at the Council of Elvira (Il-liberis), which is curious, as proving that the Jews were, to a great extent, the cultivators of the soil in that country. It was a custom for the Jewish and Christian farmers and peasants to mingle together at the festive entertainments given at the harvest-home, or at other periods of rural rejoicing. The Jews were

¹ Cod. Theodos. xii. viii. 3, 4.

Chrysostom records a revolt of the Jews in the reign of Constantine, an attempt to rebuild their Temple, and to violate the laws which prohibited their entrance into the Holy City; and that the insurgents were punished by having their ears cut off, branded as slaves, and sold in great numbers. Le Beau (*Bas Empire*, i. 167) ventures to date this insurrection in the year A. C. 315. I am inclined to hesitate as to receiving, on the authority of an oration, or rather invective, of Chrysostom, a fact so important, of which there is no other trace in history, or, as I believe, in Jewish tradition. S. Chrys. Hom. 2 in Judæos.

wont in devout humility to utter their accustomed grace before the feast that the Almighty would, even in the land of the stranger, permit his rains, and dews, and sunshine, to fertilize the harvests. The Christians appear to have been offended at this, apparently very innocent, supplication. The decree of the Council proscribed the meeting of the two races at these festivals, and prohibited the blessings of the Jew, lest, perhaps, they might render unavailing the otherwise powerful benedictions of the Church.¹

It is said that the Jews in the East revenged themselves for these oppressive laws against their brethren by exciting a furious persecution against the Christians, in which the Jews and Magians vied with each other in violence.²

The increased severity of the laws enacted by Constantius, the son and successor of Constantine, indicates the still darkening spirit of hostility,³ but the Jews, unhappily, gave ample provocation to the authorities. The hot-headed Israelites of Alexandria mingled themselves in the factions of Arians and Athanasians which distracted that restless city. They joined with the Pagans, on the side of the Arian Bishop, and committed frightful excesses, burning churches, profaning them with outrages which Athanasius shrinks from

¹ "Admoneri placuit possessores, ut non patiantur fructus suos quos a Deo percipiunt cum gratiarum actione a Judæis benedici; ne nostram irritam et infirmam faciant benedictionem. Si quis post interdictum facere usurpaverit, penitus ab ecclesia abjiciatur." c. 49, Concil. Illberst. A. D. 305.

"Si vero aliquis clericus sive fidelis fuerit, qui cum Judæis cibum sumpserit, placuit eum a communione abstinere." c. 50. I have connected the two statutes together, as explanatory of each other.

² Sozomen. H. E. ii. 9: ἐλύπει δὲ καὶ Ἰουδαίους τρόπον τινὰ φύσει ὑπὸ βασκανίας πρὸς τὸ δόγμα τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐκπολεμωμένους.

³ Cod. Theodos. xvi. 7.

relating, and violating consecrated virgins. An insurrection in Judæa, which terminated in the destruction of Dio Cæsarea, gave another pretext for exaction and oppression.¹ The Jews were heavily burdened and taxed; forbidden, under pain of death, from possessing Christian slaves, or marrying Christian women; and the interdict of Hadrian, which prohibited their approach to the Holy City, was formally renewed.² These laws likewise throw light on their condition. Their heavy burdens may indicate that the Jews possessed considerable wealth; the possession of Christian slaves leads to the same conclusion; and the necessity of the enactment against marrying Christian women shows that, in some ranks at least, the animosity between the two races had considerably worn away. But the prohibition against entering Jerusalem was still further embittered by the distant view of the splendor which the new city had assumed. Christian pilgrims crowded the ways which led to the Holy City,³ where the wood of the true cross — the discovery of which by a singular chance is ascribed to a Jew — began to disseminate its inexhaustible splinters through the Christian world. The church of the Holy Sepulchre, built by the Empress Helena, rose in lofty state, and crowned the supposed hill of Calvary, on which their ancestors had crucified Jesus of Nazareth; while the hill of Moriah lay desecrated and desolate, as it had been left by the plough of the insulting conqueror.

¹ Socrates, H. E. ii. 33: "Et interea Judæorum seditio qui Patricium nefariè in regni specie sustulerant." Aurel. Victor in Constant. This evidently means that they had set up their Prince as an independent sovereign.

² Sozomen. H. E. iii. 17.

³ Compare the Itinerary from Bourdeaux to Jerusalem, and Wesseling's notes; Hieronym. Oper. i. 103; the famous passage in Greg. Nyssen on the abuse of pilgrimage. The fullest account of these early pilgrimages is in Wilken, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, c. i.

If then the Jews beheld with jealous alarm the rival religion seated on the imperial throne, and the votaries of Jesus clothed in the royal purple ; if they felt their condition gradually becoming worse under the statutes of the new emperors ; if they dreaded still further aggressions on their prosperity ; they must have looked with no secret triumph to the accession of Julian, the apostate from Christianity. Before long their elation was still further excited by a letter written from the Emperor, addressed to " his brother,"¹ the Patriarch, and the commonalty of the Jews. Julian seemed to recognize the Unity of God, in terms which might satisfy the most zealous follower of Moses.² He proceeded to denounce their oppressors, condescended to excuse his brother, annulled the unequal taxes with which they were loaded, and expressed his earnest hope that, on his return from the Persian war, the great designs he had formed for their welfare might be fully accomplished. The temporal as well as the religious policy of Julian advised his conciliation of the Jews. Could they be lured by his splendid promises to embrace his party, the Jews in Mesopotamia would have thrown great weight into his scale in his campaign against the Persians ; and in his design of depressing Christianity, it was important to secure the support of every opposite sect. Probably with these views the memorable edict was issued for the rebuilding of the Temple on Mount Moriah, and the restoration of the Jewish worship in its original splendor.³

¹ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰουλιὸν τὸν αἰδεσιμώτατον Πατριάρχην.

² ἐτι μείζονας εὐχὰς ποιῆτε τῆς ἐμῆς βασιλείας τῷ πάντων κρείττονι καὶ δημιουργῷ Θεῷ. Julian. Epist. xxv.

³ Theodoret assigns the following reason for Julian's design to rebuild the Temple. He sent to inquire of the Jews why they had ceased to offer sacrifice. They replied, that it was not lawful for them to sacrifice but in

The execution of this project was intrusted, while Julian advanced with his ill-fated army to the East, to the care of his favorite, Alypius.

The whole Jewish world was in commotion ; they crowded from the most distant quarters to be present and assist in the great national work. Those who were unable to come envied their more fortunate brethren, and waited in anxious hope for the intelligence that they might again send their offerings, or make their pilgrimage, to the Temple of the God of Abraham, in His holy place. Their wealth was poured forth in lavish profusion ; and all who were near the spot, and could not contribute so amply, offered their personal exertions. Blessed were the hands that toiled in such a work ; and unworthy was he of the blood of Israel who would not unlock, at such a call, his most secret hoards.¹ Men cheerfully surrendered the hard-won treasures of their avarice ; women offered up the ornaments of their vanity. The very tools which were to be employed were, as it were, sanctified by the service, and* were made of the most costly materials : some had shovels, mallets, and baskets of silver ; and women were seen carrying rubbish in robes and mantles of silk.² Men, blind from the womb, came forward to lend their embarrassing aid ; and the aged tottered along the ways, bowed beneath the weight of some burden which they seemed to acquire new strength to support. The confidence and triumph of the Jews was unbounded ; some went so far in their profane

one place, the site of their Temple. Julian, who looked on sacrifice as the one sign of true religion, and that which distinguished the rest of mankind from the Christians, immediately gave orders for the restoration of the Temple. Theodoret's is one of the earliest and most graphic descriptions of the whole transaction. H. E. iii. 20.

¹ Greg. Naz. iv. iii. ; Theodoret, iv. 20.

² Sozomen v. 22.

adulation as to style Julian the Messiah. The Christians looked on in consternation and amazement. Would the murderers of the Son of God be permitted to rebuild their devoted city, and the Temple arise again from "the abomination of desolation"? Materials had now accumulated from all quarters, some say at the expense of the Emperor, but that is not probable, considering the costly war in which he was engaged. Nor were the Jews wanting in ample resources: timber, stones, lime, burnt brick, clay, were heaped together in abundant quantities.¹ Already was the work commenced; already had they dug down to a considerable depth, and were preparing to lay the foundations, when suddenly flames of fire came bursting from the centre of the hill, accompanied with terrific explosions. The affrighted workmen fled on all sides, and the labors were suspended at once by this unforeseen and awful sign. Other circumstances are said to have accompanied this event; an earthquake shook the hill;² flakes of fire, which took the form of crosses, settled on the dresses of the workmen and spectators; and the fire consumed even the tools of iron.³ It was even added that a horseman was seen careering among the flames, and that the workmen having fled to a neighboring church, its doors, fastened by some preternatural force within, refused to admit them.⁴ These, however, may be embellishments, and are found only in later and rhetorical writers; but the main fact of the interruption of the work by some extraordinary, and, as it was supposed, preternatural interference, rests on

¹ Socrates, H. E. iii. 20.

² Socrates, H. E. iii. 20; Theodoret, iii. 20; Sozomen, v. 22.

³ Socrates, *ibid.*; Theodoret, who adds that a fiery cross appeared in the heavens. The crosses on the Jews' dresses were dark, not light.

⁴ Greg. Naz in Judæos, iv

the clear and unsuspecting testimony of the heathen Ammianus Marcellinus.¹ But, in candor, one local circumstance must be mentioned, overlooked by those who impugn, as well as by those who maintain, the miracle, — by Gibbon, Basnage, and Lardner, as well as by Warburton. It will be remembered that the hills on which Jerusalem stood were deeply and extensively undermined by subterranean passages. On the surprise of the Temple by John of Gischala, the whole party of Eleazar took refuge in these under-

¹ The growth of the story is curious. Ammianus is simple, natural, and credible: "Cum itaque rei idem fortiter instaret Alipius, juvaretque provinciae rector, metuendi globi flammarum prope fundamenta crebris ad-sultibus erumpentes fecere locum, exustis aliquoties operantibus, inaccessum; hocque modo elemento destinatus repellente, cessant inceptum." Chrysostom, Adv. Jud., is still modest: ἀλλὰ πῦρ ἀπὸ τῶν θεμελίων ἐκπη-
δησαν πάντας αὐτοὺς ἀκήλασεν; he adds, that the foundations which were laid bare remained so at his time: καὶ τοῦτον ἔστιν ἕως τοῦ νῦν, τὰ θεμελί-
α γυμνωθέντα, καὶ αὐτόν τε τὸν χοῦν, ὅπου ἤρξαντο κενοῦν. Orat. de S. Babylon.

Gregory Nazianzen, in his invective against Julian, with a few bold strokes heightens the effect. The Jews of all ages and both sexes were at work, when, alarmed by a hurricane and an earthquake, they fled to a neighboring temple, the gates of which were closed against them by an invisible power. The Jews endeavoring to force an entrance, a fire broke out and consumed them, as it did Sodom, Nadab, and Abihu. Some Jews, only partially burned, bore on their bodies the marks of the Divine wrath. Of the less modest historians the embellishments are given, with references, in the text. The rubbish, according to Theodoret, moved by night of its own accord: νύκτωρ δὲ ὁ χοῦς αὐτομάτως ἀπὸ τῆς φάραγγος μετετίθετο; violent winds dispersed the vast mass of materials prepared, many thousand measures (modii) of gypsum and chalk. For Gregory Nazianzen's story of the Temple, we read that a number of Jews had taken refuge and fallen asleep in the portico of a neighboring temple, which fell upon them and crushed them all to death. Sozomen admits that different stories were current. The silence of Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, on all these miracles, often alleged, is significant. Jost asserts that there is no allusion in the Talmudic writings to this third building of the Temple; all the quotations about it are from later Jewish writers, iv. 257. See, however, note 1, p. 29. Those (I suspect, most modern readers) who are not convinced by, will read not without admiration, Warburton's dexterous and bold defence of the miracle. Compare Milman's note on Gibbon *in loc.*

ground chambers. Numbers of the Zealots lay hid in similar caverns under Sion after the capture of the city by Titus ; and the sudden rising of Simon on the hill of the Temple, after having descended on that of Sion, sufficiently proves the vast range of these mines, which communicated with each other under both the hills over which the city spread. The falling-in of the tomb of Solomon, during the rebellion under Barcochab, may also be adduced. In the long period of desolation, during which the hill of the Temple, especially, lay waste, the outlets of these caverns would be choked with rubbish and ruin ; and the air within become foul and inflammable. That the vapors, thus fermenting under the whole depth of the hill, should, as is often the case in mines, become accidentally ignited during the work, kindle, and explode with violent combustion and terrific noise resembling an earthquake, was by no means beyond the ordinary course of nature ; though it might be far beyond the philosophy of a people excited to the highest pitch of religious enthusiasm, and already predisposed to consider the place as the chosen scene of miraculous interference. Even the fiery crosses on the garments might have been phosphoric exhalations, really seen, and easily wrought into that form by the awe-struck imagination of the Christians ; and preternatural interference would hardly be called for to close the doors of a church against fugitives thus under the visible malediction of the Deity.¹

¹ There is a very confused, and probably late, notice of this extraordinary event in the Talmudic writings. It is thrown back to the time of R. Joshua ben Chananiah, who lived during the reign of Hadrian, — a very wild anachronism. The writer adds, that the rebuilding was suspended on account of a change in the mind of the Emperor, and the hatred of the Samaritans! Zunz, *Vorfrage*, p. 175

Nor, indeed, does the miracle, if we may presume so to speak, appear necessary for its end; for, according to the will of the Divine Ruler of the world, a more appalling and insuperable obstacle interrupted the unhallowed work. The discomfiture of the Jews was completed; and the resumption of their labors, could they have recovered from their panic, was forever broken off by the death of Julian. The Emperor seems not to have reaped the advantages he expected from his attempt to conciliate the race of Israel.¹ The Mesopotamian Jews, instead of joining his army, remained faithful to their Persian masters, and abandoned such of their cities as were not defensible. On his approach, one of these, Bithra, situated among the branches of the Euphrates, was set on fire by his soldiers, and burned to ashes. The apostate himself fell: the Christian world beheld the vengeance of God — the Jew the extinction of all his hopes — in the early fate of this extraordinary man.²

The short reign of Jovian, whose policy it was to reverse all the acts of his predecessor, was oppressive to the Jews; but it was only a passing cloud. Valens and Valentinian reinstated the Jews and their Patriarch in their former rights;³ yet the state of the empire demanded the repeal of their most valuable privilege, — exemption from the public services. “Even the clergy,” such is the curious argument of this edict,

¹ Amm. Marc. xxiv. 3. Compare Le Beau, with S. Martin's Note, iii. 93.

² Basnage, viii. 5. The Rabbins, as has been said, are altogether silent about Julian. “Ihre Quellen schweigen von Julian und seiner Unternehmung, was auch in der Erfolglosigkeit seinen Grund haben kann.” Jost, *Judenthum*, ii. 470.

³ The Law of Valens and Valentinian is not extant; but their equity to the Jews and respect for their Patriarchs is clearly shown by a Law of Arcadius, in which their authority is appealed to. Cod. Theodos. xvi. 13.

“are not permitted to consecrate themselves to the service of God, without having previously discharged their duty to their country. He who would devote himself to God, must first find a substitute to undertake his share in the public offices.”¹ The Jews could not complain, if, admitted to the protection and rights of Roman citizenship, they were constrained to perform its duties.²

During the declining days of the Roman Empire, Christianity assumed a more commanding influence, and the Jews sometimes became a subject of contention between the Church and the Throne.³ Protected by the Emperor as useful and profitable subjects, they were beheld by the more intemperate churchmen with still-increasing animosity. Maximus, an usurper, dur-

¹ Cod. Theodos. xii. 1, 99.

² It is in curious contrast with later times, that these duties having become onerous, the Jews were compelled by law to undertake them; when they became again posts of profit and honor, the Jews were excluded from them, till very recent days, by common consent.

³ It is curious that in the Itinerary of Rutilius, who wrote in the reign of Honorius, there is still a confusion between the Jews and Christians, whom Rutilius hates with Pagan impartiality. He lands near Faleria, where the Jews were in a kind of authority: —

Namque loci querulus curam Judæus agebat,
 Humanis animal dissociare cibis;
 Reddimus obscenæ convicia debita genti,
 Quæ genitale caput propudiosa metit.
 Radix stultitiæ, cui frigida Sabbata cordi
 Sed cor frigidius religione sua est.
 Septima quæque dies turpi damnata veterno,
 Tanquam lassati mollis imago Dei,
 Cætera mendacis deliramenta catastæ
 Nec pueros omnes credere posse reor.
 Atque utinam nunquam Judæa subacta fuisset,
 Pompeii bellis imperioque Titi.
 Latius excisæ pestis contagia serpunt
 Victioresque suos natio victa premit.

The allusion to the origin of the Sabbath shows more than usual knowledge of Judaism, but the *victory* must be that which Christianity was achieving.

ing his short reign, had commanded a synagogue, which had been wantonly burned in Rome, to be rebuilt at the expense of the community. Theodosius the Great renewed a similar edict, on a like occasion, and commanded the Bishop of Callinicum, in Osrhoene, to see the work carried into effect. The fiery zeal of Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, broke out into a flame of indignation.¹ In a letter to the Emperor, he declares his disapprobation of such outrages as burning synagogues; for priests ought to be the quellers of turbulence, and strive to promote peace, unless, he added, moved by injuries against their God, or contumelies against His Church. At the same time he asserts that no Christian bishop could conscientiously assist in building a temple for the circumcised. "Either the bishop will resist or comply: he must be a sinner or a martyr. Perhaps he may be tempted, by the hopes of martyrdom, falsely to assert his concurrence in the destruction of the synagogue. Noble falsehood! I, myself, would willingly assume the guilt, — I, I say, have set this synagogue in flames, at least in so far that I have urged on all — that there should be no place left in which Christ is denied." The Bishop designated a synagogue as a dwelling of perfidy, — a house of impiety, — a receptacle of insanity, — and concluded, in a tone of mingled pathetic expostulation and bitter invective, "This shall be the inscription of the edifice, — 'A Temple of Ungodliness, built from the plunder of the Christians.'" Not content with addressing this letter to the Emperor, who was then in Milan, he thundered against him from the pulpit. Theodosius had the weakness to yield to the daring churchman; the edict was recalled, and the Jews remained without a synagogue

¹ Ambros. Epist. xxix.

in that city, which, it may be observed, was divided by half the empire from the diocese of Ambrose. Theodosius, when removed from the influence of Ambrose, and brought by the approach of death to higher notions of Christian justice, issued an edict, which secured perfect toleration to the Jews, and condemned to an arbitrary punishment all who should burn or plunder their synagogues.¹

In the mean time the Patriarchate began to display manifest signs of decay. The Jews were seen before heathen tribunals — not only to decide their litigations with Christians, but as a court of appeal against the injustice of their own judicial authorities. Men excommunicated had recourse to pagan judges, not always inaccessible to bribery, to enforce their reinstatement in the rights of the synagogue.² A law of Theodosius was passed, which recognized the power of the Patriarchs to punish the refractory members of their own community. This law was confirmed under Arcadius and Honorius: the prefects were forbidden from interfering with the judicial courts of the Jewish primate. The same privileges were assigned to Jewish rulers of synagogues, Patriarchs, and Elders, which had been granted to the higher orders of the Christian clergy.³ They were exempted from attendance on the

¹ “*Judæorum sectam nullâ lege prohibitam, satis constat: unde graviter commovemur interdictos quibusdam locis eorum fuisse conventus. Sublimis igitur Magnitudo tua, hac jussione susceptâ, nimietatem eorum qui, sub Christianæ religionis nomine, illicita quæque præsumunt, et destruere synagogas atque exspoliare conantur, congrua severitate cohibebit. Dat. iii. Kalend. Octob. Constantinopoli. Theodos. A. et Abundantio Coss. (A. D. 398).*” *Cod. Theodos. xvi. 1. 9.* This was confirmed by Arcadius and Honorius in a special law providing against the forcible entrance of strangers into the synagogues, which were to be held in peace and security. *Cod. Theod. xvi. 1. 12.*

² *Cod. Theodos. xvi. 1-8.*

³ *Cod. Theodos. ii. viii. 3,* a law of Arcadius and Honorius. Compare viii. 8. 8.

courts of law on the Sabbath or other holy days. In all causes which did not relate to their religion, they were amenable to the common courts.¹ If the parties agreed to compromise and arbitration, and the arbitrators were the Jewish Patriarchs, the provincial judges were to carry the sentence into execution, as of that of arbitrators appointed in the usual way. It would seem that, in disputes with Christians, both parties were expected to appear before the ordinary tribunals.² Another law was passed at this period characteristic of the times. It enacted that no Jew should be baptized without strict inquiry, and a sort of previous noviciate of good conduct.³ Some of the more worthless Jews had played upon the eagerness of the Church to obtain proselytes, and had made a regular trade of submitting to baptism in different places — by which they, in general, contrived to obtain handsome remuneration.⁴ This was facilitated by the numerous sects which distracted the Church, who vied with each other in the success of their proselytism, and rendered detection difficult. A miracle came to the assistance of the law in checking this nefarious traffic ; unfortunately it was wrought in a Novatian, not in an orthodox congrega-

A law of Arcadius prohibits a discreditable practice of certain Jews who took refuge in the churches from their creditors, or tried to escape punishment for their crimes by embracing Christianity. They were not to be admitted as converts till acquitted of their crimes, or till they had paid their debts.

¹ "Judæi, Romano et communi jure viventes de his causis, quæ non tam ad superstitionem eorum, quam ad forum et leges ac jura pertinent, adeant solenni jure judicia, omnesque Romanis legibus inferant et excipiant actiones." Cod. Theodos. ii. 1. 10.

² Cod. Theodos. xvi. 1. 13.

³ Cod. Theodos. ix. 45. 2: "De his qui ad ecclesiam confugient."

⁴ Cod. Theodos. xvi. 23. Insincere converts, who had not been baptized, were to be allowed to return to their former faith, it being very wisely judged that this was for the interest of Christianity: "Ad legem propriam (quia magis Christianitati consulatur) liceat remeare."

tion. When one of these unworthy proselytes presented himself, the indignant water flowed away, and refused to rebaptize one who had been so frequently baptized before with so little advantage.¹

The clouds of ignorance and barbarism, which were darkening over the world, could not but spread a deeper gloom over the sullen national character of the Jews. The manner in which the contest was carried on with the Church was not calculated to enlighten their fanaticism ; nor was it likely that, while the world around them was sinking fast into unsocial ferocity of manners, they should acquire the gentleness and humanity of civilization. No doubt the more intemperate members of the synagogue, when they might do it securely, would revenge themselves, by insult or any other means of hostility in their power, against the aggressions of the Church. Though probably much would be construed into insult, which was not intended to give offence, it argues no great knowledge of Jewish character, or indeed of human nature, to doubt but that great provocation was given by the turbulent disposition of the Israelites.² It is a curious fact, and must have tended greatly to darken the spirit of animosity in the dominant Church against the Jews, that, whenever occasion offered, they sided with the Arian faction ; while the Arians were in general more tolerant towards the worshippers of the undivided Unity of God, than the Catholic Church. In the religious factions in Alexandria, we have seen them espousing the part of the Arian bishop against Athanasius ; and of all the sovereigns during this period, none were more friendly

¹ Socrat. H. E. vii. 17.

² Cod. Theodos. xvi. De Hæreticis, xlv. They are accused of joining with the Donatists in their tumults, of course in Africa.

to the Jews than the Arian Gothic kings of Italy. It was about the commencement of the fifth century that great, and probably not groundless offence was taken at the public and tumultuous manner in which the Jews celebrated the feast of Purim, and their deliverance under Esther. Not content with beating the benches of the synagogue with stones and mallets, and uttering the most dissonant cries each time that the execrated name of Haman was pronounced, they proceeded to make a public exhibition of the manner in which the enemies of their nation might expect to be treated. They erected a gibbet, on which a figure, representing Haman, was suspended, and treated with every kind of indignity. Probably blasphemous expressions against all other Hamans might occasionally break forth. The Christians looked with jealous horror on that which they construed into a profane, though covert, representation of the Crucifixion. Sometimes, indeed, it is said, the gibbet was made in the form of a cross, with the body suspended upon it in like manner to that which was now becoming the universal object of adoration. No wonder if the two parties met in furious collision, and if the peace of the empire demanded the intervention of authority to put an end to these indecent scenes. By a law of Theodosius the Second, these festivals were prohibited.¹ In Macedonia, Dacia, and Illyria, these or similar causes of contention gave rise to violent tumults between the Jews and Christians. The synagogues were burned in many places. Theodosius commanded the prefect, Philip, to execute the law with the strictest impartiality: not to suffer the Jews to insult or show disrespect to the Christian religion, yet by no means to interfere

¹ Cod. Theodos. xvi. De Judæis. l. 18.

with the free exercise of their own faith.¹ In Syria these animosities led to still worse consequences. At a place called Inmestar, between Chalcis and Antioch, some drunken Jews began, in the public streets, to mock and blaspheme the name of Christ. They went so far as to erect a cross, and fastened a Christian boy to it, whom they scourged so unmercifully that he died. The offenders were justly punished with exemplary rigor ; but the feud left a rankling hatred in the hearts of the Christians.² Some years after, they rose and plundered a synagogue in Antioch. The Roman governor espoused the cause of the Jews, this time the unoffending victims of wanton animosity ; and, by an ordinance of the Emperor, the clergy were commanded to make restitution. But the clergy found an advocate in the celebrated Simon Stylites, so called from his passing his life on the top of a slender column, sixty feet high. Theodosius could not resist the intercession of this saintly personage, to whom he wrote under the title of the “Holy Martyr in the Air” — earnestly soliciting his prayers. The order of restitution was annulled — the just prefect recalled.³ It is possible, however, that the synagogue in question may have been built in violation of a law of the empire, which prohibited the erecting any new edifices for Jewish worship.⁴

Perhaps unfortunately, as encouraging them to pursue such violent means of conversion, the Christians in the island of Minorca, by means of the conflagration of a synagogue, obtained a signal triumph — the baptism of all the Jews in the island.⁵ We have the account of

¹ Cod. Theodos. xvi. l. 21.

² Socrates, H. E. vii. 16.

³ Evagrius, H. E. i. 13.

⁴ Cod. Theod. xvi. 27.

⁵ The Letter of Severus in Baronius, sub. ann. 418.

this transaction on the authority of the Bishop himself, and it presents a singular picture of the times. The pious Severus was sorely grieved that in an island where, though more useful animals abounded, wolves and foxes were not permitted to exist, — where, though snakes and scorpions were found, yet, miraculously he would suppose, they were deprived of their venom, — the Jews should be so numerous and wealthy in the two largest towns of the island, particularly in Magona, now Mahon. Long had he desired to engage in a holy warfare against this unbelieving race. He was at length encouraged to hope for victory by the arrival of the relics of the martyr Stephen,¹ which were left in the island by the celebrated Orosius. In a short time the conflict began, and perpetual disputations took place. The Christians were headed by their Bishop, the Jews by a certain Theodorus, a man of acknowledged eminence in Rabbinical learning, and of such consequence in the place as to have filled the office of defender of the city.

The Christians, if we are to believe the Bishop, thought only of spiritual means of attack, persuasion, argument, with whatever miracles the relics of St. Stephen might vouchsafe to throw into their scale. The Jews had laid up in their synagogue more carnal weapons, stones, clubs, arrows, and other arms. Encouraged by two visions, the Bishop set off at the head of all his flock from Immona, and marched in the highest spirits to Magona, where he sent a summons of defiance to Theodorus and the Jews to meet him at the church. The Jews excused themselves because it

¹ A Jew plays a conspicuous part in the discovery of these relics — no less a person than Gamaliel himself, the teacher of St. Paul, who appeared in a vision to Lucian, head of a monastery, at Caphargamala in Palestine. These relics were of sovereign efficacy in checking the Pelagian heresy.

was the Sabbath — and they could not enter an unclean place on that day. The Bishop immediately offered to meet them on their own ground, the synagogue. They still declined the contest, but surrounded the house in which the Bishop was, in great numbers. The Bishop mildly expostulated with them for having laid up arms in their synagogue. They denied the fact, and offered to confirm their assertion with an oath. “No need of oaths,” replied the Bishop; “let us satisfy our own eyes;” and immediately he set forward with his whole troop, singing a verse of the Ninth Psalm, “Their memory hath perished *with a loud noise*:¹ but the Lord endureth forever.” The Jews gladly joined in the Psalm, applying it, no doubt, with a very different meaning. A fray began in the streets through some Jewish women throwing stones from the windows. The Bishop could not restrain his flock; who rushed furiously in. The fury of the assailants is directly attributed to Christ himself! No blood was shed on either side, except of an Achan in the Christian party, who endeavored to purloin some valuable effects, and had his head broken by a stone from his own friends; but the Christians became masters of the synagogue, and set it on fire, with all its furniture, except the books of the Law and the articles of silver. There is no mention of arms having been discovered. The books were carried in reverential triumph to the church; the silver restored. The Christians returned, singing Psalms of thanksgiving, to their church. Three days after, the Jews assembled within the melancholy ruins of their religious house; the Christians also crowded in, and Theodorus began an eloquent vindica-

¹ These words will not be found in the English translation; they appear in the Vulgate.

tion of the Law. He argued, he confuted all objections ; he poured contempt on his opponents, who, by the confession of their Bishop, were so utterly discomfited as to look for help to Heaven alone against this obstinate gainsayer. No miracle, however, was vouchsafed, and they owed their triumph to pure accident. They all began to cry with one voice, "Theodorus, believe in Christ !" The Jews mistook the words, and thought it was a shout of triumph, "Theodorus believes in Christ !" They dispersed on all sides. Women tore their hair, and cried in bitter desperation, "Oh, Theodorus, what hast thou done !" The men fled away to the woods and rocks. Theodorus, entirely deserted and left alone, had not strength of mind to resist. Reuben, the first of the Jews who had been converted, argued with him, and laid before him the advantages which might attend his becoming a Christian. The Rabbi yielded to these unworthy motives. The example of his defection was followed, and the Jews were generally baptized. The triumphant Bishop strongly recommended to his brethren the laudable example of his own zeal and success, — an example which, as far as burning the synagogues, they seem to have been apt enough to adopt ; for an express law appears to have been required from Honorius to prohibit these acts of violence.

The conversion of many Jews in Crete¹ reflects more credit on the humanity of the Christians, while it shows the wild and feverish fanaticism which still lay deep within the hearts of the Jews, ready to break forth at the first excitement of those unextinguishable hopes which were alike their pride, their consolation, and their ruin. Among the numerous and wealthy

¹ Socrates, vii. 38 ; Nicephorus, xiv. 40.

Israelites who inhabited that fertile island, an impostor appeared, who either bore or assumed the name of Moses. He announced himself as the successor of the great Lawgiver, and for a whole year travelled about the island, persuading his credulous countrymen to abandon their possessions and their farms to follow his guidance. They listened; they relaxed their usual industry, and neglected their labors, under the fond hope of speedily obtaining possession of a more fertile land, that of milk and honey. The appointed time came, and at the call of Moses they crowded forth by thousands; for he had proclaimed that, like the Red Sea of old, the deep Mediterranean would be turned to dry land before them. At the dawn of day they followed him blindly to the top of a lofty promontory, from whence he commanded them to throw themselves down. The foremost obeyed; they were dashed to pieces against the rocks, or sank into the unobedient waves. Many perished; more would have shared their fate but for some fishing-craft and merchant-vessels belonging to the Christians, who showed the utmost activity in saving the lives of their deluded countrymen, and, by holding up the bodies of the drowned, prevented the rest from following their fatal example. The Jews, at length disabused, turned to revenge themselves on their leader. But he had disappeared; no doubt he had secured a place of retreat, probably with some of the fruits of his imposture. Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian, cannot disguise his suspicion that he was a devil who assumed a human form for the destruction of those unhappy people. But many of the Jews, heartily ashamed of their own credulity, and struck with the brotherly kindness of the Christians, adopted the faith of love and charity.

We must revert to Alexandria, ever the most fatal scene of Jewish turbulence and Jewish calamity. Yet no calamity could induce this gainloving people to abandon that great emporium of commerce. Rarely have we directed our attention to the city of Alexandria but we have seen its streets flowing with the blood of thousands of Jews; at our next view we always find them reëstablished in immense numbers, and in inexhaustible opulence. To the old feuds between Greeks and Jews in this city, noted at all times for its fierce and mutinous spirit, had succeeded those of the different sects of Christians, and of the Christians, Pagans, and Jews. Even holy bishops were not superior to the violence which the fiery climate seemed to infuse into the veins of these "children of the Sun." The records of the Alexandrian Church present, perhaps, the most un-Christian page in Christian history.¹ At this period the city was rent into factions on a subject, all-important in those days, the merits of the dancers in the public exhibitions.² These entertainments usually took place on the Jewish Sabbath, and on that idle day the theatre was thronged with Jews, who preferred this profane amusement to the holy worship of their synagogue.³ Violent collisions of the different factions perpetually took place, which rarely

¹ Socrates, H. E. vii. 13. Socrates says of the Alexandrian seditions, *δίχα γὰρ αἵματος οὐ πανέται τῆς ὀρυῆς* They always ended in bloodshed.

² The severer Rabbins prohibited the theatre. "Iis denique, qui a ludis abstinuerunt, multi Judæorum accensendi, qui a Rabbinis sæpius admoniti, coronam theatralem, veluti cœtum irrisorum, quem ingredi Plasmista prohibuerat, sanctitatis studio fugerunt." Müller, *De Genio Ævi Theodosiani*, p. 60, with *note*. The Rabbinical authority was at its weakest in Greek Alexandria.

³ The Jews and Christians, like the Blues and Greens in Constantinople, seem to have espoused the cause of different actors, *ἐν δὲ πλέον διὰ τοῦτο ὀρχηστὰς ἐκπεπολέμωντο καθ' ἑαυτῶν*.

terminated without bloodshed. Orestes, Prefect of Alexandria, determined to repress these sanguinary tumults, and ordered his police regulations to be suspended in the theatre.¹ Certain partisans of Cyril, the Archbishop, entered the theatre with the innocent design, according to Socrates, on whose partial authority the whole affair rests, of reading these ordinances. Among the rest was one Hierax, a low schoolmaster, a man conspicuous as an adherent of the Archbishop, whom he was wont frequently to applaud by clapping his hands (the usual custom in the Church) whenever he preached. From what cause does not appear, but the Jews considered themselves insulted by his presence, and raised an outcry that the man was there only to stir up a tumult. Orestes, jealous of the Archbishop, who had usurped on the civil authority, ordered Hierax to be seized and scourged. Cyril sent for the principal Jews, and threatened them with exemplary vengeance if they did not cause all tumults against the Christians to cease. The Jews determined to anticipate their adversaries. Having put on rings of palm-bark that they might distinguish each other in the dark, they suddenly, at the dead of night, raised a cry of fire about the great church, called that of Alexander. The Christians rose, and rushed from all quarters to save the church. The Jews fell on them, and massacred on all sides. When day dawned, the cause of the uproar was manifest. The militant Archbishop instantly took arms, attacked with a formidable force the synagogues of the Jews, slew many, drove the rest out of the city, and plundered their property.²

¹ Perhaps these regulations might appoint different days for the different classes of the people to attend the theatre: this supposition would make the story more clear.

² Baronius relates this act of the Archbishop with characteristic coolness:

The strong part which Orestes took against the Archbishop, and his regret at the expulsion of the thriving and industrious Jews from the city, seem to warrant a suspicion that the latter were not so entirely without provocation. Both, however, sent representations to the Emperor; but, probably before he could interfere, the feud between the implacable Prefect and the Archbishop had grown to a greater height. Cyril, it is said, on one occasion advanced to meet his adversary, with the Gospel in his hand, as a sign of peace; but Orestes, suspecting probably that he had not much of its spirit in his heart, refused this offer of conciliation. There were certain monks who lived in the mountains of Nitria. These fiery champions of the Church seized their arms, and poured into the city to strengthen the faction of the Patriarch. Emboldened by their presence, Cyril openly insulted Orestes — called him heathen, idolater, and many other opprobrious names. In vain the Prefect protested that he had been baptized by Atticus, a bishop in Constantinople. A man, named Ammonius, hurled a great stone at his head: the blood gushed forth, and his affrighted attendants dispersed on all sides. But the character of Orestes stood high with the inhabitants. The Alexandrian populace rose in defence of their Prefect; the monks were driven from the city, Ammonius tortured and put to death. Cyril commanded his body to be taken up, paid him all the honors of a martyr, and declared that he had fallen a victim to his righteous zeal in defence of the Church. Even Socrates seems to shrink from relating this un-Christian conduct of the Patriarch. Cyril himself was

“Ex Judæis nonnullos neci dat, alios expellit e civitate, eorumque fortunæ a multitudine diripi permittit.” Sub ann. 415.

ashamed, and glad to bury the transaction in oblivion. Before long, however, his adherents perpetrated a more inhuman deed even than the plunder and expulsion of the Jews: it must be related, to show the ferocious character of their antagonists. There was a woman, named Hypatia, of extraordinary learning, and deeply versed in the Platonic philosophy. She lived in great intimacy with Orestes, and was suspected of encouraging him in his hostility to the Patriarch. This woman they seized, dragged her from her chariot, and, with the most revolting indecency, tore her clothes off, and then rent her limb from limb. By another account Cyril himself is accused as having instigated, from jealousy of the fair Platonist's numerous hearers, this horrible act. It is grievous to add, that, through bribes and interest at the imperial court, the affair remained unpunished: nor do we hear that the Jews obtained either redress or restoration to their homes and property.

We gladly avert our eyes to catch a few occasional gleams of better feeling among the Christian hierarchy towards the subjects of our History. The history and the laws of the Empire thus show the Jews in almost every province, not of the East alone, but of Greece, the Islands, Italy, Gaul, Africa, and Spain.¹ It is related that such was the spirit of love produced by the example of the good Hilary, in his diocese of Poitiers in Gaul, that at his funeral the Israelites were heard chanting in Hebrew their mournful psalms of lamentation for the Christian Bishop.² Some traits of friendly feeling, and of amicable correspondence with respecta-

¹ Socrates, H. E., iii. 13.

² Honorat. Vit. S. Hilarii.

ble Jews, occur in the elegant works of Sidonius Apollinaris.¹

In the mean time the Jewish Patriarchate, after having exercised its authority for nearly three centuries, expired in the person of Gamaliel. Its fall had been prognosticated by many visible signs of decay and dissolution. The Jews, ever more and more dispersed, became probably a less influential part of the population in Palestine; at least those in the Holy Land bore a less proportion to the numbers scattered throughout the world; and thus the bonds of authority over the more remote communities gradually relaxed. A law of Honorius gave a signal blow to its opulence: it prohibited the exportation of the annual tribute² which the collectors of the Patriarch levied on the Jews throughout the Empire, from Rome,³ probably from the Western Empire. Five years after, it is true, this law was repealed, and the Patriarch resumed his rights; but the Jews were deprived, by another statute, of the agency, — an office, now apparently become

¹ Yet Sidonius must apologize for his favorable disposition to a Jew: "Gozolas natione Judæus . . . cujus mihi quoque esset persona cordi, si non esset secta despecta . ." Ep. iii. 4, and iv. 5. "Judæum præsens charta commendat, non quod mihi placeat error, per quem pereunt involuti. . . . Sed quia neminem ipsorum nos decet ex asse damnabilem pronuciare, dum vivit. In spe enim adhuc absolutionis est, cui suppetit posse converti." vi. 11. See also Greg. Tur. ii. c. 21.

² Jost attributes the gradual decline of the Patriarchate (at an earlier period) to the falling-off of its revenues: "Wenn wir nicht irren, so hatte die Schwäche des Patriarchats ihren Grund im Versiegen der Einnahmen, die ihm in früherer Zeit zugeflossen waren." *Judenthum*, ii. 158. They then began to send out their collectors: ". . . quos ipsi Apostolos vocant, qui ad exigendum aurum atque argentum a Patriarchâ certo tempore diriguntur, e singulis Synagogis exactam summam adque susceptam ad eundem reportent." *Cod. Theodos.* xvi. 14. Compare, on the title ἀποστολος, Julian. *Epist.* xxv. Epiphanius de *Hæres.* 30, and the note on this law in Ritter's *Cod. Theodos.*

³ *Cod. Theod.* xvi. 15.

lucrative, which their active habits of trade enabled them to fill with great advantage to themselves. At length a law of Theodosius,¹ which has been differently understood, either stripped the Patriarch of the honorary title of Prefect, which had been assigned to him by former emperors, and thus virtually destroyed his authority; or, as some—inaccurately, I conceive—suppose, expressly abolished the office. The crime imputed to the Patriarch was his erecting new synagogues, in defiance of the imperial laws. At all events, Gamaliel—even if after this statute he maintained the empty name of Patriarch—at his death had no successor; and this spiritual monarchy of the West was forever dissolved.² It may be said that the dominion passed into the hands of the Rabbinical aristocracy. The Jerusalem Talmud had already been compiled, as a new code: it embodied and preserved the learning of the schools in Palestine, which, before the fall of the Patriarchate, had almost come to an end. But the later compilation, the Talmud of Babylon, eclipsed the more

¹ Cod. Theodos. xvi. On the title of *Agentes in Rebus*, compare note on Law 24.

² Cod. Theodos. xvi. 22:—

“*Quoniam Gamalielus existimavit se posse impune delinquere, quod magis est erectus fastigio dignitatum.*” He was ordered to surrender his patent (*codicillum*) of office as honorary Prefect, “*Ita ut in eo sit honore in quo ante Praefecturam fuerat constitutus, ac deinceps nullas condi faciat Synagogas: et si quæ sint in solitudine, si sine seditione possent deponi, perficiat.*” The same edict prohibited the circumcision, by him or any other Jew, of any Christian. Christian slaves were to be emancipated according to the law of Constantine. Compare Law 26.

On the other hand, a law of Theodosius the younger prohibited the depriving the Jews of their synagogues, and burning them. If any synagogues, since the passing of the law, had been consecrated as churches, or for Christian uses, sites were to be given of equal dimensions. Any offerings (*donativa*) which had not been consecrated to Christian uses were to be restored; if consecrated, an adequate price was to be paid. But while the old synagogues were permitted to stand, no new ones were to be built. Cod. Theod. xvi. 25.

obscure and less perfect work of the Palestinian Jews, and became the law and the religion of the whole race of Israel.

The Talmud remains as a whole secluded in its mysteries, except to those who are not only Hebrew scholars, but who have mastered the later and less classical Hebrew (if it may be so said) of the Rabbins.¹ In our days perhaps the Talmud, revealed in all its secret lore, might obtain a fair hearing and a dispassionate judgment. But immediately after, or indeed before its final compilation had begun, three ages of intense, bitter, unforgiving hatred between Jew and Christian had intervened — ages of division too natural, too inevitable, when Christians hated each other for far less glaring differences, and with even more implacable cordiality, than they did the Jews. During this period the Christian considered himself involved in an inextinguishable blood-feud with the Jew, the murderer as he was esteemed of the Saviour; and the Jew, scattered, despised, downtrodden, could not but look with the gloomiest envy on the Christian, who had succeeded in conquering the world to his faith, an achievement which, in his high days of hope, he had thought to have been his own glorious destiny. He therefore shut himself up in his pride, as if his race were still the chosen, though as yet sorely tried and

¹ Some separate treatises may be read translated into Latin or into modern languages, a few in the great Thesaurus of Ugolini. The vast scheme of Chiarini, who proposed to publish the whole Babylonian Talmud, translated into French (his single volume contains only the first treatise, the *Beracoth*), was cut off by his untimely death, in 1832. M. Pinner of Berlin issued proposals even on a larger scale for the publication of the whole Talmud, with a German translation, and copious notes and illustrations. Only the first volume appeared (at least I, as a subscriber to the work, have received but one, in folio, Berlin, A. D. 1842). I presume that the work has been discontinued, for what reason I know not.

heavily burdened, people of God. In later times, when the schism grew wider and wider, the only way (as we shall find it was proposed in the Middle Ages) to extirpate obstinate Judaism, was to burn and destroy, and utterly root out the Talmud. The Talmud therefore became more dear to the Jew, who was little inclined to unfold its lore to the blind, prejudiced Christians, unable to comprehend, and unworthy of being enlightened by its wisdom. As better times came on, Christian scholars, Lightfoot, Selden, the Buxtorffs, Meuschen, Wolf, Bartolocci, dug into those hidden mines, from the love of knowledge and the desire of illustrating the origin of their own religion. Eisenmenger undertook the hateful task of disclosing all the mysteries of Rabbinical learning, only to make the Jews more detestable to the Christian world, and to expose them to more merciless persecution. The title-page of his work is "Judaism Exposed" (*Entdecktes Judenthum*). It is, according to Eisenmenger, a profound and true statement of the frightful manner in which the obdurate Jews curse and scoff at the Holy Trinity, God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, mock at the Holy Mother of Christ, throughout insult the New Testament, the Apostles and Evangelists, the whole religion of Christ. Odious as was the spirit and intention of Eisenmenger, his reading was vast, his industry indefatigable (two enormously thick quarto volumes are crowded with citations in the original, and with translations). I have never heard his accuracy seriously impeached. But the grave defect of the book is, that passages from the Talmud are heaped together indiscriminately with passages from the modern writings, writings of times when cruel persecution, as well as contempt, had for centuries goaded the miserable

Jews to the only vengeance in which, besides over-reaching in trade, they could indulge, — writings in their own secret, unintelligible language, such as the “Toldoth Jesu,” and the other “fiery weapons of Satan,” published later, to the horror and detestation of Christian Europe, by Wagenseil.¹ Of all the Jewish books, early and late, the extracts in Eisenmenger, read with this caution and in the more generous spirit of our times, form certainly a most curious and instructive collection. Take the strange, monstrous Oriental hyperboles, in which the barbarized Jews endeavored to describe the Undescribable, to represent under imagery the Inconceivable Godhead and His attributes ; the wild, sometimes profound, and almost sublime allegories, which Eisenmenger, and probably the more ignorant Jews themselves, understood literally, as they did the strange apologues and parables. Consider the philosophy of the Talmud without the apologetic reserve and prudent suppression of the modern Jewish writers, or without the remorseless literalness of most Christian expositors ; without receiving it as altogether a mystery of esoteric wisdom, skilfully and subtly couched in language only really intelligible to the initiate, but as the growth of the human mind in a very peculiar condition, a legendary and a scholasticism, and a mysticism of half-European, half-Asiatic cast. But this would require a perfect mastery of Rabbinical Hebrew in its gradual development and expansion, as well as a calm and subtle, and penetrating,

¹ The “Tela Ignea Satanæ.” Wagenseil himself admits the wretched trash about the birth and early life of the Saviour, in the “Toldoth Jesu,” to be very modern: “nam est omnino recens seu abortus,” p. 25. I apprehend that it was crushed out of the maddened hearts of the Jews by the Inquisition — a miserable revenge, but still revenge! It first appeared in the “Pugio Fidei” of the Spanish monk Raymond Martin.

I would almost say, considering the subjects often in discussion, a reverential judgment, — the gift of few men, of still fewer who are likely to devote their minds to what after all might prove but a barren study. So alone should we know what the Jews have been, what they may be, and fully understand their writings and their later history. A religious mind would be above all indispensable; but the combination of religious zeal with respect for the religion of others is the last and tardiest growth in the inexhaustible soil of Christian virtue.¹

¹ The calm and sober chapters of Jost, in his "Judenthum," on the Talmud (Judenthum, ii. pp. 202-222), deserve to be read and studied. See his distinction between the Halacha and the Midrasch, p. 213. "While, as the Halacha was the very life of the religion, it rigorously enforced the Law in all its strictest observances, with all the subtlety and ingenuity by which its provisions had been fenced about, and guarded by the most minute definitions, so the Midrasch was the element of the most boundless intellectual activity, or of thought and opinion, 'des Denkens und Meinens.' All which did not belong to the Law it assumed as its province; the conceptions of God, of angels and spirits; notions of the being and destiny of man in this world and the next; the moral law in all its bearings; the treatment of the historical events in the Jewish annals; the possible meaning of every expression in the Holy Scriptures; the reconciliation of seemingly contradictory characters of Biblical persons; popular traditions and proverbs; popular belief and superstition, even particular observances of the Law, as far as they could be brought into relation with such inquiries, — in short, an endless world of actual life and creative imagination was contained in the Agada or Midrasch." The Agada ". . . represents God as acting and speaking as appears to the writers necessary for His purposes; it brings forward holy men and women of the old times before the eyes of its hearers as conversing with God and with spirits; it permits God and the angels to mingle in the commerce and strife of men, often to act according to their wish; on the holy it bestows miraculous powers of the most extraordinary kind. They heal the sick of whom art has despaired, kill with a word or a look . . . all nature is under their command. . . . They have unlimited power over evil spirits. The Agada seizes all sorts of tenets and opinions, which are not accordant with Jewish language and views, to mould them after its own fashion; it takes up Pythagorean and Platonic, Alexandrian and Gnostic, Persian and other Oriental notions, and turns them into Jewish. Hence the infinite charm of variety, and the delight of the Jews to wander in this wild garden;

hence the acknowledged impossibility to introduce anything like tenets, or even to lay down principles of tenets."

This fertile imagination of the Jews had already allowed itself free play in the apocryphal books, such as the ivth (so called) Esdras, the Ascension of Isaiah, the Book of Enoch; to say nothing of the *Jewish* part of the Oracula Sibyllina. Compare Ewald, especially on the ivth book of Esdras, xvii. 63, &c.; Hilgenfeld, Die Jüdische Apocalypitik.

Pinner, in his preface, has cited the opinions of many other learned men as to the real character and contents of the genuine Talmud. See, too, Salvador (Jésus Christ et sa Doctrine) for a defence of the Talmud.

BOOK XXI.

THE JEWS UNDER THE BARBARIAN KINGS AND THE BYZANTINE EMPERORS.

Irruption and Conquests of the Barbarians — Trade of the Jews — Slave-Trade — Decrees of Councils — Of Pope Gregory the First — Conduct of the Christians to the Jews — Arian Kings of Italy — Pope Gregory the First — State anterior to the Rise of Mohammedanism in the Eastern Empire — Insurrections of the Samaritans — Laws of Justinian — Dispute about the Language in which the Law was to be read — State of the Jews in the Persian Dominions — Persecutions — Civil Contests — Conquest of Syria and Jerusalem by the Persians — Reconquest by the Emperor Heraclius.

THE irruption of the Northern Barbarians during the latter half of the fourth to about the end of the fifth century so completely disorganized the whole frame of society, that the condition of its humblest members could not but be powerfully influenced by the total revolution in the government, in the possession of the soil, and in the social character of all those countries which were exposed to their inroads. The Jews were widely dispersed in all the provinces on which the storm fell—in Belgium, along the course of the Rhine—in such parts of Germany as were civilized—in Gaul, Italy, and Spain. An early law of Constantine¹ shows them as settled at Colonia Agrippina (Cologne), another in Macedonia and Illyricum. The Western Emperors legislate concerning the Jews as frequently as the Eastern. In Gaul, Council after Council, not only those which denounce their commerce in slaves, but others in every part, in

¹ Cod. Theodos. xvi. 3. 12.

Bretagne, at Agde, in the South, show them as living on terms of free intercourse with the Christians; the clergy alone were forbidden to share in their feasts, or to admit them to their own hospitable boards.¹ We have seen them mourning over a humane Bishop of Poitiers; so too over another Bishop, Gallus of Clermont, whose bier they followed weeping, with lighted torches.² They are employed by another Bishop of Clermont (Sidonius Apollinaris) in offices of trust. The laws of the Burgundians define the mulct for a Jew who shall strike a Christian with fist or cudgel or whip or stone, or pull his hair.³ If he lifted his hand against the sacred person of a priest, the penalty was death and confiscation of goods.⁴ In Italy we shall have full account of their state and condition. The decrees of the Council of Elvira have already recognized them as land-owners and cultivators of the soil in Spain. Of the original progress of the Jews into these countries, history takes no notice; for they did not migrate in swarms, or settle in large bodies, but sometimes as slaves, following the fortunes of their masters; sometimes as single enterprising traders, they travelled on and advanced as convenience or profit tempted, till they reached the verge of civilization. On them the successive inroads and conquests of the Barbarians fell much more lightly than on the native inhabitants. Attached to no fixed residence, with little interest in the laws and usages of the different provinces; rarely encumbered with landed property or

¹ Concil. Venet. (Vannes, can. 21) Agathensis (Agde). The Council of Elvira did not confine this prohibition to the clergy.

² Gregor. Tur. Vit. Patr. c. vii.

³ Baronius, Ann. A. D. 445-9, 449-61.

⁴ Leg. Burgund. (apud Canciani, xix.). De Judæis qui in Christianum manum præsumerint mittere.

with immovable effects ; sojourners, not settlers, denizens rather than citizens, they could retreat, before the cloud burst, to the more secure and peaceful dwellings of their brethren, and bear with them the most valuable portion of their goods. True citizens of the world, they shifted their quarters, and found new channels for their trade as fast as the old were closed. But the watchful son of Israel fled to return again, in order that he might share in the plunder of the uncircumcised. Through burning towns and ravaged fields he travelled, regardless of the surrounding misery which enveloped those with whom he had no ties of attachment. If splendid cities became a prey to the flames, or magnificent churches lay in ashes, his meaner dwelling was abandoned without much regret, and with no serious loss ; and even his synagogue might perish in the common ruin, without either deeply wounding the religious feelings of the worshippers, who had no peculiar local attachment to the spot, or inflicting any very grievous loss on a community who could reëstablish, at no great expense, their humble edifice. If, indeed, individuals experienced considerable losses, their whole trading community had great opportunities of reimbursement, which they were not likely to overlook or neglect in the wild confusion of property which attended the conquests of the invaders. Where battles were fought, and immense plunder fell into the power of the wandering Barbarians, the Jews were still at hand to traffic the worthless and glittering baubles with which ignorant savages are delighted, or the more useful but comparatively cheap instruments and weapons of iron and brass, for the more valuable commodities, of which the vendors knew not the price or the use. These, by the rapid and secret correspondence which,

no doubt, the Israelites had already established with their brethren in every quarter of the world, were transported into more peaceful and unplundered regions, which still afforded a market for the luxuries and ornaments of life. Already in the time of Gregory the First, a more perilous traffic had begun. Some of the clergy had dared, or had been compelled by want, to alienate the sacred vessels and furniture of their churches to the profane hands of the Jew merchant. Gregory declares with horror¹ that the clergy of Vena-fro had sold to a Jew two silver cups, two crowns with dolphins, the lilies of two others, six larger and seven smaller pallia.² It seems that the sale was illegal, and the Jew could be forced to regorge his prey. Gregory, as we shall hereafter see, was generally just and humane to the Jews. As to the particulars of this commerce, we have no certain information, as, in truth, the fact rests rather on inference than on positive data; but if it existed to the extent we believe, it must have been highly lucrative, when the venders were ignorant barbarians, and the purchasers intelligent, and, probably, not over-scrupulous traders, well acquainted with the price which every article would bear in the different markets of the civilized world. Nor is it improbable that, by keeping alive the spirit of commerce, which might otherwise have become utterly extinct amid the general insecurity, the interruption of the usual means of communication, and the occupation of the roads by wild marauders, the Jews conferred a great advantage on society, by promoting the civilization of these wild and warlike hordes. But we have ample evidence that one great branch of commerce fell almost entirely into the hands of the Jews — the in-

¹ "Quod dici nefas est."

² S. Greg. Epist. i. 55.

ternal slave-trade of Europe. It is impossible to suppose but that this strange state of things must have inspired a sort of revengeful satisfaction into the mind of the zealous Israelite. While his former masters, or at least his rulers, the Christians, were wailing over their desolate fields, their ruined churches, their pillaged monasteries, their violated convents, he was growing rich amid the general ruin, and perhaps either purchasing for his own domestic service, at the cheapest price, the fairest youths, and even high-born maidens, or driving his gangs of slaves to the different markets, where they still bore a price. The Church beheld this evil with avowed grief and indignation. In vain popes issued their rescripts, and councils uttered their interdicts; the necessity for the perpetual renewal both of the admonitions of the former, and the laws of the latter, show that they had not the power to repress a practice which they abhorred. The language of these edicts was, at first, just and moderate. The Christians had, probably, the wisdom to perceive that, however apparently disgraceful to their cause, and productive of much misery, this trade had also its advantages, in mitigating the horrors and atrocities of war. Servitude was an evil, particularly when the Christian was enslaved to an Infidel or Jew, but it was the only alternative to avoid massacre. Conquering savages will respect human life only where it is of value as a disposable article, — they will make captives only where captives are useful and salable. In the interior of Africa, it may be questionable how far the slave-trade increases or allays the barbarity of warlike tribes. No doubt many marauding expeditions are undertaken, and even wars between different tribes and nations entered into, with no other motive or object of plunder

except the miserable beings which supply the slave-marts ; but where the war arises from other causes, it would probably terminate in the relentless extermination of the conquered party, if they were not spared, some may say, and with justice, for the more pitiable fate of being carried across the desert as a marketable commodity. But with the northern tribes, the capture of slaves was never the primary object of their invasions ; they moved onward either in search of new settlements, or propelled by the vast mass of increasing population among the tribes beyond them : at this period, therefore, this odious commerce must have greatly tended to mitigate the horrors of war, which the state of society rendered inevitable.

From the earliest period after Christianity assumed the reins of the Empire, the possession of Christian slaves by the circumcised had offended the dominant party. Constantine issued a severe law, which prohibited the Jew, under pain of confiscation of property, from buying a Christian slave ; but this law was either never executed, or fell into disuse.¹ It was re-enacted by Theodosius, with the addition, that such as were slaves before the issue of the decree were to be redeemed by the Christians.² A law of Honorius³ only prohibited the conversion of Christian slaves to Judaism, not interfering with, or rather fully recognizing, the Jews' right of property in their bondsmen.⁴

¹ 1 Cod. Theodos. xvi. Sozomen. Ἰουδαίων δὲ ἐνομοθέτησαν μὴδὲνα δοῦλον ἀνείσθαι τῶν ἐξ ἑτέρας αἰρέσεως. The slave was confiscated to the public treasury. H. E. iii. 19.

² Cod. Theodos. iii. 1. 5. The date is A. C. 384.

³ 1 Cod. Theodos. xvi. 8. 3. The law is dated A. C. 415.

⁴ Jost, *Judenthum*, ii. 158, mentions Abahu, a wealthy and enlightened Jew of Cæsarea, who was on friendly and familiar terms with the Roman proconsul, and though he conversed in Greek with the proconsul, and allowed his daughters to be taught Greek, still lived in amity with the

After the evil had grown, through the incessant barbaric wars, to a much greater magnitude, the Council of Orleans¹ (A. c. 540) took the lead, but with great fairness and moderation, in the laudable attempt to alleviate its baneful effects on the religious as well as the temporal state of the slave. That assembly enacted, "That if a slave was commanded to perform any service incompatible with his religion, and the master proceeded to punish him for disobedience, he might find an asylum in any church: the clergy of that church were on no account to give him up, but to pay his full value to the master." The fourth Council of the same place (A. c. 541) goes further: "If a slave under such circumstances should claim the protection of any Christian, he is bound to afford it, and to redeem the slave at a fair price." Further: "Any Jew who makes a proselyte to Judaism, or takes a Christian slave to himself (probably as wife or concubine), or by the promise of freedom bribes one born a Christian to forswear his faith, and embrace Judaism, loses his property in the slave. The Christian who has accepted his freedom on such terms shall not presume to fulfil the condition, for a born Christian who embraces Judaism is unworthy of liberty." The first Council of Macon (A. c. 582) enacts, "That according to the laws, both ecclesiastical and civil, the conditions by which a Christian, either as a captive in war or by purchase, has become slave to a Jew, must be respected. But since complaints have arisen that Jews living in the great and small towns have been so shameless as to refuse a fair price for the redemption

Rabbins, and even lectured in the synagogues. He was *served by Gothic slaves*, and had an ivory chair.

¹ Labbe. Concil. sub ann.

of such bondsmen, no Christian can be compelled to remain in slavery ; but every Christian has a right to redeem Christian slaves at the price of twelve solidi,¹ (to such a price had human life fallen,) either to restore them to freedom, or to retain them as his own slaves ; for it were unjust that those whom our Saviour has redeemed by his blood should groan in the fetters of un-Christian persecutors." These laws produced little effect ; for in the first place they calculated, far beyond the character of the age, on the predominance of Christian charity over the love of lucre, both in the clergy and the laity. Besides, the whole administration of law had fallen into the worst disorder. Every kingdom, province, or district had its separate jurisdiction ; no uniformity of system could prevail ; and where the commonalty, many of the administrators of the law, and even the clergy, could neither write nor read, the written rescripts of councils were often but a dead letter. The Fourth Council of Toledo (A. C. 633) recognized the practice of Jewish slave-dealing as in full force. The Tenth, at the same place (A. C. 655), complains that "even the clergy, in defiance of the law, sold captives to Jews and heathens." At the close of the sixth century, one of the wisest and most humane pontiffs filled the Papal chair, Gregory the First. The Pope in his pastoral letters alternately denounces, bewails, and, by authoritative rebuke and appeal to the better feelings, endeavors to suppress, this "cruel and impious" traffic, which still existed in Italy, Sicily, and the South of France. He writes to Fortunatus, Bishop of Naples, "that he has received an account that a Jewish miscreant has built an altar, and

¹ According to the calculation adopted by Gibbon for this period, about 36s. of our money.

forced or bribed his Christian slaves to worship upon it.”¹ The prefect was directed to inflict corporal chastisement on the offender, and to cause all the slaves to receive their freedom. The next year he writes to Venantius, Bishop of Luna in Tuscany, rebuking him for permitting Christian slaves to come into the power of Jewish masters, contrary to his duty. Those who had been long in the possession of such masters were to be considered as villains attached to the soil (the Jews, it should seem, were considerable landed proprietors or cultivators of the land in Italy). But if the Jew resisted, or abused his seigniorial right to transplant the slave² from the soil to which he belonged, he was to lose his lease of land, as well as his right over the slave. Gregory distinguishes between the possession of and the trade in slaves. No Jew or heathen, who was desirous of becoming a Christian, was to be retained in slavery. Lest the Jew should complain that he is robbed of his property, this rule is to be observed: if a heathen slave, bought as an article of trade, within three months after the sale, and before he finds another purchaser, shall wish to embrace Christianity, the Jew shall receive the full price from a Christian slave-purchaser; if after that time, he shall immediately obtain his freedom, as it is evident that the Jew keeps him not for sale, but for service.³ This

¹ The altar was dedicated to the blessed *Elias*: a singular circumstance, if true, as it should seem that the Jew tempted other Christians besides slaves to this “saint-worship,” so contrary to the spirit of his own religion. The Jew, it is insinuated in the charge, had bribed the Bishop to connivance. Greg. Epist. lib. ii. ep. 37.

² “Quod si quispiam de his vel ad alium locum migrare, vel in obsequio suo retinere voluerit, ipse sibi reputet qui jus colonarium temeritate suâ, jus vero juris dominii sui severitate damnavit.” Lib. iii. epist. 21.

³ This appears from a second letter to Fortunatus, Bishop of Naples, lib. v. ep. 31. The Pagan or Jewish slave who wished to embrace Christianity “in libertatem modis omnibus vindicetur.”

was, as it were, within the dominions of the Papacy, at least, almost bordering on the Pope's own particular diocese. In the Gallic provinces, as probably his power was less implicitly acknowledged, so his tone is less peremptory. The slaves in such cases were to be repurchased out of the goods of the Church. Gregory writes to Candidus, a presbyter in Gaul: "Dominic, the bearer of this letter, has with tears made known to us, that his four brothers have been bought by the Jews, and are at present their slaves at Narbonne. We direct you to make inquiry into the transaction, and, if it be true, to redeem them at a proper price, which you will charge in your accounts, *i. e.* deduct from the annual payment made to Rome."¹ Three years earlier he had written to Januarius, Bishop of Cagliari, in Sardinia, rebuking him, because certain slaves, belonging to Jews, who had taken refuge in a church, had been given up to the unbelievers. He here declares "that every slave so seeking baptism becomes free, and the treasures of the poor (*i. e.* the goods of the Church) are not to suffer loss for their redemption."²

There is in his very curious letter to Fortunatus, Bishop of Naples, an approval of his ardent zeal in favor of Christian slaves bought by the Jews in the Gallic provinces. The Pontiff had intended entirely to interdict the trade. But a certain Jew, Basilius, with several others, had waited upon him, and stated that this traffic was recognized by the judicial authorities, and that it was only by accident that Christian

¹ Lib. vi. epist. xxi.

² "Sive olim Christianus, sive nunc fuerit baptisatus, sine ullo Christianorum pauperum damno religioso ecclesiasticæ pietatis patrocinio in libertatem modis omnibus vindicetur." Epist. lib. iii. 9.

slaves were bought among the heathen.¹ In a solemn tone, the Pontiff thus writes to Thierry and Theodebert, Kings of the Franks, and to Queen Brunehaut: "We are in amazement that, in your kingdom, Jews are permitted to possess Christian slaves. For, what are Christians but members of Christ's body, who, as ye know, as we all know, is their Head? Is it not most inconsistent to honor the Head, and to allow the members to be trampled on by His enemies? We entreat your Majesties to expel this baneful traffic from your dominions: so will ye show yourselves true worshippers of Almighty God, by delivering His faithful from the hands of their adversaries."² Another letter of Gregory, to Leo, Bishop of Catania in Sicily, establishes the curious fact that the Samaritans were likewise widely dispersed, and shared this traffic with the Jews:—"A circumstance, both revolting and contrary to the law, hath been made known to us,—a circumstance, if true, worthy of the strongest reprobation and the heaviest punishment. We understand that certain Samaritans resident at Catania buy heathen slaves, whom they are so daring as to circumcise. You must investigate this affair with impartial zeal, take such slaves under the protection of the Church, and not suffer these men to receive any repayment. Besides this loss, they must be punished to the utmost extremity of the law."³ According to the Roman law, which still prevailed in Sicily, the penalty of circumcising slaves was death and confiscation of property. In all other respects, this wise and virtuous Pontiff religiously maintained that tolerance towards the Jews which they enjoyed, with few exceptions, during

¹ Lib. vii. 2. 35.

² Lib. vii. 2. 115, 116.

³ Lib. v. epist. 32. Compare lib. vii. epist. 22.

this period of confusion, and even for some time after the conversion of the Barbarian monarchs to Christianity.¹

For all this time the Church was either sadly occupied in mourning over the ravages which enveloped the clergy and people in common ruin, or, more nobly, in imparting to the fierce conquerors the humanizing and civilizing knowledge of Christianity. It had not the power — we trust, in those times of adversity, that best school of Christian virtue, not the will — to persecute. There is a remarkable picture of the state of the Jews in Africa, in a tract printed among the works of St. Augustine, called the “Altercation between the Synagogue and the Church.”² The date of this record is uncertain; but it seems earlier, rather than later, as Basnage supposes, than the Vandal conquest of that region. The Synagogue maintains that “she is neither the slave nor the servant of the Church, since her sons are free, and, instead of being constrained to wear fetters and other marks of servitude, have full liberty of navigation and of commerce.” This seems to indicate considerable extent of trade. On the other hand, the Church rejoins that the Synagogue is obliged to pay tribute to the Christians; that a Jew cannot pretend to the Empire, or to become a count (comes) or governor of a province; that he cannot enter into the senate or the army; that he is not even received at the tables of men of rank; and that if he is allowed the means of obtaining a livelihood, it is only to prevent his perishing of hunger.

Theodoric, the Arian Gothic king of Italy, it has

¹ See a letter to the Bishop of Palermo, lib. vii. epist. 26. Compare vii. 2. 59.

² Augustin. Oper ‘Altercatio Ecclesiæ et Synagogæ.’

already been observed, openly protected the Jews.¹ His secretary, Cassiodorus, prompted and encouraged this enlightened policy. The king lost no opportunity of expressing his opinion, that the Israelites showed an excessive zeal for the goods and for the peace of this world, while they lost all thought of immortality; but he discountenanced and repressed all insult and violence. He reproved the senate of Rome, because on account of some private quarrel the synagogue had been burned. He strongly rebuked the clergy of Milan, who had endeavored to make themselves masters of a synagogue and all its property.² He repressed the people of Genoa, who had abrogated all the privileges of the Jews, long resident among them; had risen, pillaged, and unroofed the synagogue.³ He directed that the Israelites should be reinstated in their privileges, and permitted to rebuild their synagogue, provided that it was a plain building, and covered no larger space of ground than their former one. This was at the end of the fifth century. It was about the end of the sixth that the Pope himself assumed the saintly office of protector of the oppressed. From several of the letters of Gregory the First, it appears that the Jews had laid their grievances before him in person, and obtained redress.⁴ He severely rebuked those whose intemperate zeal had led them to insult the synagogues by placing the images of the Virgin and the crucified Redeemer within their walls:⁵

¹ Theodoric. Edict. 143.

² Cassiodor. Var. v. 37.

³ Cassiod. Var. ii. 27, and iv. 33.

⁴ Gregory reproves the Bishop of Terracina for having driven the Jews from certain places where they were accustomed to hold their festivities: "Eos enim, qui a Christianâ religione discordant, mansuetudine, benignitate, admonendo, suadendo, ad unitatem fidei necesse est congregare; ne quos dulcedo prædicationis, et prætensus futuri judicis terror ad credendum invitare poterat, minis et terroribus repellantur." Epist. lib. i. 34.

⁵ Epist. vii. 11. 5. This crime had been committed by a Jewish convert

yet he was by no means remiss in his attempts to convert these unbelievers; but they were to be won by tenderness, by gentleness, not by threats, terrors, and unjust usage.¹ The Pope stands in amiable contrast to other potentates of his time. The tyrannical and bloody Chilperic, the contemporary king of Paris and Soissons, with the fierce and ignorant ardor of a man who hoped by his savage zeal for the Christian faith to obtain remission for his dreadful violations of every Christian virtue, compelled the Jews, who seem to have been numerous and wealthy, to receive baptism. But it was remarked that these compulsory converts were but doubtful believers; they observed their own Sabbath as strictly as that of the Church. Chilperic, whom Gregory of Tours calls the Nero of France, was a theologian, in his own estimation, of the highest authority. He wrote on the Trinity and the Incarnation. The orthodox detected manifest Sabellianism in the royal tract, which, nevertheless, the king would impose by summary edicts on his subjects. Chilperic would personally convince the Jews of their blind error. There was a certain Priscus, a vender of ornaments, perhaps a jeweller, in his court. The king one day, pulling the Jew gently by the beard, ordered the good Bishop of Tours, Gregory, the historian, to lay his episcopal hands upon him — the sign of proselytism. The Jew resisted. "O stubborn

at Cagliari, who had insulted the synagogue which he had abandoned, by attacking it on the day of the Passover, and placing an image of the Virgin within it. "The Jews," observes the Pope, "are forbidden to build new synagogues, but we have no right to deprive them of the old."

¹ There is a letter of Gregory appointing a provision for certain converted Jewish females, "*rationabili moderatione concurrere, ne victûs, quod absit, inopiam patiantur.*" Epist. iii. 31. The Jews on the farms of the Church in Sicily were to have their payments lightened. Epist. iv. 6. Compare vii. 33.

soul and incredulous race!" said the king, and proceeded to ply the Jew with theological arguments. Priscus resolutely asserted the Unity of God, averred that He neither had nor could have a Son, a consort in his power. The king argued in vain; the bishop tried his skill with gentler and better reasoning, but with as little effect. The Jew stood firm; the king tried blandishments, but with no greater result. He then took to more powerful reasoning; he threw the obstinate unbeliever into prison. The Jew sought to gain time, promised, after he had married his son to a Jewish maiden at Marseilles, to consider, of course to yield to the royal teacher. But the king had more convincing allies than the good bishop. Phatir, a Christian proselyte, at whose baptism the king had been sponsor,—thus his son by a closer tie than birth,—perhaps from some old grudge, rushed into the synagogue with his armed followers and murdered the defenceless Priscus. The murderers took refuge in the Church of St. Julian. The king, to do him justice, sent troops to seize and execute them. Phatir fought his way through (his accomplices killed each other), and found an asylum in the kingdom of Burgundy, where he was afterwards killed. Some of the Gallic prelates, Virgilius of Arles, and Theodore of Marseilles, followed the example of Chilperic's zeal. They compelled the Jews in their respective dioceses to submit to baptism. But there were merchants among them, it would seem, of wealth and widespread connections; these men appealed to Pope Gregory. Gregory in his letter¹ positively prohibits all force. He argues with simple good sense, that, however the bishops may have been moved by love for the Redeemer, the compulsory

¹ Epist. i. 45. Compare xi. 15.

convert will no doubt revert to his former belief; gentle persuasion is the only sure means of changing the heart. The Pope himself, as we have seen, employed these more Christian, though occasionally more politic, and doubtless more effective, means of conversion. He forbade, as we have said, all outrage or insult; but, as we have also seen, he executed rigidly the Laws of Asylum, by which the Jews daily lost their slaves; and while by his protection he appealed to their better feelings, he laid a temptation in the way of their avarice, by offering remission of taxes to all converted Jews. We shall hereafter see the manner in which Spain maintained its dark distinction of being the first as well as the most ardent votary of religious persecution, and the fatal consequences of her implacable intolerance.

Scarcely had the world begun to breathe after the successive shocks which its social state had received from the inroads of the Northern barbarians, — scarcely had it begun to assume some appearance of order, as the kingdoms of the Goths, the Vandals, the Lombards, and the Franks successively arose upon the broken ruins of the Roman Empire, — when Mohammedanism suddenly broke forth, and, spreading with irresistible rapidity over great part of Asia, the north of Africa, and Spain, effected a complete revolution in the government, the manners, and the religion of half the world. The Persian kingdom fell at once, and the Magian religion was almost extinguished. In the Asiatic provinces, Christianity, excepting in Armenia, was reduced to an inconsiderable and persecuted sect. A magnificent mosque took the place of the Jewish Temple on the summit of Moriah. The flourishing churches of Africa, the dioceses of Cyprian and Augustine, were

yielded up to the interpreters of the Koran, and the Cross found a precarious refuge among the mountains of the Asturias, while the Crescent shone over the rich valleys of Spain and the splendid palaces of Grenada and Cordova. Such a revolution, as it submitted them to new masters, could not but materially affect the condition of the Jews. In most respects, the change was highly favorable ; for, though sometimes despised and persecuted by the Saracenic emperors and caliphs, in general their state was far less precarious and depressed than under the Christians ; and they rose to their great era of distinction in wealth, cultivation, and in letters, under the mild dominion of the Arabian dynasty in Spain.

In order to trace the influence of this great revolution, we return to the East, and survey the state of the Jews : I. Under the Byzantine empire ; II. Under the later Persian monarchs ; and III. In Arabia. The Greek empire was rapidly verging to decay ; the imperial court was a scene of intrigue and licentiousness, more like that of an Asiatic sultan than of the heir of the Roman name. The capital was distracted by factions, not set in arms in support of any of those great principles which dignify, if they do not vindicate, the violence of human passions, but in assertion of the superior skill of dancers and charioteers. The circus, not the senate, was the scene of their turbulence ; the actor, not the orator, was the object of popular excitement. An eunuch, Narses, and a Thracian peasant, Belisarius, alone maintained the fame of Rome for valor and ability in war. The Church was rapidly increasing in power, but by no means, notwithstanding the virtues and talents of men like Chrysostom, in the great attributes of the Christian religion, — wisdom,

holiness, and mercy. The Jews, probably by their industry as traders and their connection with their brethren in the East, ministered considerably to the splendor and luxury of the imperial court. But the fall of the Patriarchate, and the dispersion of the community in Palestine, which seems entirely to have lost the centre of unity with the religious capital, Tiberias, lowered the whole race in general estimation. They were no longer a native community, or, it might almost be said, a state, whose existence was recognized by the supreme power, and which possessed an ostensible head, through whom the will of the sovereign might be communicated, or who might act as the representative of the nation. They sank into a sect, little differing from other religious communities which refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the established Church. In this light they are now considered in the imperial laws.¹ Hitherto they had enjoyed the rights of Roman citizenship; but the Emperors now began to exclude from offices of honor and dignity all who did not conform to the dominant faith. This was the great revolution in their state: from followers of a different religion they were degraded into heretics; and the name of heretic implied all that was odious and execrable to the popular ear, — all that was rebellious to civil and ecclesiastical authority. It was a crime to be put down by the rigor of the law; and the law put forth its utmost rigor at the hands of the ruling power. In the sixth year of Justin the Elder, a law was promulgated to the following effect: — Unbelievers, heathens, Jews, and Samaritans shall henceforth undertake no office of magistracy, nor be invested with any dignity in the state; neither be judges, nor prefects, nor guardians of cities, lest they

¹ Cod. J. de Hær. et Manich. c. 12.

may have an opportunity of punishing or judging Christians and even bishops. They must be likewise excluded from all military functions. In case of the breach of this law, all their acts are null and void, and the offenders shall be punished by a fine of twenty pounds of gold. This law, which comprehends Samaritans as well as Jews, leads us to the curious fact of the importance attained by that people during the reigns of Justin and Justinian.¹ Hitherto their petty religious republic seems to have lurked in peaceful insignificance. Now, not only do its members appear dispersed along the shores of the Mediterranean, sharing the commerce with their Jewish brethren in Egypt, Italy, and Sicily, but the peace of the empire was disturbed by their fierce and frequent insurrections in Palestine. Already in the preceding reign, that of Zeno, their city of Sichem, which had now assumed the name of Neapolis (Naplous), had been the scene of a sanguinary tumult, of which we have only the Christian narrative, — the rest must be made up, in some degree, from conjecture. The Samaritans still possessed their sacred mountain of Gerizim, on which they duly paid their devotions. No stately temple rose on the summit of the hill, but the lofty height was consecrated by the veneration of ages.² It is not im-

¹ A curious law (Cod. Theodos. xiii. v. 18) had united the Jews and Samaritans in the privilege or the exemption from serving in the corn-ships which supplied Constantinople. This seems to have been the function of the *Navicularii* in question in this law, and probably applied to the Jews and Samaritans in Alexandria, where they coexisted in the time of Hadrian. The greater part, as poor and employed in petty trade (*inopes, vilibusque commerciis occupati*), were to be exempt; the men of substance (*idonei facultatibus*) were not to be excused from this public duty.

² Procopius, *De Edificiis*, v. 7.

Procopius ignorantly asserts that there never had been a temple on Gerizim. He also strangely misrepresents the words of Christ, which he cites as if predicting that the true worshippers (the Christians) should

probable that the Christians, who were always zealously disposed to invade the sanctuary of unbelief, and to purify, by the erection of a church, every spot which had been long profaned by any other form of worship, might look with holy impatience for the period when a fane in honor of Christ should rise on the top of Mount Gerizim. The language of our Lord to the woman of Samaria, according to their interpretation, prophetically foreshowed the dedication of that holy mountain to a purer worship. No motive can be suggested so probable as the apprehension of such a design, for the furious, and, as we are told, unprovoked attack of the Samaritans on the Christian church in Naplous. They broke in on Whit-Sunday — slew great numbers — seized the Bishop Terebinthus in the act of celebrating the Holy Eucharist — wounded him — cut off several of his fingers, as they clung with pious tenacity to the consecrated emblems, which the invaders misused with such sacrilegious and shameless fury as a Christian dare not describe. The bishop fled to Constantinople, appeared before the Emperor, showed his mutilated hands, and at the same time reminded him of our Lord's prophecy. Zeno commanded the offenders to be severely punished, expelled the Samaritans from Gerizim; and the Christians had at length the satisfaction of beholding a chapel to the Virgin on the peak of the holy mountain, surrounded by a strong wall of brick, where, however, a watch was constantly kept to guard it from the Samaritans. During the reign of Anastasius, some Zealots, led by a woman, clambered up the steep side of the precipice, reached the church, and cut the guard to pieces. They

worship on Gerizim. This leads to the notion that the Christians were contemplating the building a church there.

then cried out to their countrymen below to join them, but the timid Samaritans refused to hearken to their call; and Procopius of Edessa, the governor, a man of prudence and decision, allayed the tumult by the punishment of the offenders. This chapel was still further strengthened by Justinian; and five other churches, destroyed by the Samaritans, rebuilt.¹

The rankling animosity between the two religions — aggravated, no doubt, by the intolerant laws of Justinian, hereafter to be noticed — broke out in a ferocious, though desperate insurrection. It originated in a collision between the Jews and Samaritans, and the Christians; many houses were burned by the Samaritans. Justinian, enraged at the misconduct of the Prefect Bassus, deposed him, and ordered his head to be cut off on the spot. A certain Julian, by some reported to have been a robber chieftain, appeared at the head of the Samaritans. He assumed, it is averred, the title of King, and even had some pretensions to the character of a Messiah. All around Naplous they wasted the possessions of the Christians with fire and sword, burned the churches, and treated the priests with the most shameless indignities. By one account Julian is said to have entered Naplous while the games were celebrating. The victor was named Nicias; he had won the prize from the Jewish and Samaritan chariot-eers. Julian demanded his religion, and on his reply that he was a Christian, instead of conferring the crown upon him, had his head struck off. The whole district was a desert; one bishop had fallen in the massacre, and many priests were thrown into prison or torn in pieces. A great force was sent into the province; and,

¹ Vit. S. Sabæ. Joann. Malala, p. 446, Edit. Bonn.; Theophan. i. p. 274. Compare Le Beau viii. 118.

after a bloody battle, the Samaritans were defeated, Julian slain, and Silvanus, the most barbarous enemy of the Christians, taken and put to death. One, however, of the insurgents, named Arsenius, found his way to Constantinople. He was a man of great eloquence and ability, and succeeded in convincing the Emperor, who was usually entirely under the priestly influence, as well as the Empress, that the Christians were the real authors of this insurrection. The ecclesiastics of Palestine were seized with amazement and terror at the progress of this man — whom they characterize as “a crafty and wicked har” — in the favor of the Emperor. They had recourse to St. Sabas, and induced him to undertake a mission to Constantinople in their defence. The venerable age (he was ninety years old) and the sanctity of Sabas triumphed over, it may be feared, the reason and justice of Arsenius. The Samaritans were condemned; the leaders of the insurrection adjudged to death; the rest of the people expelled, and interdicted from settling again in Naplous; and, by a strange edict, the Samaritans were no longer to inherit the property of their fathers. Arsenius himself bowed to the storm, and embraced Christianity; many of the Samaritans, at the preaching of Sabas, or more probably to secure their property to their children, followed his example, or pretended to do so, with hypocrisy which may offend, but cannot surprise. The Emperor offered magnificent presents to Sabas; the holy man rejected every personal advantage; but requested a remission of taxes for his brethren, whose fields had been wasted and property burned in the recent tumults.

This apparent success in converting the great part of an obstinate race of unbelievers to the true faith, with

some other events of the same nature, no doubt encouraged Justinian in his severe legislative enactments against the Jews and Samaritans. These nations were confounded with the recreant or disobedient sons of the Church, the heretics ; they were deprived of all civil dignities, and at the same time compelled to undertake the offices attached to those dignities. Every burden of society was laid upon them ; but the honor and distinction which should be the inseparable rewards of such public services were sternly denied. They might be of the Curia, but the law which made sacred the person of the Curiales, and made it a crime to strike them, to put them to the torture, to exile them, had no application to the Jew, the Samaritan, or the heretic.¹ The proselyting zeal which dictated the constitutions of Justinian entered into the bosom of families, under the specious pretext of securing Christian converts from the unwarrantable exercise of the parental authority. Either supposing that the law which forbade the intermarriages of Samaritans or Jews with Christians was perpetually eluded, or providing for the case of one party becoming a convert while the other adhered to his faith, Justinian enacted that among parents of different religions the chief authority should rest with the true religion. In defiance of the father, the children were to be under the care of the mother ; and the father could not, on the ground of religion, refuse either a maintenance or his necessary expenses to the child.² “ Unbelieving parents, who have no other well-grounded cause of complaint against their believing children, are bound to leave them their property, to afford them a maintenance, to provide them with all necessaries, to marry them to true believers, to bestow on them dowries and

¹ Nov. Constit. 45, c. 1.² Cod. Just. i. v. 12. 1.

bridal presents according to the decree of the prefect or the bishop." Further, the true believing children of unbelieving parents, if those children have been guilty of no act of delinquency towards their parents, shall receive that share of their inheritance, undiminished, which would have fallen to them if their parents had died intestate; and every will made in contravention of this regulation is declared null and void. If they have been guilty of any delinquency, they may be indicted and punished; but even then they have a right to a fourth part of the property.¹

The above edict included both Jews and Samaritans: in the following, an invidious distinction was made. In litigations between Christians and Jews, or Christians among each other, the testimony of a Jew or a Samaritan was inadmissible; in the litigations of Jews among each other, the Jew's testimony was valid; that of a Samaritan as of a Manichean of no value. Another statute enacted that the synagogues of the Samaritans should be destroyed, and that whoever attempted to rebuild them should be severely punished. The Samaritans were entirely deprived of the right of bequeathing their property: only true believers might presume to administer to the effects of a heretic, whether he died with or without a will. Thus no Samaritan had more than a life-interest in his property; unless his son was an apostate, it was forever alienated, and went to a stranger or to the imperial treasury. No Samaritan might bear any office, neither teach nor plead in courts of law: impediments were even placed in the way of his conversion; if he conformed in order to obtain an office, he was obliged to bring his wife and children with him to the church. Not merely

¹ Cod. Just. i. v. 13. 1.

could he not bequeath, he could not convey property to an unbeliever ; if he did so, it was confiscated to the treasury. The children of mixed marriages must be believers, or forfeit their inheritance ; or where this was partly the case, the unbelieving children were excluded. " The true believers alone inherit : if none are members of the Church, it passes to the nearest relations ; in default of these, to the treasury. The prefects and bishops are to enforce these statutes in their respective districts, and the infringement of them is to be punished by the severest penalties." These cruel statutes — which sowed dissension in the bosom of every family, caused endless litigations among the nearest relatives, almost offered a premium on filial disobedience, and enlisted only the basest motives on the side of true religion — were either too flagrantly iniquitous to be put in execution, or shocked the cooler judgment of the Imperial legislator.

A decree was issued a few years after, modifying these enactments, but in such a manner as perhaps might tempt the sufferers to quote, if they had dared, the sentence of their own wise king, — " The tender mercies of wicked men are cruel." In this edict, after some pompous self-adulation on his own clemency, Justinian declared, that, on account of the good conduct of the Samaritans, attested by Sergius, Bishop of Cæsarea, who, to his honor, seems to have interposed in their behalf, the rigor of the former laws was mitigated. The Samaritans were permitted to make wills, to convey property, to manumit slaves, to transact all business with each other. It abandoned all claims of the treasury upon their property ; but it retained the following limitation, " because it was just that Christian heirs should have some advantage over unbelievers."

Where part of the family had embraced Christianity, and the father died intestate, the children who were true believers inherited to the exclusion of the rest. But in case the latter, at a subsequent period, were converted, they were reinstated in their inheritance, with the loss only of the interest of those years during which they remained obstinate. Where the father made a will, the unbelieving heirs could not claim more than a sixth part; the rest could only be obtained, as above, by the change of their religion. A deceitful peace, maintained by the establishment of a proconsul in Syria, with a considerable body of troops, lasted for about twenty-five years. At the end of that time a new insurrection took place in Cæsarea. The Jews and Samaritans rose, attacked the Christians, demolished the churches, surprised and massacred the Prefect Stephanus in his palace, and plundered the building. The wife of Stephanus fled to Constantinople. Adamantius was commissioned to inquire into the origin of the tumult, and to proceed against the guilty with the utmost rigor. Of the real cause we know nothing. Adamantius condemned the insurgents, executed many, confiscated the property of the most wealthy, probably for the restoration of the churches, and reduced the whole province to peace.

As the Samaritans will appear no more in this History, I pursue, to its termination, the account of this people. The Samaritans found means to elude these laws by submitting to baptism, resuming their property, and then quietly falling back to their ancient faith. A law of Justin, the son of Justinian, denounces this practice, and reënacts almost the whole iniquitous statute of his father.¹ How far these measures tended

¹ This singular law exempted the Samaritan peasants and husbandmen

to the comparative extinction of the Samaritan race, we cannot ascertain; but at this time they had so almost entirely in their hands the trade of money-changing, that a money-changer and a Samaritan, as afterwards a Jew and an usurer, were equivalent terms. Yet, after this period, few and faint traces of their existence, as a separate people, appear in history. In the seventeenth century, it was discovered that a small community still dwelt in the neighborhood of their holy mountain, and had survived all the vicissitudes of ages, in a country remarkable for its perpetual revolutions; that they still possessed the copy of the Law in the old Samaritan character;¹ and even to this day their descendants, a feeble remnant of this once numerous people, are visited with interest by the traveller to the Holy Land.²

The zeal of the Emperor, while it burned more from its harsh provisions. Their cultivation of the soil did not concern themselves alone, but the welfare of the state, and especially the power of paying taxes to the state. Besides, the laboring on the soil presupposes a want of higher knowledge, which may naturally keep husbandmen from discovering the superiority of the Christian religion. Keeping the Sabbath, or performing any act which might throw suspicion on the sincerity of his conversion, subjected the Samaritan to exile or other punishment. No one was to be baptized until properly instructed. No Samaritan might have a Christian slave; a Samaritan captive, on turning Christian, acquired his freedom.

¹ I do not remember that they attracted much notice among the earlier pilgrims or crusaders. The Samaritans were found by the traveller Pietro della Valle, in Cairo, Jerusalem, Gaza, Damascus, and Aleppo. Benjamin of Tudela speaks of one hundred Samaritan families in Sichem. After the Reformation the learned world were interested with a correspondence entered into with them by the famous Joseph Scaliger. R. Huntingdon, chaplain to the British Factory of Aleppo, sent to Europe more copious information. Their copy of the Old Testament was brought to Europe, and assumed great importance in Biblical criticism.

² The Samaritans have in modern times been visited over and over again by curious travellers. Their numbers seem at last to be dwindling away, so as to threaten their total extinction. See the latest, a very interesting account, by Mr. Grove, in a recent volume of *Vacation Travels*.

fiercely against the turbulent and disaffected Samaritans, in whose insurrections the Jews of Palestine seemed to have shared both the guilt and the calamities, did not neglect any opportunity of attempting either by force, or, we can scarcely hesitate to add, fraud, the proselytism of the Jews dispersed throughout the Eastern empire. The two great means of conversion were penal laws and miracles — sometimes compulsion. Among the boasted triumphs of the reconquest of Africa from the Vandals was the reduction to the true faith of Borium, a town on the borders of Mauritania, where the Jews are said to have had a splendid temple, no doubt a synagogue more costly than usual.¹ The miracles indeed of this age are almost too puerile to relate; we give one specimen as characteristic of the times. It was the custom of the Church to distribute the crumbs of the consecrated Host which might remain, to children, summoned for that purpose from their schools. While Menas was Bishop of Constantinople, the child of a Jewish glass-blower went to the church with the rest, and partook of the sacred elements. The father, inquiring the cause of his delay, discovered what he had done. In his fury he seized the child, and shut him up in the blazing furnace. The mother went wandering about the city, wailing and seeking her lost offspring. The third day she sat down by the door of the workshop, still weeping, and calling on the name of her child. The child answered from the furnace, the doors were forced open, and the child discovered sitting unhurt amid the red-hot ashes. His account was that a lady in a purple robe, of course the Blessed Virgin, had appeared and poured water

¹ Procop. de *Ædific.* vi. 2. The temple was said to be of the age of Solomon.

on the coals that were immediately around him. The unnatural father was put to death, the mother and child baptized.¹ Such were the legends which were to convince that people who had rejected the miracles of Christ and his Apostles. The Jews were too wise or too superstitious, too quick and adroit, not to work counter-miracles, too credulous and ignorant not to believe them. In an age of daily wonders, wonders cease to be wonderful; familiarity with such solemn impressions destroys their solemnity and impressiveness; they pass away, and are as rapidly effaced as the ordinary business of life. Good and evil spirits were by common consent invested with powers bordering on omnipotence; each party saw nothing but the works of devils in the alleged miracles of the other.²

The laws were probably little more effective, and deeply imbued with the darkness of the age. An Imperial decree, not easily understood, and not worth much pains to understand, was issued, to establish an uniformity in the time at which the Jewish Passover and the Christian Easter were celebrated.³ The Jews were forbidden, under heavy pecuniary mulcts, from following their own calculations. In the same edict, with singular ignorance of the usages of the people for whom he was legislating, Justinian prohibited the Jews from eating the Paschal Lamb, a practice which they had discontinued for five centuries.⁴ But the Emperor had an opportunity of inflicting upon Judaism a more fatal blow, of which, it is probable, he himself did not

¹ Evagr. H. E. iv. 36.

² "Der Thalmud ist eben so voll kindischer Mährchen aus der neuen Zeit, wie die Kirchenschriftsteller der erwähnten Jahrhunderte." Such is the ingenuous confession of Jost, v. 194.

³ Procop. Hist. Anc. c. 28; Basnage, viii. 350.

⁴ Basnage, Hist. des Juifs.

apprehend entirely the important consequences. A schism had arisen in the synagogues, between the teachers and the commonalty, the clergy and the laity of the Jews. With a singular abandonment of their jealousy of all foreign interference in what may be called the domestic concerns of their religion, an appeal was made to the Emperor, and the conflicting parties awaited his mandate on a subject where, one might have supposed, they would rather have looked for the interposition of their God. The great point in dispute was the language in which the Scripture was to be read,¹ and the expositions made, in the synagogue. On the decision the dominion of the Rabbins depended, — it trembled to its foundations. With the fall of the Patriarchate, the connection of the scattered synagogues of the West with Palestine had been interrupted. The schools had likewise been entirely closed, or fallen into disrepute. The Semicha, or ordination by the imposition of hands, formerly received in Palestine, was suspended. The learned youth were obliged to seek their education in the schools of Babylonia. Thus they lost the sanctity which still, in popular opinion, attached to whatever came from the Holy Land. They probably were strangers, and by no means well acquainted with the Western languages. The people, who had now entirely forgotten both the Hebrew of the Scriptures and the vernacular language of Palestine, began imperiously to demand the general use of Greek translations. The craft of the Rabbins was in danger; it rested almost entirely on their knowledge of the original Hebrew writings, still more of the Mischnaioth and Talmudic Comments. Hebrew was the sacred language, and, the language of learning once super-

¹ See Jost, v. 181 *et seq.*

seded by Greek, the mystery would be open to profane eyes, and reason and plain common sense, instead of authority, might become the bold interpreters of the written Law, perhaps would dare to reject entirely the dominion of tradition. In vain had been all their painful and reverential labors on the Sacred Books. In vain had they counted every letter, every point, every mark ; and found mysteries in the number of times in which each letter occurred in the whole volume, in its position, in its relation to other letters. The deep and hidden things of the Law were inseparable from the Hebrew character. Besides its plain and obvious meaning, every text was significant of higher matters to the ears of the initiate. All the decisions of the schools, all the sayings of the Rabbins, were locked up in that sacred language. The Mischna, and the Talmud itself, might become a dead letter ; for if the Scriptures were read in the vernacular tongue, the knowledge of Hebrew might cease to be a necessary qualification of the teacher. The Rabbins had much reason, and more stubborn prejudice, on their side. The elder Wise Men had always looked with jealousy on the encroachment of Greek letters. “Cursed be he that eateth swine’s flesh, and teacheth his child Greek,” had been an old axiom, perhaps, from the time of the Asmoneans. They were fighting for life and death, and armed themselves with all the spiritual terrors they could assume. They fulminated their anathemas ; they branded their opponents as freethinkers and atheists. At length the affair came before the Emperor. Whether his passion for legislation, which sometimes, even the Christian bishops complained, induced Justinian to intrude into concerns beyond his province, led him to regulate the synagogue ; or whether the disputes ran so high as to

disturb the public peace, and demand the interference of the supreme authority ; or whether the appeal was, in fact, voluntarily made ; an edict was issued, which is still extant among the imperial constitutions.¹ It enacted that no one, who wished to do so, should be prevented from reading the Greek Scriptures in the synagogue ; it enjoined those who read Greek to use the Translation of the Seventy, which had been executed under the special, though less manifest, influence of the Holy Ghost, because the prophecies relating to Christianity were most clear in that translation ; but it did not prohibit the version of Aquila, or any other. It positively interdicted the use of the Mischna, as the invention of worldly men, which misled the people into miserable superstition. None of the Archiperacitæ, the readers of Peracha, or Extracts of the Talmud, on pain of confiscation of goods, and corporal chastisement, were to forbid the use of other languages, or dare to utter ban or interdict against such practices. On the other hand, freethinking, atheism, and such crimes, were to be severely punished ; whoever denied the existence of God, of the angels, the Creation, and final judgment, was condemned to death. The law terminated with a solemn admonition to read the Scriptures, so as to improve their spirits and hearts, and increase in knowledge and morality. The law was wise and moderate ; but, as Jost observes, the Emperor probably prevented its operation by betraying too openly its object, — the conversion of the Jews. The spirit of the age was against him ; the Rabbins eventually triumphed,—the Talmud maintained its authority.

In his former persecuting edicts, the short-sighted

¹ Nov. Const. 146.

Emperor had alike miscalculated his own strength and the weakness of the Jews. Rome, in the zenith of her power, might despise the discontents of a scattered people, or a mutinous province, but in these disastrous times it was dangerous for the feeble Eastern empire to alienate the affections of the meanest of its subjects. The Jews had the power, and could not be expected to want the desire of vengeance. Even in the West they were of some importance. During the siege of Naples by Belisarius, the Jews, who loved the milder dominion of the Gothic kings, defended one quarter of the city with obstinate resolution, and yielded only when the conqueror was within the gates.¹ On the eastern frontier, now that the Persian monarchy on the Tigris was an equal match for the wreck of the Roman empire on the Bosphorus, an oppressed and unruly population, on the accessible frontier of Syria, holding perpetual intercourse with their more favored, though by no means unpersecuted brethren in Babylonia, might be suspected of awaiting with ill-suppressed impatience the time when, during some inevitable collision between the two empires, they might find an opportunity of vengeance on masters against whom they had so long an arrear of wrong. The hour at length came; but, as the affairs of the Jews in the Eastern empire, at least in Palestine, are now inseparably moulded up with those of Persia, we turn our attention to the Eastern Jews, briefly trace their history down to the time of Justinian, and then pursue the mingled thread to the appearance of Mohammed.

II. From the death of R. Asche, who commenced the Babylonian Talmud, dark were the days of the children of the Captivity. During the reigns of the

¹ Procop. de Bello Gothico, i. 10, p. 53, Edit. Bonn.

Persian kings from Izdigerd to Kobad, from about 430 to 530 (A. C.), the dominant Magian religion oppressed alike the Christian and the Jew. The Sabbath, say the Jewish traditions, was taken away by Izdigerd.¹ Still, however, the Resch-Glutha, or Prince of the Captivity, maintained his state, and the famous schools of Nahardea, Sura, and Pumbeditha were open. Civil discords had nearly destroyed the enfeebled state; and the house of David, from whose loins the princes of the Captivity deduced their rank, was wellnigh extinct. Here, as elsewhere, great jealousies existed between the temporal and spiritual power: the former attempted, the latter would not endure, encroachment. The rupture took place when it might have been expected that they would have lived in the greatest harmony; for the Prince of the Captivity, R. Huna, had married the daughter of R. Chanina, the master of the schools, a grandson or great-grandson of R. Asche, who commenced the Talmud.² But ambition listens not to the claims of blood and kindred. The Resch-Glutha, or his judge, attempted to interpret the Talmud in the presence of the Wise Man. Chanina resisted this usurpation of his province. The Resch-Glutha decoyed Chanina into his power, sat in judgment on him, ordered his beard to be shaved, and cast him forth, interdicting all the inhabitants of the city from affording him shelter, or the necessaries of life. Chanina (we have no better history than this legend to offer) wept and prayed. A pestilence broke out in the royal family, and every soul perished except a

¹ Jost, v. 222; but Jost is obliged to admit that the history of these Persian persecutions, in which several Resch-Gluthas, Rabbis, and learned men were put to death, is altogether confused and obscure.

² Jost, v. 226. There are two versions of the story; I have blended some particulars of both

child, with which the widowed daughter of Chanina, the Prince's wife, was pregnant. Chanina dreamed a dream : he saw himself in a grove, where he cut down all the stately cedars ; one young plant alone remained. He was awakened as by a violent blow on the head ; an old man stood by, who said, " I am the lord of this grove, the King David." He reproached the dreamer for having thus cut off all the lofty cedars of the house of David, and forcibly reminded him of his duty to watch over the single scion of the royal stock. Chanina waited night and day by his daughter's door ; neither the fiery heat of noon, nor torrents of rain, could induce him to remove till the child was born. He took the infant and superintended his education with the most diligent care. In the mean time a certain Paphra, distantly allied to the royal house, bought, like the Roman Didius, the princely dignity, and enjoyed it for fifteen years. At that convenient time he came to a most ignoble end : a fly flew into his nose, and made him sneeze so violently that he died ! The young Zutra ascended the throne. During his reign of twenty years, an enthusiast, named Meir, brought ruin on the whole community. He proclaimed himself, most probably, a Messiah ; he pretended that a fiery column preceded his march, and with four hundred desperate followers he laid waste the country. The Persian king, Kobad, speedily suppressed the insurrection. Meir was put to death, and all the heads of the Captivity were involved in his fate. The Prince of the Captivity, Zutra, and R. Chanina, his tutor, were hanged. This great insurrection took place in 530 A. C., a year before Nushirvan's accession. At this disastrous period, many of the Babylonian Jews wandered from their afflicted settlements ; some, it is

believed, found their way to the coast of Malabar. A son of Zutra fled to Tiberias, where he renewed the Semicha, or laying-on of hands; and, it is supposed, contributed to disseminate the Babylonian Talmud among the Jews of the West.

Chosroes the Just, or Nushirvan, who ascended the throne of Persia in the fifth year of Justinian, 531 A. C., was not more favorable to the Jews of Babylonia. Their schools were closed by authority. But so great was the impatience of the Palestinian Israelites under the oppressive laws of Justinian, that they looked with anxious hope to, and are reported by Christian writers to have urged, by an offer of 50,000 men, and by the splendid prospect of the plunder of Christian Jerusalem, the hostile advance of the Persian monarch.¹ These hopes were frustrated by the conclusion of an “everlasting peace” between Justinian and Nushirvan, in which the pride of Rome was obliged to stoop to the payment of a great sum of money. The “everlasting peace” endured barely seven years, and the hopes of the Jews were again excited; but their day of vengeance was not yet come. After extending his conquests to Antioch, Nushirvan was constrained by the ability of Belisarius to retreat. Peace was again concluded, Jerusalem remained unplundered, and the Jews and Samaritans were abandoned to the vindictive justice of their former masters. Under Hormisdas, the successor of Chosroes Nushirvan, the Babylonian Jews were restored to their prosperity. Their schools in Pumbeditha, Sura, and Nahardea were reopened. A new order of doctors, the Gaonim, the Illustrious,

¹ Theophan. Chronogr. p. 274, Edit. Bonn.; but Theophanes has confused the dates, and places this offer at the commencement of the reign of Justinian. See Basnage, and Jost's criticism on Basnage.

arose; and their prince resumed his state. After the fall and death of the weak Hormisdas, the Jews espoused the party of the usurper Bharam,¹ or Varanes, against the son of Hormisdas, Chosroes the Second, the rightful heir of the throne, and by no means, I believe with Gibbon, the parricide, who fled to implore, and obtained, the assistance of Maurice, Emperor of the East. Among the executions which followed the triumphant restoration of Chosroes to the throne of his ancestors, the Jews had their full share.² There was a new Antioch built by Nushirvan, and peopled with the inhabitants of the old city, whom he transported thither, and who were struck with agreeable astonishment at finding the exact counterpart of every house and street of their former residence. The Jews formed a considerable part of this community, and when the storm first burst on the city, Mebod, the general of Chosroes, inflicted on them the most dreadful penalties for their disloyalty: some were cut off by the sword, others tortured, others reduced to slavery. But this was vengeance, not persecution; the Jews submitted, and made their peace with Chosroes. When that king, summoned alike by gratitude and ambition, prepared to burst on the Byzantine empire, to revenge on the barbarous usurper Phocas the murder of his friend and protector Maurice, and that of his five sons, the Palestinian Jews were in a state of frantic excitement, still further aggravated by the persecutions of Phocas, who compelled a great number of their brethren to submit to baptism. Ever rash in their insurrections, they could not wait the appointed time: they rose in Antioch, set the splendid palaces of the principal in-

¹ Theophylact Simocatta, v. 6, 7, p. 218, Edit. Bonn.

² Gibbon, c. xlv. viii. p. 193, Edit. Milman.

habitants on fire, slew numbers, treated the Patriarch Anastasius with the worst indignity, and dragged him through the streets till he died.¹

Phocas sent Bonosus and Cotto against the insurgents, who defeated them with great loss, and revenged, as far as they had time, the outrages which had been committed in all quarters. But they were compelled to retreat, and the Jews beheld, in a paroxysm of exultation, the unresisted squadrons of Chosroes pouring over the frontier: Antioch surrendered without a blow.

Chosroes turned towards Constantinople; his general, Carusia, advanced to the conquest of Palestine and Jerusalem.² The Jews arose at his approach; from Tiberias and Nazareth they joined him in great numbers, till their force amounted, according to report, to 24,000 men. Before the capture of Jerusalem, new causes of exasperation were added to the dreadful arrears of ancient vengeance. In Tyre it is said that the incredible number of 40,000 Jews had taken up their dwelling. They sent secret messengers to all

¹ Theoph. Chronog. p. 457, Edit. Bonn. Chronicon Paschale. This brief notice merely says, ἀνῆρέθη ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν, p. 699, Edit. Bonn.

² Theophylact Simocatta, v. 6, 7, p. 216, Edit. Bonn.

Simocatta's account of the Babylonian Jews, their commerce, their wealth, their disposition to ally themselves with the Persians to revenge themselves on the Romans, is curious: τῶν γὰρ Ἱεροσολύμων ὑπὸ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἀλόντων, τοῦ τε ναοῦ ἐμπεπραμένου ὀβροδοῦντες πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἄλκην ἐκ τῆς Παλαιστίνης ὡς τοὺς Μήδους καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχέγονον τιθῆναι μεταναστεύουσιν, ἐξ ἧς ὁ προπάτωρ ἐτύγχανεν ὢν Ἀβραάμ· τὰ τιμώτατα τοίνυν οὗτοι ἐμπορευσάμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐρυθρὰν περαιούμενοι θάλατταν, περιουσίας χρηματίσθεντες μεγάλης περιεβάλλοντο· ἐντεῦθεν καὶ πρὸς τὰς στάσεις καὶ τὰς Βαβυλωνίας τῶν δῆμων ἐκκαύσεις ἐτοιμώτατα διωλίσθαινον· ἔστι γὰρ πόνηρον τὸ ἔθνος καὶ ἀπιστότατον· φιλοθύουβόν τε καὶ τύραννον, καὶ φιλίας ἥκιστα μνημονικὸν, ζηλότην τε καὶ ὑποβύσκανον, καὶ ἐς ἐχθρὰν ἀμετάδοτόν τε καὶ ἀδιάλλακτον P. 218; also Dionys. Patriarcha, apud Asseman, Biblioth. Orient. ii. 102.

their brethren in Palestine, in Damascus, in Cyprus, in the mountainous districts of Galilee, and in Tiberias, to assemble suddenly before the walls of that city, on the night of the Christian Easter. The conspiracy reached the ears of the Christians. The Bishop and powerful citizens seized the most wealthy of the Jews, threw them into prison, and put the gates and walls in the best possible state of defence. The Jews appeared, and revenged themselves by the destruction of the suburbs for the failure of their surprise ; but every time a Christian church, the great object of their animosity, was set on fire, the besieged struck off the heads of a hundred Jewish prisoners, and cast them over the wall. This horrible retaliation produced no effect ; twenty churches sank into ashes, and the heads of 2000 Jews lay bleaching on the sand.¹ At length, on a rumor of the advance of the Imperial forces, the Jews retreated to join their brethren in the easier achievement of entering, under the protection of their Persian allies, the streets of Christian Jerusalem.

It had come at length, the long-expected hour of triumph and vengeance ; and they did not neglect the opportunity. They washed away the profanation of the Holy City in Christian blood. The Persians are said to have sold the miserable captives for money. The vengeance of the Jews was stronger than their avarice ; not only did they not scruple to sacrifice their treasures in the purchase of these devoted bondsmen, they put to death without remorse all they had purchased at a lavish price.² It was a rumor of the time

¹ Eutychii Ann. ii. pp. 220-223, from whom the author quoted by Hottinger (Hist. Orient.) took it. St. Martin, note on Le Beau, xi. 8.

² Theophan. Chronog. p. 463, Edit. Bonn.

Chronicon Paschale, sub ann. 614, p. 704, Edit. Bonn. The chronicler is

that 90,000 perished. Every Christian church was demolished; that of the Holy Sepulchre was the great object of furious hatred; the stately building of Helena and Constantine was abandoned to the flames; "the devout offerings of three hundred years were rifled in one sacrilegious day."¹ But the dream of Jewish triumph was short; the hope of again possessing, if not in independence, under the mild protection of the Persian monarch, the Holy City of their forefathers, vanished in a few years. The Emperor Heraclius, who seemed to slumber on the throne of Byzantium like another Sardanapalus, allowing the Persians to conquer and even to occupy their conquests, Jerusalem itself, the Sacred City, undisturbed, suddenly broke the bonds of sloth and pleasure. After a few campaigns, conducted by the Roman with equal boldness and ability, the Persian monarch, instead of arraying his victorious troops under the walls of Byzantium, trembled within his own insecure capital; and the provinces which he had overrun, Syria and Egypt, passed quietly under the sway of their former masters. Heraclius himself visited Jerusalem as a pilgrim, where the wood of the true Cross, which had been carried away to Persia, was reinstated with due solemnity, the exiled Bishop Zacharias replaced on his throne, and the Christian churches were restored to their former magnificence.² If the clergy enforced upon the kneeling and penitent Emperor the persecution of the Jews, it must be acknowledged that provocation was not wanting; for how many of them had been eye-witnesses of, perhaps sufferers in, the horrible atrocities

silent about the sale of the Christians, which rests on a later authority; but the chronicle is as brief on this sad event as may be.

¹ Gibbon, viii. 226.

² Theophan. Chronograph. p. 504, Edit. Bonn.

committed on the capture of the city! Yet we have no authentic account of great severities exercised by Heraclius.¹ The law of Hadrian was reënacted, which prohibited the Jews from approaching within three miles of the city, — a law which, in the present exasperated state of the Christians, might be a measure of security or mercy rather than of oppression.

¹ There is one case of conversion, in which no doubt force was used on a certain Benjamin in Tiberias.^a Theophanes.

BOOK XXII.

JUDAISM AND MOHAMMEDANISM.

Jews in Arabia — Jewish Kingdom in Homeritis — Rise of Mohammed — Wars against the Arabian Jews — Progress of Mohammedanism — State of Spain — Cruel Laws of the Visigothic Kings — Conquest of Spain by the Moors — Persecuting Laws in France.

DURING the conflict between the Persian and Roman Emperors, a power was rapidly growing up in the secret deserts of Arabia which was to erect its throne upon the ruins of both. Mohammed had already announced his religious doctrine, — “There is but one God, and Mohammed is His prophet,” — and the valleys of Arabia had echoed with the triumphant battle-cry of his followers, “The Koran or death !” The Jews were among the first of whom Mohammed endeavored to make proselytes, — the first opponents, and the first victims of the sanguinary teaching of the new Apostle. For centuries, a Jewish kingdom¹ or kingdoms, unconnected either with the Jews of Palestine or Babylonia, had existed in that district of Arabia called, in comparison to the stony soil of one part and the sandy waste of the other, Arabia the Happy.² Of their origin we have no distinct account ;

¹ This kingdom must, of course, be carefully distinguished from the Arabic kingdom conterminous to Palestine, over which Aretas ruled at the time when St. Paul retired into Arabia (Gal. i. 17), and in which no doubt were multitudes of Jews.

² Saba, Yemen, Homeritis, were either situated in this region, or were the general name of the whole, or each of a separate district, of which the limits were not clearly defined.

but among the various afflictions and dispersions of the Jewish people, it would have been extraordinary if a place of refuge so near, and at the same time so secure, had not tempted them to venture on the perils of the desert—which, once passed, presented an almost insuperable barrier to the pursuit of an enemy. Their mercantile brethren, who visited the ports of the Red Sea, might bring home intelligence of the pleasant valleys which ran down to the coast, and from which gales of aromatic sweetness were wafted to their barks as they passed along. Ancient tradition pointed, and probably with truth, to these regions as the dwelling of that famous Queen of Sheba who had visited their great king in his splendor; and in the hospitable dominions of her descendants the race of Solomon's subjects might find refuge. In some respects the Arabian tribes were their brethren; they seem to have entertained great respect, if they did not learn it from the Jews, for the memory of Abraham. They practised circumcision in Sabæa, like the Jews, on the eighth day, and they abhorred swine's flesh. However they came there, Jewish settlers, at least one hundred and twenty years before Christ, had built cities and castles, and established an independent kingdom.¹ Arabian tradition (we dare not dignify it with the name of history) assigns a Jewish king to the district of Homeritis, about that period, named Abu-

¹ They had many converts, it is said, among the Arab tribes.

"Sozomène remarque, l. vi. c. 38, que par suite des rapports que les Arabes du désert avaient eus avec les Juifs, beaucoup d'entr'eux avaient adopté les usages Judaïques, *ὡν Ἰουδαϊκῶς ζῶσιν*. Les auteurs orientaux font la même remarque, et nomment plusieurs des tribus Arabes qui avaient embrassé la religion Juive. Il s'en trouvait beaucoup dans les environs de la Mecque. Elles furent les premiers adversaires de Mahomet." St. Martin, note on Le Beau, iii. p. 449; but compare note viii. p. 47.

Carb-Asaad.¹ It adds the inconsistent circumstance that he first strewed with carpets the sacred temple of Mecca called the Caaba. If this be true, Judaism in Arabia must have been more social and tolerant than elsewhere; for the Caaba, before the time of Mohammed, was, undoubtedly, a temple of idolatrous worship; and though the Jew might assert that the God of Israel maintained the first place, many associate or subordinate deities claimed their portion in the sacrifices of Mecca.² The line of Jewish kings in Homeritis is continued, though a broken series; but we have no space for these barren annals, and pass on to the last of these Homeritish kings, who reigned and fell a short time before the rise of Mohammedanism. The feuds of Christians and Jews spread into these retired and fertile valleys, and connected, perhaps, with political circumstances, inflamed the warlike habits of tribes in which the old Arabian blood was far from extinct. Christianity had first penetrated into Yemen in an Arian form, probably during the reign of Constantius, son of Constantine the Great.³ With the Arians, the Jews, as usual, seem to have lived on terms of amity. The Catholic faith spread from the other side of the Red Sea, under the protecting influence of the powerful kings of Ethiopia or Abyssinia. Eles-baan, the king of that country, had extended his conquests over the opposite shore of the Red Sea; and Dunaan,⁴ the

¹ Compare Jost (*Geschichte*, v. 241). This king was nearly contemporary with John Hyrcanus. Jost quotes Michaelis, *Orient. et Exeg. Bibl.* iv. 157.

² See them in Jost, v. 243, 245.

³ Pagi, *Crit. in. Baron. sub ann.* 354.

⁴ The name is variously written Dhu Nowas. Jost. According to Le Beau and St. Martin, Eles-baan, then a pagan, to revenge the massacre of a caravan passing through Homeritis to the Red Sea and Ethiopia, had invaded Homeritis, killed the king Dimian, or Dimnos or Damianus, established a Christian king on the throne, and had himself been bap-

Jewish king of Homeritis, after many defeats, had been obliged to pay tribute to the Ethiopian. But his restless spirit disdained submission; every defeat only kindled the burning desire of vengeance and independence. The invasions of the Ethiopian, dependent on the precarious navigation of the Red Sea, were often suspended, — probably, at certain periods, in winter at least, were entirely cut off. Dunaan resolved on the bold measure of attempting the sudden extermination of the Christian power in Yemen; after the loss of their allies, the Abyssinians would find it difficult to maintain their footing in the country. He seized a favorable opportunity, rose, and executed all the Christians within his power, and appeared before the walls of Nagra, their chief city, at the head of 120,000 men. He summoned the inhabitants to take down the cross, which stood on a height above the city, and to deny the Christian religion. A singular negotiation ensued. The besieger demanded the acknowledgment of the Unity of God, as the supreme Head of the Church, and the denial of a plurality of Persons in the Godhead. The Christians readily acknowledged the Unity, but refused to yield on the other point. On their refusal, Dunaan gave the signal for the execution of many of his Christian captives in the sight of their brethren, and the sale of others as slaves. At length, on a promise of freedom of conscience, the Christians opened their gates, but the perfidious Arab violated the terms, threw Areth and others of the leaders into chains, and then demanded Paulus, the bishop, who

tized by a bishop sent by order of the Emperor Justin to Axum. The Jews, on the death of the Christian king, revolted, regained the superiority, and set up Dunaan: massacred a great number of Christians, and destroyed the churches. Compare throughout *Le Beau*, viii. 53, and *St. Martin's* notes.

had formerly been among his most eloquent opponents. The bishop had been for two years in his grave, but Dunaan revenged himself on his lifeless bones, which were disinterred and burned. Many priests, monks, and nuns, as the most active of his adversaries, suffered the same fate; and obtained, in the estimation of their brethren, the honors of martyrdom. Dunaan then tried arguments on Areth and the rest of his prisoners, to convince them of the absurdity of worshipping a crucified God. On the rejection of his arguments, he had recourse to more summary means of conviction, — threats of instant death; these likewise were unavailing. Areth and his companions submitted cheerfully to execution. They could not well do otherwise, for their wives and daughters had before crowded forth, as if they were hastening to a bridal, to partake in the glory of suffering for their faith. Such, with many more particulars, is the tenor of a letter ascribed to Dunaan himself,¹ and addressed to Al Mondar, a prince of the Saracens, whose alliance he courted. I confess that I doubt, or rather feel assured, that this letter is either entirely fictitious, or greatly interpolated. The crimes of Dunaan, and the wrongs of the Christians, did not remain long unavenged.² With the spring, Eles-baan, and a formidable force of 120,000 men, invaded the region.³ Dunaan, after an obstinate defence, was defeated, and lost his life;⁴ and in his person expired the Jewish kingdom of the Homerites.

¹ It is contained in the Syriac letter of Simeon, Bishop of Beth-Arsam, ap. Asseman. *Bibl. Orient.* i. 364. Acts of the Arab martyrs in Metaphrastes.

² Le Beau, viii. 58. Compare Schultens, *Hist. Joctan*.

³ The 120,000 men of Metaphrastes are reduced by Hamzah of Ispahar and Nowairi to 10,000. Tabari gives 30,000. St. Martin's note.

⁴ The Arab historians agree that after his defeat Dunaan threw himself into the sea.

After his death, Abraham, son of Areth. founded a Christian kingdom, which scarcely acknowledged the sovereignty of the feeble son of Eles-baan. The Christian dynasty in its turn was overthrown by the conquering arm of the Persians, and Arabia was reckoned among the subject realms of Chosroes the Second.¹

But though they had lost their royal state, the Jews were still numerous and powerful in the Arabian peninsula; they formed separate tribes, and maintained the fierce independence of their Ishmaelitish brethren. Mohammed manifestly designed to unite all those tribes under his banner.² While his creed declared implacable war against the worshippers of fire, it respected the doctrines of the Jews,³ and at least of the less orthodox Christians. The Apostle of God was the successor, greater indeed, of the former delegates of heaven, Moses and Isha (Jesus).⁴ It was only the fire of the Magians which was at once extinguished, and the palace of Chosroes, which shook to its foundations, at

¹ Procop. de Bell. Pers. i. 20. Abraham, at the instigation of Justinian, had promised to invade the Persian kingdom, but after one feeble effort abstained from all aggression. The whole history of these obscure wars, and the affairs of the Jewish and Christian kings of Homeritis, is well worked out, and the conflicting Oriental authorities cited and balanced, by St. Martin in his notes on the chapter of Le Beau

² "Children of Israel, remember my favor wherewith I have favored you, and that I have preferred you above all nations." Sale's Koran, Sura, ii. The Koran recites all the narratives of the deliverance from Egypt, and in the Desert. Read the whole following passages.

³ "We gave unto the children of Israel the book of the Law, and wisdom and prophecy; and we fed them with good things, and preferred them above all nations; and we gave them plain ordinances concerning the business of religion; neither did they fall to variance except after the knowledge had come unto them, through envy amongst themselves; but the Lord will decide the controversy between them on the day of resurrection concerning that wherein they disagree." Sale's Koran, c. 45; ii. 368.

⁴ "We formerly delivered the book of the Law to Moses, and caused apostles to succeed him, and gave evident miracles to Jesus the son of Mary, and strengthened him with the Holy Spirit." Sura, ii. p. 17.

his birth.¹ All the traditions which the old Arabian creed had preserved from immemorial ages, or with which it had been impregnated from the Jews resident in Arabia, still find their place in the Koran; and Abraham, the common father of the two races, holds the most conspicuous rank in their religious history.² Jerusalem was appointed the first kebla of prayer; and in the nocturnal journey, during which the Prophet was transported to the holy city of the Jews, the mysterious winged horse, the Borak, arrested its course to pay homage to Mount Sinai, and to Bethlehem, the birth-place of Jesus. To the first part of the new creed, every Jewish heart would at once respond, "There is but one God;"—why should not their enthusiasm, their impatience in awaiting the too long delayed Messiah, their ambition, or their avaricious eagerness to be glutted with the plunder of misbelievers, induce them to adopt the latter clause, "and Mohammed is His Prophet"? "We formerly gave unto the family of Abraham a book of revelations and wisdom, and we gave them a great kingdom. There is of them that believe on him, and there is of them who turneth aside from him; but the raging fire of hell is a sufficient punishment. Verily those who disbelieve our signs, we will surely cast them to be broiled in hell-fire; so often as their skins shall be well burned, we will give

¹ Abulfeda, Vit. Moham. p. 3. Compare the new edition, or rather new Life of Mohammed, by Sprenger: "In der Nacht, in welcher der Prophet geboren wurde, zitterte die Halle des Chosroes, und es fielen vierzehn Coquets (schorfa) herunter, und das Feuer der Magier, welches tausend Jahre vorher nie erloschen war, erlosch, und der See von Saiya trocknete aus." See further the dream of the High Mobed, that he saw camels, followed by Arabian horses, pass the Tigris, and spread over Persia; the terror of the King, and the measures which he adopted to obtain an interpretation of the awful vision which prefigured the Mohammedan conquest; p. 134.

² Sale's note, vol. i. p. 26.

them other skins in exchange, that they may taste the sharper torment; *for God is mighty and wise*. But those who believe, and do that which is right, we will bring into gardens watered by rivers: therein shall they remain forever, and there shall they enjoy wives free from all impurity; and we will lead them into perpetual shades.”¹ Such was the alternative offered to the Jews! But the Jews stood aloof in sullen unbelief; they disclaimed a Messiah sprung from the loins of Hagar the bondwoman. Nothing remained but to employ the stern proselytism of the sword.² The tone of Mohammed changed at once: the Israelites were taunted with all the obstinacy and rebellion of their forefathers; they were coupled with idolaters as the worst of unbelievers;³ and the Koran bitterly mocks their vain hope “that the fires of hell shall touch them only for a few days.”

The storm fell first on the Kainoka, a tribe who dwelt in Medina. In the peremptory summons to embrace Islamism were these words:—“Lend to the Lord on good interest?”—“Surely,” said the sarcastic Phineas, the son of Ayubah, “the Lord must be poor to require a loan!” The fiery Abubeker struck him a violent blow, and declared that, but for the treaty existing between the tribes, he would have smote off his head. An accidental tumult gave rise to the first open warfare. A Jewish goldsmith insulted an Arabian maiden; the Arabs slew the offender.⁴ The Jews, the Beni Kainoka, were in a violent commotion, when Mohammed sent them the peremptory alternative, “Islamism or war.”—“We are ignorant of war,”

¹ Sura, v. p. 105.

² Sale's note on c. iii. vol. i. p. 88.

³ “Thou shalt surely find the most violent of all men in enmity against the true believers to be the Jews and the idolaters.” Sura, v. p. 149.

⁴ Vit. Moham. ap. Gagnier, p. 61; Abulfeda, Vit. Abr. Beer.

answered the Jews; "we would eat our bread in peace; but if you force us to fight, you shall find us men of courage." They fled to a neighboring citadel, and made a gallant defence for fifteen days, at the end of which they were forced to surrender.¹ Mohammed issued immediate orders for a general massacre; he was hardly prevailed upon by the powerful Abdollah, son of Obba, to spare their lives; their wealth was pillaged.² Their arms fell to the lot of the conquerors, and Mohammed arrayed himself in a cuirass, which either the Jews or his followers asserted to have belonged to King David;³ they added, in defiance of Jewish history, that he had it on when he slew Goliath. The miserable tribe, thus plundered and defenceless, was driven to find a settlement on the frontier of Syria. The turn of the tribe of Nadhir came next,⁴ but they

¹ I rejoice to find in the new *Life of Mohammed* by Mr. Muir, carefully drawn from the Koran and the most accredited traditions, full agreement with the general views of this chapter. Perhaps Mr. Muir would not accept all the traditions in the text. The scene here briefly related is very strikingly told, iii. p. 135. Mr. Muir gives a curious illustration of the ill blood between the Moslems and the Jews. "For many months after the arrival of Mohammed [at Medina], it so happened that no children were born to the Moslem women; and the rumors began to spread that their barrenness was occasioned by *Jewish sorcery*." pp. 60, 61.

² Koran, c. 59: "The spoils of the inhabitants of these people which God hath granted to his Apostle, are due unto God and that Apostle, and him who is of kin to the Apostle, and the orphans, and the poor, and the traveler, that they may not be forever divided in a circle among such of you as are rich. . . . Like those who lately preceded them [*the idolaters who were slain at Bedr, or the Jews of Kaimoka who were plundered and sent into exile before those of al Nadhir*. Sale's note], they have tasted the evil consequences of their deed, and a painful torment is prepared for them hereafter." ii. p. 430.

³ Abulfeda, c. 35. Compare Pococke, *Hist. Arab.* p. 11.

⁴ But see in Muir some treacherous and revolting murders perpetrated on Jews by the express command of Mohammed: "On the morning after the murder of Kab [Kab's chief offence was the publication of amatory sonnets about the Moslemite women], Mohammed gave a general permission to his followers to slay any Jews whom they might chance to meet." iii. p. 148. The defeat of Mohammed at Ohod took place between these events.

provoked their fate by a treacherous attempt to assassinate the Prophet at a peaceful banquet.¹ They were besieged in their castle, and constrained to surrender, though with all the honors of war. Their wealth was confiscated, by a special revelation of the Koran, to the sole benefit of Mohammed himself and the poor; while the merciless edict pursues them into the next world, and, for their resistance to the Prophet, condemns them to everlasting hell-fire.² The vanquished Nadhirites retreated from the neighborhood of Medina; they joined the Koreish, the inveterate enemies of Mohammed, and the Jews of Koraidha, in a new war against the Prophet. On the very evening of the day on which Mohammed won the memorable battle of the "Ditch,"³ against the Koreish, he advanced to extirpate the Jews of Koraidha. His followers even neglected, without rebuke, the evening prayer, in their thoughts of vengeance. The Angel Gabriel, they believed, led the way, and poured terror into the hearts of the Koraidhites. Even Caab, the son of Asad, the brave author of the war, counselled surrender.⁴ They

¹ But as his followers saw nothing to excite suspicion, and as the chapter in the Koran specially devoted to the subject does not hint at such perfidy, the charge is open to grave suspicion. Muir, 209.

² Compare Muir, pp. 209-215, with the extracts from the Sura, xxx. "They are like unto Satan, when he said unto man '*Become an infidel;*' and when he had become an infidel, the Tempter said, '*Verily I am clear of thee! Verily I fear the Lord of all worlds!*' And the end of them both is that they are cast into the fire — dwelling forever therein! That is the reward of the transgressors."

³ Or rather the retreat of the Koreish from the Ditch which was the main defence of Medina. The fortress of the Koraid tribes (Muir writes it Coreitza) was two or three miles distant from Medina.

⁴ "And he hath caused such of those who have received the Scripture to come down out of their fortresses, and he cast into their hearts terror and dismay: a part of them ye slew, and a part ye made captives, and God hath caused you to inherit their land and their houses and their wealth." Sale's Koran, xxxiii. p. 275, with his note. The story is more fully told in Abulfeda and in Gagnier.

descended from their castle, hoping to obtain mercy through the intercession of their allies. The judgment was left to the venerable Saad, the son of Moadh.¹ Saad was brought, sick and wounded, into the camp. "Oh, Abu-Amru," (it was the name of Saad,) cried the Jews, "have mercy upon us!" Saad uttered his judgment with awful solemnity: "Let all the men be put to death, and the women and children be slaves." "A divine judgment!" exclaimed the fierce Prophet, — "a judgment from the highest of the seven heavens!" Seven² hundred Jews were dragged in chains to the market-place of Medina — graves were dug — the unhappy wretches descended into them — the sword did its office, and the earth was heaped over their remains. The inflexible Prophet looked on without emotion, and this horrible butchery is related with triumph in the Koran. The next Jewish victim was the powerful Salam; he was assassinated in his bed by order of the Prophet. The Jews of Khaibar now alone preserved their independence. Khaibar was a district six days' journey to the southeast of Medina;³ rich in palm-trees, and fertile in pastures, and protected by eight castles, supposed to be impregnable. The Apostle led forth to war two hundred horse and fourteen hundred foot; as he entered the territory of Khaibar he exclaimed to his troops, — "On, with redoubled speed!" He then turned to heaven in prayer, — "Lord of the Heavens, Lord of the Earths, Lord of the Demons, and all that they lead into evil — Lord of the Winds, and all they disperse and scatter — grant us the spoil

¹ Compare throughout, Muir, p. 272, &c. Saad had been wounded at the Ditch: "Mohammed knew well the bitter hate into which his former friendship had been turned by the treachery of the Coreitza." Therefore Mohammed chose him as arbiter of their fate.

² Eight, according to Muir.

³ About 100 miles. Muir. Compare throughout, vol. iv. ch. 21.

of this city, and preserve us from evil.”¹ Allah had before promised him great booty: the evil he apprehended was, the poison which was afterwards given to him by a Jewish woman. The prayer ended, he cried again, “Forward, in the name of Allah!” The Jews of Khaibar were slumbering in peaceful repose. Their first castle, Naem, was taken by assault; the second, Nataa, the castle of Asad, son of Moad, made a more vigorous defence. The Moslemites were reduced to great extremities, for the country had been wasted, and all the palm-trees destroyed. At length Nataa fell, and Mohammed became master of an immense booty in corn, dates, oil, honey, flocks of sheep, cattle, and asses, and armor of all sorts. One author adds that they brought to the Prophet a camel-skin full of collars, bracelets, garters, ear-rings, and buckles, all of gold, with an immense number of precious stones. Alkamus, the third citadel, made a still more gallant resistance. It was here that Ali distinguished himself. He planted the standard on the walls: he clove the skull of Marhab, the great champion of the Jews, through his buckler, two turbans, and a diamond which he wore in his helmet, till the sword stuck between his jaws.² Abu-Rafe, an eye-witness, declares that the “Strong Lion,” Ali, seized the gate of the city, which eight men could not lift, and used it as a buckler.³ On the capture of Alkamus, Kenana, the chief, was horribly tortured, to induce him to betray the secret hiding-place of his treasures;⁴ but the patient Jew endured

¹ Gagnier, ii. 47.

² Gagnier, ii. 54, from Guannabi.

³ “Abu-Rafe,” observes Gibbon, in his usual caustic vein, “was an eye-witness, — but who will be witness for Abu-Rafe?”

⁴ Here, as at Koraidha, Mohammed appropriated to himself the beautiful Jewess Rikâna, who, however, refusing to change her religion, was only his concubine. He cast his mantle over the lovely Safia, the wife of Kenana.

to the utmost, and a more merciful Islamite relieved him by striking off his head. Three more of the castles fell. The two last surrendered on the promise that the lives of the besieged should be spared.¹ The inhabitants of the cities of Fadai and Khaibar capitulated on the condition of surrendering, besides all their wealth, which was vast, not merely in the fruits of the earth, sheep, and camels, but in treasure and jewels, half the revenue of their fields and pastures, which they were still to cultivate for the use of the Prophet. But Mohammed reserved the right of exiling them according to his good pleasure, — a right which was afterwards exercised by the Caliph Omar, who alleged the dying injunction of the Prophet, that but one faith should be permitted to exist in Arabia. Some of the Jews of Khaibar were transplanted to Syria; yet it is supposed that some vestiges of their creed may still be traced among the Arab tribes of that district.²

But the persecution of the Jews by the Mohammedans was confined to the limits of the Arabian peninsula. Under the empire of the Caliphs, which rapidly swallowed up the dominions of Persia, and many provinces of the Eastern empire, though doomed by the haughty spirit of Islamism, perhaps by the legislation of Omar,

Muir adds, "Indeed he is not free from the suspicion of being influenced in the destruction of Kenana by the desire of obtaining his wife."

¹ It was during this war that a Jewish woman made Mohammed a present of a poisoned sheep; he tasted it, but was warned not to eat any more. Still its fatal effects lurked in his constitution. Bishr, a favorite follower of Mohammed, died of partaking more largely of the poisoned shoulder of the kid. The woman, Zeinub, sister of the brave Marhab, avowed her guilt. "I said within myself, If he is a prophet, he will be aware that the shoulder of the kid is poisoned; but if he be a mere pretender, then we shall be rid of him, and the Jews will again prosper."

² Gagnier says that they continued to inhabit their former lands on condition of cultivating them, it is presumed for the benefit of their masters, as being better versed in the arts of husbandry. Niebuhr supposed that he discovered traces of Judaism among those tribes.

to perpetual inferiority,¹ this people might rejoice in the change of masters. Jerusalem yielded an easy conquest to the triumphant Omar, and though the Jews might behold with secret dissatisfaction the magnificent mosque of the conqueror usurping the sacred hill on which the Temple of Solomon had stood, yet still they would find consolation in the degradation of the Christians, and the obscurity into which the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was thrown; and even, perhaps, might cherish the enthusiastic hope that the new Temple might be destined for a holier use. Some Christian writers accuse the Jews of a deep-laid conspiracy to advance the triumph of Mohammedanism; but probably this conspiracy was no more than their united prayers and vows that their oppressors might fall before a power which ruled them on the easy terms of tribute, the same which they exacted from all their conquered provinces. This union of their hearts was natural; they might well rejoice in the annihilation of the throne of Persia, for Izdigerd, the last of her kings, had commenced a fierce persecution of the Jews in his dominions;² and the Christians could lay little claim to their faithful attachment as subjects. No doubt, as the tide of Moslemite conquest spread along the shores of Africa, the Jews exulted, rather than deplored the change of masters; 40,000 of their race were found by Amrou in Alexandria, at the conquest of that city, and suffered no further oppression than the payment of tribute.³ In one country alone (we overleap a century) it is probable that they took a more active interest than their secret prayers and thanksgivings in

¹ Comp. in Enoch und Grüber, p. 190.

² Schievet Jehuda. Persecut. tertia. Epist. K. Scherir ap. Joch, quoted by Jost, p. 315.

³ Jost, v. 310.

the triumph of the Crescent. Spain had already taken the lead in Jewish persecution. Spain maintained its odious distinction, and Spain had without doubt reason to rue the measures which set a great part of its most industrious population in justifiable hostility to its laws and government, and made them ready to hail the foreign conqueror as a deliverer and benefactor. The lust of Roderick, and his violation of the daughter of Count Julian, led not more directly to the subjugation of his country than the barbarous intolerance of his ancestors towards the Jews. Their wrongs, in the violence done to their consciences, were not less deep than that suffered by the innocent Caava; their vengeance was less guilty than that of the renegade Julian.

For above a century their wrongs had been accumulating. As early as the reign of Recared, the first Catholic king of the Goths, they had attained unexampled prosperity in the Peninsula. They were, to a great extent, the cultivators of the soil, which rewarded their patient industry with the most ample return; and often the administrators of the finances, for which they were well qualified by their knowledge of trade. Bigotry, envy, and avarice conspired to point them out as objects of persecution.¹ Laws were passed, of which the spirit may be comprehended from the preamble and the titles: — “Laws concerning the promulgation and ratification of statutes against Jewish

¹ Even Gregory the Great, so just, almost charitable, to the Jews in other countries, cannot withhold his approbation of the cruel laws of the orthodox Recared. He disguises it, probably disguised it to himself, under admiration for the disinterestedness of Recared, who refused a large sum of money from the Jews to abate his rigor: — “Quod cum vestra Excellentia constitutionem quandam contra Judæorum perfidiam dedisset, hi de quibus prolata fuerat, rectitudinem vestræ mentis deflectere, pecuniarum summan offerendo moliti sunt, et omnipotentis Dei placere judicio requirens, auro innocentiam prætulit.” ix. il. 122.

wickedness,¹ and for the general extirpation of Jewish errors.² That the Jews may not celebrate the Passover according to their usage; that the Jews may not contract marriage according to their own customs; that the Jews may not practise circumcision; that the Jews make no distinction of meats; that the Jews bring no action against Christians; that Jews be not permitted to bear witness against Christians: of the time when their converted descendants are admissible as witnesses: of the penalties attached to the transgressions of these statutes by the Jews: against the circumcision of slaves by the Jews." The penalty for these

¹ The modern Spanish writer Amador de los Rios is too good a Roman Catholic not to justify these proceedings, "quand ce peuple (the Goths), après avoir accepté déjà la religion des vaincus, dans le troisième Concile de Tolède, comprit la nécessité de veiller à sa conservation et à son agrandissement, et dut finir en même temps par mettre un terme aux excès des Juifs." These excesses were their superior civilization and better knowledge of the arts necessary to life. "Enfin leur caractère et leur naturel audacieux et rusé les avaient placés dans une position avantageuse, position qui eût pu, peut-être, les conduire, avec le temps, à être les dominateurs des Goths mêmes." Magnabal's Translation, p. 28.

² Lex Wisi-Goth. l. xii. t. 11, 12: "De datis et confirmatis leg. super Iudæam nequitiam promulgatis."

"Nam cum virtus Dei totum universaliter acie verbi sui hæresium extirpaverit fomitem vel surculum, solâ Judæorum nequitia ingemiscimus arva nostra esse polluta regiminis nostri." A Catholic land might not endure Jewish cultivators. Leges Wisi-Gothorum, lib. xii., ap. Canciani, iv. pp. 185-186.

The first law is directed against Christian renegades to Judaism. No baptized Jew shall again leave or profane the faith of the holy Christian religion, assail it by act or word, or secretly or openly blaspheme it. These proselytes were to take care not to damage the document which they had signed of their conversion to Christianity.

The laws, however, in the text are expressly directed against all Jews: "De cunctis Judæorum erroribus generaliter extirpandis. Ne Judæi more suo celebrent Pascha. Ne Judæi more suo fœdus copulent nuptiale. Ne Judæi carnis faciant circumcisionem," &c. Their distinction of meats was looked on with special detestation: "Cum beatus Apostolus dicat, omnia munda mundis; coinquinatis autem et infidelibus nihil est mundum: merito Judæorum detestabilis vita et discretionis horrendæ immunditia, omnium sordium horrore immundior, et refelli oportet et abjici debet."

offences was even more extraordinary than the offences themselves: the criminal was to be stoned to death, or burned by the hands of his own people.¹ These laws, however, do not at first seem to have come into operation.² It is suspected, from a passage in a letter of Pope Gregory, that the Israelites paid a large sum of money for their suspension. Three statutes of Sisebut,³ the fourth in succession from Recared, complained of the neglect of Recared's law by his degenerate successors. Sisebut disclaimed their culpable toleration, and sternly reënacted, with rigid provisions, the prohibition to the Jews to have Christian slaves; such slaves were declared at once free; if after a fixed time any Jew was found in possession of a Christian slave, half his substance was to be forfeited to the Treasury. It was a capital crime for a Jew to circumcise a Christian, man or woman. Children born of Jewish or Christian parents (this law seems to contemplate mixed marriages or concubinage) were to be brought up as Christians; at the same time there is a singular provision, that if any convert from Christianity shall obstinately adhere to Judaism, he shall be publicly flogged, shaven, and

¹ "Quicumque aut superioribus vetita legibus aut suis innixa placitis temerare voluerit, vel frustrare præsumpserit, mox juxta sponsionem eorum gentis suæ manibus aut lapide puniatur, aut igne cremetur." The king had the suspicious power of mercy; he might grant the guilty Jew, with all his *confiscated* property, as a slave to any of his favorites, "sicque fiat ut nec rem amissam recipiat dominus, nec libertatem reparet servus." L. W. xii. t. xi.

² "Si certe hi, qui in ritum Hebræorum traducti sunt, in eâ perfidiâ stare voluerint." The edict pursues the transgressor of the law beyond this world to the Day of Judgment: "Futuri etiam examinis terribile cum patuerit tempus, et metuendus Domini adventus fuerit reseratus, discretus a Christiano grege perspicuo ad lævam cum Hebræis exuretur flammis atrocibus, comitante sibi diabolo ut ultrix flamma in transgressoribus æternâ pænâ desæviat, et locuples remuneratio Christianis faventibus hinc in æternum copiosè detur." *Leges Wisi-Goth. apud Canciani, iv. 188.*

³ Sisebut's accession, A. C. 612.

granted in perpetual servitude to whomsoever the king shall will. The third law seems to imply that the general feeling was not in full accordance with the fierce intolerance of the king: it denounces the penalty of excommunication and fine against any one, even bishop, priest, or monk, who shall in any way patronize or defend the victims of these laws. But the zealous Sisebut was not content with these slow and indulgent measures; he would extirpate the perfidious and detested race from the contaminated land. About four years after, he began his remorseless persecution. The Spanish monarch was excited, it is said, by the Emperor Heraclius,¹ who had found out that his empire was threatened with danger from the circumcised, and, ignorant of the secret growth of Mohammedanism, determined to extirpate the dangerous race throughout the world.² Among the smouldering ruins of the Christian churches, and the vestiges of recent Christian massacre in Jerusalem, Heraclius might unhappily have found stronger reasons for the persecution of the Jews; but as we have no satisfactory evidence of his having wreaked his vengeance in his own dominions, it may be doubted whether his jealous vigilance ex-

¹ Basnage is disposed to believe this, as well as Mariana, on whose authority it chiefly rests; but the Spanish historian Ferreras has shown that Sisebut had begun to persecute the Jews before his treaty with Heraclius. ii. p. 340.

The *historians* of the East are silent about it: it rests on monkish traditions in the West. Compare Schröckh, xx. p. 303. Vit. S. Amandi Trajectensis.

Lafuente, ii. p. 407, fully accepts the story of Heraclius, doubtfully that of the 90,000 converts. But he writes in the nobler spirit of later times: 'Los (Judios) que quedaran en nostra peninsula sufrieron todo género de violencias, no había humiliacion, no había mal tratamiento, no había amargura, que no se les hiciera probar; y Sisebut aquel príncipe tan compasivo y humano, que vertía lagrimas a la vista de la sangre que se deramaba en los combates, veía impassible las crueldades que con los Judios se cometían. A tanto arrastra el excesivo celo religioso.'

² See p. 273.

tended so far as to the extremity of the West. Sisebut must bear alone the shame, he probably thought, alone inherit the glory of his oppressive measures. The Jews were commanded, at once, either to abandon their religion or to leave the dominions of the Goths. According to their own account, they assembled with tears and groans in the court of the palace, obtained an audience, and held a singular theological debate with their royal antagonist. The king declared that he was constrained by his conscience to force them to receive baptism. They adduced the example of Joshua, who did not, they said, compel the Canaanites to accept the Law of Moses, but allowed them peace on condition of their observing the seven Noachic precepts.¹ The king, perplexed by this daring historical argument, replied that he recognized no authority superior to his own; that it was his bounden duty to enforce his law, because all who were not regenerate in baptism must perish everlastingly.² The Jews replied, that, as the

¹ Basnage relates this scene on the authority of Solomon ben Virga, Schevet Juda, p. 93. The Jewish writer has committed an anachronism and fixed the reign of Sisebut as late as 800.

² Mariana, lib. vi. Mariana asserts that there were laws inserted in the *Fuero Juzgo* with this intent. I can find only the three laws above attributed to Sisebut. But of the persecution there can be no doubt, from other sources, especially the noble remonstrance of Isidore of Seville: "*In initio regni sui Judæos ad fidem Christianam permoveere æmulationem quidem Dei habuit, sed non secundum scientiam. Potestate enim compulsi quos provocare fidei ratione oportuit.*" Isidor *Hisp. in Chronico*. Mariana is indignant, not so much at the intolerance of the king, though he acknowledges that it was "*cosa illicita y vedada entre los Christianos, que a ninguno se haga fuerza para que lo fea contra su voluntad.*" But no wonder that the king erred, since he presumed to take into his own hands affairs that belong to the ecclesiastical power. Mariana's pity for the terrible sufferings of the Jews finds easy consolation: "*Por esta manera la divina justicia con nuevos castigos trabajava y affligia aquella nacion malvada, en pena de la sangre de Christo hijo de Dios, que tan sin culpa derramaron.*" The proceedings of the Fourth Council of Toledo, too, bear witness to the persecution. The doubtful authority for the 90,000 baptized is Aimoin, *Hist. Franc.* iv. 22. Compare Gibbon, ch. 37.

Israelites who despised the Holy Land were sufficiently punished by being excluded from its blessings, so they would pay an adequate penalty, by being excluded from eternal life. Sisebut rejoined that men might be left to themselves to accept or refuse temporal advantages, but that they must be forced to receive spiritual blessings, as a child is forced to learn his lessons. But the king's orders were more effective than his arguments. The Jews were thrown into prison, and treated with the utmost rigor. Some fled into France or Africa, others abandoned their religion, 90,000 are reported to have submitted to baptism: but how far their hearts renounced their creed, or how speedily they relapsed, must remain uncertain.

But Sisebut did not carry out these atrocious acts without one voice of noble Christian remonstrance raised against him, that of Isidore of Seville, who boldly reproved the king's zeal not according to knowledge. In the next reign but one, that of Sisenand, the Jews obtained a relaxation of the oppressive statutes, probably from an unexpected quarter. The rare example was displayed of a synod of clergy in that age, of Spanish clergy, openly asserting the tenets of reason and Christian charity. The Fourth Council of Toledo, under the Presidency of Isidore of Seville, enacted, "that men ought not to be compelled to believe, because God will have mercy on those on whom He will have mercy, and whom He will He hardeneth. As man fell by his own free will in listening to the wiles of the serpent, so man can only be converted by his free acceptance of the Christian faith." Yet, with remarkable inconsistency, the Council likewise decreed, "that all who had embraced the faith must be constrained to adhere to it, and to remain within the

Church. For, as they had received the Blessed Sacrament, the holy name of God would be blasphemed, and the faith disgraced by their falling off.”¹ The Council sadly acknowledges how hollow and insincere had been many of their enforced conversions. Not only did many of these New Christians practise in secret Jewish ceremonies, but they were guilty of performing the abominable rite of circumcision. The children of such parents were to be taken from them, and brought up either in monasteries or under the care of pious men. There is a humiliating confession too: such was still the influence of the wealth of the Jews, that many laymen and clerks, even bishops, were bought to be their protectors. The penalty for this profane and sacrilegious connivance was in some cases not less than excommunication.² The prohibitions against the Jews holding civil offices and retaining Christian slaves were renewed. The children of Jews by Christian mothers (this seems to have been not uncommon) were to be brought up as Christians. The gleam of light and mercy was but transient. The Sixth Council of Toledo (the wise and good Isidore of Seville had died in the interval³) indignantly disclaimed the tolerant spirit of the former synod. It praised Suintila the Second for his violent proceedings against the Jews, and blessed God that they possessed a prince so full of ardor for the faith.⁴ The Council enacted that every

¹ IV. Concil. Tolet. ann. iii. Sisenandi, A. C. 633. “Qui autem jam pridem ad Christianitatem venire coacti sunt, sicut factum est temporibus religiosissimi principis Sisebuti.” Art. lvii.

² “Tanta est quorundam cupiditas, . . . multi quippe hucusque ex sacerdotibus et laicis accipientes a Judæis munera, perfidiam eorum patrocinio suo favebant.” Art. lvii.

³ He died A. C. 636. Life in Smith’s Dictionary.

⁴ The canon of the VI. Council of Toledo, under Suintelle (A. C. 638), confirms more distinctly the persecution of Sisebut. The Most Christian

king on his accession should take an oath to execute these laws, and passed an anathema on that sovereign who should neglect this indispensable part of his royal duty. Under Recescuinth, the Eighth Council of Toledo, A. C. 653, reënforced the obligation of the king to execute the laws against the Jews with the utmost severity.¹ To this Council a curious petition was presented. The undersigned baptized Jews expressed their readiness to submit to the law; they acknowledged its justice and wisdom in the humblest language, recited and declared their assent to all its prohibitions: of circumcision, Jewish marriages, distinctions of meats, sabbatical observances. The only indulgence they requested was an exemption from being constrained to eat pork, a food to which they could not habituate themselves; even that they could endure, without disgust and horror, if only used in cookery with other things.² But the most extraordinary fact in all this history is, that not only were these laws ineffective in the conversion or extirpation of the Jews,³ but that there were yet Christians who embraced Judaism. One of the Visigothic laws indignantly enacts the punishment of death for such an offence. "Even many of the clergy," declares the Tenth Council of Toledo, "a fact monstrous and unutterable, pursue an execrable commerce with the ungodly, and do not scruple to sell to them Christian slaves, and thus give Christians up to be converted to Judaism."⁴ The Ninth Council

King, by the inspiration of God, had determined, "*prævaricationes et superstitiones eorum eradicare funditus, nec sinit degere in regno suo eum qui non sit catholicus.*" Canon iii.

¹ VIII. Conc. Toletanum, Canon x. xii.

² "Ea tamen quæ cupi ipsis decocta sunt, absque fastidio ac honore sumamus." VIII. Conc. Tolet., ap. Labbe.

³ Canon xvii.

⁴ Leges Wisi-Goth. xii. ii. 27. "De Judaizantibus Christianis: Ut nul

had decreed, that all baptized Jews were bound to appear in the Church, not only on Christian, but also on Jewish holidays, lest, while professed Christians, they should practise secret Judaism. But the Twelfth Council of Toledo, or rather the Legislature with the full assent and approbation of the Council, in the reign of Ervig, far surpassed its predecessors in the elaborate cruelty of its enactments, even if aimed only at Jews professing Christianity. There is indeed a singular ambiguity in the wording of the law,—it appears generally to include all Jews,¹—but most of its provisions seem especially directed against conformists to the Church. Are we to suppose that the Church, only legislating for its members, intended these laws specially for Jews within its pale? or that this conformity had been so general as to comprise nearly all the Jews within the realm?² The Jews were assembled in the Church of the Holy Virgin, at Toledo, and the resolutions of this Christian assembly were read aloud.³ The preamble complained that the crafty Jews had eluded all former laws, and attributed the failure of these statutes to the severity of the punishment enacted, which was death in all cases, — contrary, it was added, to the Holy

luis omnino veniam mereatur, qui a meliore proposito ad deterius declinasse convincetur.” It proceeds to enact death and confiscation of goods against any one guilty of this cruel and stupendous crime: “*Quicumque Christianus, et præsertim a Christianis parentibus ortus, sexûs scilicet utriusque, circumcisionem, vel puoscunque Judaicos ritus, exercuisse repertus est.*”

¹ Concil. Tolet. ix. A. c. 656, Canon vii.

² “*Proinde si quis Judæorum de his scilicet qui nondum sunt baptizati, aut se baptizare distulerit, aut filios suos vel famulos nullo modo ad sacerdotem baptizandos remiserit, vel se suosque de baptismo subtraxerit, et vel unius anni spatium post legem hanc editam quispiam illorum sine gratia baptismatis transierit.*” *Lex. iii.*

³ This appears from the subscription to the Laws. *Leges Wisi-Goth. xii. iii.* Canciani, 190, 201. In fact these were Laws of the Realm enforced by the assent and confirmation of the Council, — the whole in Canciani. It was a consolidation of the Statute Laws against the Jews.

Scriptures. The penalties of the new statutes were mitigated, but not in mercy. The general punishment was one hundred lashes on the naked body; after that the offender was to be put in chains, banished, and his property confiscated to the lord of the soil.¹ This was the penalty for profaning the name of Christ, rejecting the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, blaspheming the Trinity — for not bringing children or servants, themselves or their dependants, to baptism — for observing the Passover, the New Moon, the Feast of Tabernacles (in these cases, on real conversion, the land was restored) — for violating the Christian Sabbath, or the great festivals of the Church, either by working in the field, or in manufacture. If these days were desecrated by a servant, the master was liable to a fine. The circumcision of a child was more cruelly visited, on the man, by mutilation, — on the woman, by the loss of her nose and the seizure of her property. The same penalty was attached to the conversion of a Christian to Judaism. The former punishment — scourging, imprisonment, banishment, and confiscation — was incurred by those who made a difference in meats. An exemption was granted to new converts, who were not constrained to eat swine's flesh if their nature revolted against it. The same penalty fell on all who intermarried within the sixth degree of relationship. Such marriages were declared null; the property was to be divided among

¹ "Nam quædam leges sicut culparum habent diversitates, non ita discretas in se retinent ultiones, sed permista scelera transgressorum ad unius permittuntur legis pœnale judicium. Nec secundum modum culpæ modus est adhibitis pœnæ, cum major minorque transgressio unius non debeat multationis prædampnari supplicio: præsertim cum dominus in lege suâ precipiat *pro mensurâ peccati erit et plagarum modus*. Unde lex ipsa quæ miserebitur de pœnâ, quâ perimenda sit transgressio Judæorum, *quoniam Deus mortem non vult, nec letatur in perditione vivorum*, pro eo quod in se *peremptionem continet mortis*, in nullo veræ valetudinis retinebit statum." p. 191

the children, if not Jews. If there were no children, or only children educated in Judaism, it fell to the lord of the soil. No marriage was hereafter to be contracted, without a clause in the act of dower that both would become Christians. All who offended against this law, even the parents concerned in such a marriage, were to be fined or scourged. All subjects of the kingdom who harbored, assisted, or concealed the flight of a Jew, were to be scourged, and have their property confiscated. Whoever received bribes from a Jew to conceal his practice of Judaism, was fined thrice the sum he had received. The Jew who read, or allowed his children to read, books written against Christianity, suffered one hundred lashes; on the second offence the lashes were repeated, with banishment and confiscation. Christian slaves of Jews were declared free; the Jews had no right of emancipating them; but a given time was allowed, in which they might sell those of whom they were possessed. As many Jews, in order to retain their Christian slaves, pretended to Christianity, the whole race were commanded, by a given day, to bring their slaves for sale, or publicly to embrace Christianity. If not immediately baptized, they were to lodge a solemn protest of their faith with the bishop; and all converts were to take an oath, of which the form was subjoined, — an oath of terrific sublimity, which even now makes the reader shudder, when he remembers that it was forced upon unwilling consciences, and perhaps taken by those who secretly renounced its obligations. All Jewish slaves, by embracing Christianity, obtained their freedom. No Jew could take any office by which he might have authority over or constrain a Christian, except in certain cases where power might be granted

by the feudal lord. In such a case, if he abused the law, he was punished by the loss of half his property, or by stripes. Even the noble who granted such a power was liable to a fine, or, in default of payment, to the same ignominious punishment. No Jew might be intendant, house steward, or overseer. Should a bishop, priest, or other ecclesiastic, commit the property of the Church to a Jewish intendant, his property was to be confiscated — in default, himself burnt. No Jew could travel from one town or province to another, without reporting himself to the bishop or judge of the place. They were forced to eat, drink, and communicate with Christians; they could not move without a certificate of good behavior and a passport. On the Jewish Sabbath and holy days they were all to assemble before the bishop. The bishop was to appoint women to overlook their wives and daughters. The spiritual person who took a bribe to relax his vigilance was to be degraded and excommunicated.¹ Whoever protected a Jew against his spiritual overseer, was to be excommunicated and pay a heavy fine. No civil judge could act in any case of this kind without the concurrence of the priesthood, if their presence could be procured. The remission of penalties might be granted, on a certificate of Christian behavior. All spiritual persons were to communicate these statutes to the Jews in their respective dioceses and cures. Such were the acts of the kingdom of Spain, ratified or commanded by the Twelfth Council of Toledo; but hap-

¹ There is one provision which gives no high notion of the morality of the Christian clergy, who demanded, enforced, and were to execute this atrocious system of persecution: "*Id tantum præcipue observandum est, ne quorundam sacerdotum carnalia corda, dum eas libidines execrabili contaminatione exagitant, occasiones quaslibet inquirant, per quos libidinis suæ votum efficiant.*" Lex. xxi.

pily laws, when they are carried to such an extreme of cruelty as to shock the general feeling, usually prevent their own execution. The Council might enact, but the people would carry into effect but imperfectly these horrible scenes of scourging and confiscation. Wealth, notwithstanding the menaces of the law, would purchase immunity and exemption; and though many fled, and many probably outwardly conformed, the successor of Ervig, Egica, found it expedient to relax the laws, so far as to allow baptized Jews all the privileges of citizens,¹ which before were but jealously or imperfectly bestowed;² in all other respects the statutes of Ervig remained in force. Fear may have extorted this concession; but the fear of the monarch shows how ineffective the former laws must have been, if the Jews were still so numerous as to be formidable.

Already the shores of Africa were beginning to gleam with the camps of the Saracens, who threatened to cross the narrow strait, and overwhelm the trembling Gothic monarchy. No wonder if the impatient Jews hourly uttered vows, or held secret correspondence with their free brethren in Africa, to accelerate the march of the victorious deliverer. The year after the conciliatory edict of Egica, a Council was again held at Toledo: the king denounced a general conspiracy of the Jews (ungrateful as they were for his merciful desire to convert them to Christianity) to massacre the Christians, subdue the land, and overthrow the monarchy. "Already," declared the king,

¹ XVI. Concil. Tolet. A. c. 693: "Dan por nobles y horros de tributos a todos los Judios que de coraçon abraçassen la religion Christiana." Mariana, vi. c. xviii. The nobles seem to have been exempt from tribute: a privilege of no slight value to the wealthy Jewish Christians. Compare on the reigns of Ervig and Egica, Lafuente.

² XVII. Concil. Tolet. A. c. 694: "Tanta fuit pro eorum conversione mansuetudinis nostræ intentio." In Præf.

“this people, defiled by the blood of Christ and infamous for the profanation of their oaths, have meditated ruin against the king and kingdom,—the supreme dominion of which they would usurp,—and, proclaiming that their time is come, have begun the work of slaughter against the Catholics.”¹ There was a vast confederacy, it was averred and believed, among the Hebrews, in Spain and beyond the sea, to exterminate the Christian faith. The affrighted and obsequious churchmen instantly passed a decree to confiscate all the property of the Jews to the royal treasury,—to disperse the whole race, as slaves, through the country,—to seize all their children under seven years of age, to bring them up as Christians, marry them to Christian wives, and to abolish forever the exercise of the Jewish faith. A great flight of the Jews probably took place; for Witiza, the successor of Egica, attempting too late to heal the wounds by conciliation, granted them permission to return into the Gothic states, with full rights of freedom and citizenship.² He even com-

¹ “Ausu tyrannico inferre conati sunt ruinam patriæ ac populo universo . . . sed et regni fastigium sibi (ut præmissum est) per conspirationem usurpare maluerunt . . . ut suum quasi tempus invenisse gaudentes diversas in catholicos exercerent strages.” The statute (c. viii.) does not alone refer to their foreign connections, but also in the address of the king are these words: “Nuper manifestis confessionibus indubie pervenimus, hos in transmarinis partibus Hebræos alios consuluisse ut unanimiter contra genus Christianum agerent.”

² Read Mariana (l. vi. c. 19). Witiza began (as Mariana admits) nobly: he recalled from exile many persons whom his father had driven from their homes, restored their confiscated possessions, honors, and dignities. He ordered all the papers relating to charges of treason to be burned. But he soon yielded himself to flatterers, kept many concubines with the pomp of queens; and, a greater crime, he issued an edict permitting the clergy and monks to marry,—an abominable and foul law, which nevertheless found favor with the many, even with most (que a muchos y a los mas dió gusto). He issued another law refusing obedience to the Pope. Finally, to complete his wickedness, he abrogated the laws against the Jews, and allowed them to return to Spain.

pelled or persuaded a Council at Toledo, presided over by the archbishop, to concur in this act of toleration. This Council is indignantly declared illegitimate and heretical by the annalists of the Church of Rome.¹ But the vows of the Jews had been heard, or their intrigues had been successful. They returned, and to the enjoyment of all rights and privileges of freedom, — not indeed under Christian kings, but under the dominion of the Moorish Caliphs, who established their rule over almost the whole of Spain.² The munificence of these sovereigns bears the appearance of gratitude for valuable services, and confirms the suspicion that the Jews were highly instrumental in advancing the triumph of the Crescent. At all events, when Toledo opened her gates to the Moorish conqueror (whether the Jews were openly or secretly active in the fall of the city), with what infinite satisfaction must they have beheld the capital of the persecuting Visigothic kings, of Recared, and Sisebut, and Ervig, and the seat of those remorseless Councils which had forcibly baptized or exiled their devoted ancestors, or deprived them of their children, now become the palace of kings, if not kindred in lineage, yet Monotheists like themselves, under whose rule they knew that their brethren in the East and in Africa were permitted to enjoy their lives and their religion undisturbed, under whom they found

¹ The Council is not admitted to the honor of a place in Labbe, who refers to Baronius, *sub ann.* 701.

² The Mohammedan historians of the conquest of Spain acknowledge the Jews as their allies. It is probable that in the invasion itself they were deeply involved. Of the Berbers, who formed the great mass of Turks, a vast number were Jews (Judaism had spread wide in Northern Africa). There can be no doubt that the African Jews were in correspondence with their brethren in Spain. On the capture of Granada, of Toledo, of Seville, the Jews were intrusted with the occupation of these cities, while the Moslems passed on to other conquests. See Gayangos *Hist. of Mohammedan Dynasties of Spain* (Orient. Trans. Fund), pp. 280, 284, and Note, p. 531.

equal justice, rose to high honor, at least labored under no proscription, dreaded no persecution! How much more must they have exulted when they were summoned to assume the command of this great city, and to maintain it for their Moslem deliverers! The reward of their prayers or of their acts for the success of Islamism was a golden age of freedom, of civilization, and of letters. They shared with and emulated their splendid masters in all the luxuries and arts which soften and embellish life, during that era of high, though, if we may so say, somewhat barbaric civilization, under which the southern provinces of Spain became that paradise for which they were designed by nature.

France had obeyed the signal of Spain, and hung out the bloody flag of persecution. But her measures were ill combined, and probably worse executed; for many of the fugitives from Spain sought and found comparative security among their brethren in Gaul.¹ Early in the seventh century, A. C. 615, Clotaire the Second, in a council of the clergy, issued a decree disqualifying the Jews from all military or civil offices which gave them authority over Christians. But by a strange provision the Jew who should attempt to attain or exercise his power, was to be baptized by the bishop with all his family, as if, instead of suffering a penalty, he was to be graciously admitted to a privilege.² The Council of Rheims (627) annulled all

¹ Jost somewhat quaintly complains that they were persecuted with bad sermons: "Von der Geistlichkeit überall mit schlechten Predigten gequält wurden;" v. 149. Sulpicius, Bishop of Bourges, a famous preacher, aided the effect of his sermons by hunting the obstinate Jews out of his diocese.

² The whole statute (Concil. Paris. can. xv.) is obscure: "Ut nullus Judæorum qualemunque militiam aut actionem publicam super Christianos aut petere a principe aut agere præsumat. Quod si tentaverit, ab Epis-

bargains entered into by Jews for the purchase of Christian slaves; that of Chalons, on the Marne, prohibited the Jews from selling Christian slaves beyond the frontier of the kingdom.¹ The devout Dagobert, it is said, though probably with as little truth, instigated, like his contemporary Sisebut of Spain, by the Emperor Heraclius, issued an edict commanding all Jews to forswear their religion or leave the kingdom.² But in the northern part of France this edict was so little enforced, that a Jew held the office of tax-collector at the Gate of St. Denys in Paris.³ In the South, where they were far more numerous and wealthy, they carried on their trade with uninterrupted success. In the great rebellion of the Gallic part of the Visigothic kingdom, Paul, who had usurped the throne, and Hilderic Count of Nismes had recalled the

copo civitatis illius, ubi actionem contra canonum statuta competeret, cum omni familiâ gratiam baptismi consequatur."

¹ Concil. Remense, can. xi.; Concil. Cabill. IX., circiter ann. 650.

² See back, p. 111. This tale is thus told in the curious Chronicle of Rabbi Joseph ben Joshua ben Meir, translated for the Oriental Fund by M. Bialloblotski:—"And it came to pass in the twenty-first year of his reign, that Heraclius, being very wise in the knowledge of the planets, saw in his wisdom the kingdom of Rome fall in his days under the soles of the feet of the circumcised. And this Belial said in his heart, 'The Lord will do this glorious thing on behalf of the Jews only, for they are circumcised.' And his wrath was kindled against them; and he commanded in all the cities of his kingdom to kill all the Jews who refused to change their glory for that which doth not profit. And he sent messengers to Dagobert, king of France, that he also might act according to this wicked saying. And Dagobert hearkened unto him; and many Jews changed their glory, and many were slain with the edge of the sword in France in those days. May the Eternal avenge the blood and repay vengeance to his enemies! Amen and Amen! And Heraclius, the Belial, knew not this word related to the Nazarenes, for like unto us they are circumcised." Vol. i. p. 10.

Rabbi Joshua is a late writer, but may have known traditions from earlier documents, which have not been detected in those writings by modern scholars. The Christian authorities are silent on these persecutions.

³ *Gesta Dagoberti*.

Jews into the realm.¹ King Wamba, the predecessor of Ervig, on the suppression of the rebellion took vengeance on the Jews by reënforcing the persecuting edicts of Sisebut I. ; but in later days the wiser monarchs of the Visigothic kingdom in France altogether renounced the intolerant policy of the Merovingian race.

¹ Archbishop Rodriguez, quoted by Amador de los Rios, p. 31; *Mariara*, vi 13. King Wamba reigned A. C. 672-680.

BOOK XXIII.

GOLDEN AGE OF JUDAISM.

The Jews under the Caliphs — Rise of Karaism — Kingdom of Khosrow — Jews under the Byzantine Empire — Jews Breakers of Images — Jews of Italy — Jews under Charlemagne and Louis Debonnaire — Agobard, Bishop of Lyons — Jews in Spain — High State of Literature — Moses Maimonides.

WE enter upon a period which I shall venture to denominate the Golden Age of the modern Jews. To them, the Moslem crescent was as a star, which seemed to soothe to peace the troubled waters on which they had been so long agitated. Throughout the dominions of the Caliphs, in the East, in Africa, and in Spain; in the Byzantine empire; in the dominions of those great sovereigns, Charlemagne, his predecessor, and his successor, who, under Divine Providence, restored vigor and solidity to the Christian empire of the West, and enabled it to repel the yet unexhausted inroads of Mohammedanism; everywhere we behold the Jews not only pursuing unmolested their lucrative and enterprising traffic, not merely merchants of splendor and opulence, but suddenly emerging to offices of dignity and trust, administering the finances of Christian and Mohammedan kingdoms, and travelling as ambassadors between mighty sovereigns. This golden age was of very different duration in different parts of the world. In the East it was, before long, interrupted by their own civil dissensions, and by a spirit of persecution which seized the Moslemite sovereigns. In the Byzantine

empire, we are greatly in want of authentic information, both concerning the period in question and that which followed it. In the West of Europe it was soon succeeded by an age of iron. In Spain, the daylight endured the longest—to set in deep and total darkness.

The religious persecutions of the Jews by the Mohammedans were confined within the borders of Arabia. The Prophet was content with enforcing uniformity of worship within the sacred peninsula which gave him birth. The holy cities of Mecca and Medina were not to be profaned by the unclean footstep of an unbeliever. His immediate successors rose (or degenerated, shall we say?) from stern fanatics to ambitious conquerors. “The Koran or the sword!” was still the battle-cry; but whoever would submit to the dominion of the triumphant Caliph, or render himself useful in the extension of his conquests, might easily evade the recognition of the Prophet’s title. The Jews had little reason to regret, or rather had ample cause to triumph in, the ruin of their former masters. The kings of Persia, who had sometimes vouchsafed to protect, but had sometimes cruelly persecuted the Jews, were now cast from their thrones without any compassion, or rather with inward feelings of triumph and revenge, from their Jewish subjects. Whether they paid tribute to a Magian or Mohammedan sovereign, was to the Jews indifferent. Feeble governments are in general more tyrannical, more iniquitous in the distribution of justice, more rapacious in their taxation, than strong ones. An Islamite sovereign on the throne of Damascus or Bagdad would not be more oppressive than a Byzantine on the throne of Constantinople, or a Persian on the throne of Ctesiphon. The Jew would receive as substantial—and not more capricious—justice from an

Islamite Cadi as from a Roman Prefect or Magian Satrap. The capitation-tax, or whatever form the new assessment bore, if as inexorably exacted, was more simple, less ingeniously extortionate than that of the Byzantine Exchequer, or the Persian Treasury. His religion the Jew knew too well to be odious, to be despised, often persecuted, by Gueber and Christian. Doomed indeed by the laws of Omar to perpetual inferiority, it might be more respected, it could not be trampled on more contemptuously or more mercilessly than by the Magian or the Christian. Though, doubtless, during the terrible conflict and the general plunder which attended on the Mohammedan conquests, the wealth of the Jews did not escape, yet in the East, as in the North, they would not scruple to make up their losses, by following in the train of the yet fierce and uncivilized conqueror, and by making use of their superior judgment, or command of money, to drive a lucrative bargain with the plunderer. Whenever a commissariat was wanting to the disorganized hordes which followed the Crescent with irresistible valor, the corn-ships or caravans of the Jews would follow in the wake of the fleet or army. At the capture of Rhodes, the celebrated fallen Colossus, which once bestrode the harbor of that city, one of the wonders of the world, was sold to a Jew of Emesa, who is reported to have loaded nine hundred camels with the metal.¹ The greater and more certain emoluments of the mercantile life would lead the Jews to addict themselves more and more to traffic, and to abandon the cultivation of the soil, which they had hitherto pursued in many places. For, as the Moslemite sovereigns levied a disproportioned tribute on the believer and the unbeliever, the

¹ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, i. p. 327, Edit. Bonn.

former paying only a tenth, the latter a fifth, or even a third, of the produce, the Jew would readily cede his land, which remunerated him so ill, for trade which offered, at least, the chance of rapid wealth.¹

In every respect the Jew, under his Mohammedan rulers, rose in the social scale. The persecution of their Arabian brethren, if known by the Jews scattered over the wide face of the Persian and Roman empires, would be heard almost with indifference. The Arabian Jews, in fact Bedouins like the rest of the Arabs, had no relations with their remote brethren. The bloody scenes at Nadhir, at Koraidha, at Khaibar, were but the collisions of hostile Arab tribes; and beyond the boundaries of Arabia, the sword of religious persecution had been sheathed. The religious sympathies of the Jews would be more disposed towards, at least be less sternly hostile to, the Monotheism of Islam than to the Fire-worship of Persia, or what they, in common with the Mohammedans, did not scruple to condemn as the Polytheism of the Christians. There was no Mohammedan Priesthood like the Magian and Christian hierarchy, whose pride and duty it was to compel mankind to accept their faith. Proselytism no doubt had its temptations and advantages, and so went on to some extent; but the sincere religious Jew was not searched out, and followed into his privacy, to detect his hateful opinions. He was not proscribed by the law as almost as bad as a heretic. The Caliph, the successor of the Prophet, was content with the submission, something approaching to adoration from the true believer, but this was the Moslem's special privilege and distinction. To the rest of the world his toleration might be contemptuous, condescending, but it was still toleration;

¹ Jost, vi. 14.

it was not an active, busy, ubiquitous scrutiny of the faith and opinions of his subjects. Provided they demeaned themselves peaceably and paid their tribute, they might go to the Synagogue rather than to the Mosque. Mohammedanism had borrowed so much from Judaism, that there was not that constant and flagrant opposition between their habits and modes of life. The circumcised Mohammedan could not object to the circumcised Jew ; the aversion to swine's flesh was common ; the Koran was full of recognitions of the sanctity of the Mosaic Law ; and altogether the Eastern cast of their usages approximated the Mohammedan and the Jew much more intimately than the Jew and the Christian. The Jew, though usually at this time become monogamous, could hardly, in the face of his patriarchs and kings, hold polygamy to be licentious or unlawful. The wealthy Jews among the Mohammedans sometimes followed the example of their masters. There was another link, which perhaps joined them more closely, at least in aversion to Christianity, — the common hatred of images and image-worship.

When the Caliphs began to delegate to others the sword of conquest or extermination, and to establish themselves in the splendid state of peaceful sovereigns, the Jews were equally useful in teaching these stern barbarians the arts and luxuries of civilized life. They spoke a kindred language. Hebrew and Arabic are the two most prolific branches of what are now called the Semitic family of tongues. The Hebrew literature was admirably adapted to the kindred taste of the Arabians. The extravagant legends of the Talmud would harmonize with their bold poetical spirit ; their picturesque apologues were the form of instruction in which the Arab tribes had ever delighted to listen to

moral wisdom ; even the niceties of their verbal disputes would not be without charm to their masters, who soon began to pay attention to the polish of their own rich and copious language. Already, in the time of Omar, the second Caliph, and his successor Abdalmelech, a trust of great importance, the coinage, had been committed to the care of a Jew. Either shocked that faithful Moslemite should use money stamped with an image, or eager to assume that distinction of sovereignty, the uttering coin, the Caliph instructed the Jew to substitute the emphatic sentence, "Say there is one God, one."¹ The traffic of the Jews would disseminate that coin which their art had enabled them to provide. But it was not by mechanical operations alone, like the coinage, or by traffic, in which, as single traders, or even as mercantile firms, they pervaded the whole East as well as the West, that the Jews rendered invaluable services to the Barbarian conquerors, and aided very powerfully in raising them from the chieftains of wild, marauding tribes into magnificent, in some respects enlightened, sovereigns. In the interworking of European civilization, its knowledge, sciences, and arts, into the Oriental mind, who were so qualified to be the mediate agents as the Jews ? Besides the rigid Rabbinical Jews, who formed their constituted communities, there were no doubt a great number who, perhaps, held more loosely to the tenets of their forefathers, and were the descendants and representatives of the Græcized Jews in the time of our Saviour. It is well known that the works of many of the great Greek writers, especially their natural philosophers, writers on medicine (Jewish physicians were in great repute in the East as in the

¹ Al Makrizi, *Hist. Mon. Arab.* Tychsen, quoted by Jost, vi. 15.

West), metaphysical philosophers, were, sooner or later, translated into the Arabic. And who so likely to be the translators as the Jews, who stood between the Asiatic and European races? By traffic, residence, perhaps habits, they were familiar with Greek, and acquired Arabic, as a kindred language to their own, with great facility: Arabic, indeed, to a great extent became the vernacular tongue of the Jews.¹ Hebrew, Rabbinical Hebrew, became a sort of sacred language. We know what took place to a great extent under the flourishing dominion of the Mussulmans in Spain, when Europe, seeking her old lost treasures of arts and knowledge among the more enlightened descendants of the Arabs, found the learned Jews of Cordova and Toledo, as it were, half-way between the East and West, and used them as intermediate agents in that intellectual intercourse. So, in all probability, at an earlier period, in Damascus and Bagdad, the Jews were the most active interpreters, not only of the Western languages, but of the Western mind, to the conquerors. The Caliph readily acknowledged as his vassal the Prince of the Captivity, who maintained his state as representative of the Jewish community; probably, through him the tribute was levied on his brethren. A singular story is told of Omar the Second, which illustrates the high degree of credit which the Jews were permitted to attain in the court of the Caliphs. Omar, a secret follower of Ali, whose name was still cursed in the mosques, was anxious to reconcile his people to the name of the Prophet's vicar upon earth. An innocent comedy was got up in his court, in which a Jew played

¹ Compare E. Renan, *Langues Sémitiques*, p. 164. Basnage claims as a Jew Honain, the famous translator of many works from Greek into Syriac. (D'Herbelot, art. "Honain.") Euclid, and the *Almagest* of Ptolemy, some works of Hippocrates and Galen, were translated by him and his scholars.

a principal part. The Jew came boldly forward, while the throne was encircled by the splendid retinue of courtiers and people, and asked in marriage the daughter of the Caliph. Omar calmly answered, "How can I give my daughter in marriage to a man of another faith?" "Did not Mohammed," rejoined the Jew, "give his daughter in marriage to Ali?" "That is another case," said the Caliph, "for Ali was a Moslemite, and the commander of the faithful." "Why, then," rejoined the Jew, "if Ali was one of the faithful, do ye curse him in your mosques?" The Caliph turned to the courtiers and said, "Answer ye the Jew?" A long silence ensued, broken at length by the Caliph, who arose, and declared the curse to be rejected as impious, and ordered these words to be substituted in the prayer: "Forgive us, Lord, our sins, and forgive all who have the same faith with us." At a later period, A. C. 753, under Abu Giafar Almansor, we find the Jews intrusted with the office of exacting a heavy mulct laid upon the Christians. It was a tax which comprehended ecclesiastics, monks, hermits, those who stood on columns.¹ The sacred vessels of churches were seized, and purchased by the Jews. Under this fostering government the schools flourished; those in Sura and Pumbeditha were crowded with hearers: the Gaonim, or the Illustrious, were at the height of their fame;² they formed a sort of senate, and while the Prince of the Captivity maintained the sovereign executive power, they assumed the legislative. Their reign was for the most part undisturbed, though sometimes a rapacious Caliph or an over-zealous Iman might

¹ Κλονίτας τῷ Θεῷ ἐνὰρεστούντας. Theoph. Chronog. 357, p. 663, Edit. Bonn.

² Jost gives a list of these teachers, mostly undistinguished men, from the Seder Haddoroth. Anhang, vi. p. 354.

make them feel that the sword of authority still hung over them, and that the fire of zealous Islamism was not yet burned out. Giafar the Great is reported to have framed an edict to force Jews and Christians to embrace Islamism. The Sultan Vathek held them in contempt and dislike. His brother and successor, Motavakel, was a sterner persecutor. He issued an edict that all the Jews and Christians in his empire should wear a leather girdle, to distinguish them from the faithful. He prohibited them from sitting on the Divan of Justice. At first he only forbade their use of iron stirrups; but he degraded them still farther; they were no longer to mount the noble horse, they were only permitted to ride the mule or the ass. This debasing distinction is still put in force by law or by usage, enforced by popular hatred, in many parts of the Turkish dominions.¹

On the whole, however, the long and unaccustomed interval of peace, and the free intercourse with their enlightened masters, introduced a spirit of bold inquiry, which threatened, even at this zenith of its power, to shake the dominion of the Rabbins to its basis.² The Karaites, the Protestants of Judaism, who perhaps had never entirely been extinct, began to grow again into a formidable sect. The older Karaites (it is quite uncertain when they assumed the name) probably fell into disrepute through the abuse of their doctrines by the unpopular Sadducees. After the fall of Jerusalem, Pharisaism, under its more regular and organized form, Rabbinism, obscured her once dangerous rival. The

¹ Some add that their houses were marked or defaced by images of swine, apes, or devils. Jost, vi. 85; D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.*, art. "Motavakel."

² The great Jewish astronomer Mashalla was held in high honor at the court of the Caliph Almamon, A. C. 831. Basnage, ix. 2.

Sadducean doctrine was probably too loosely rooted in the heart to withstand the hour of trial. The present world displayed such a scene of interminable dreariness to those who denied a world to come, that we cannot wonder if their creed refused to support them when the first obstinacy of resistance had worn away. The Sadducees dwindled into an unnoticed sect ; and, though the worst part of their doctrines might retain a secret hold on the hearts of the unprincipled, it could no longer balance the prevailing power of Pharisaism, which was the main support both of the spiritual and temporal throne — the sole acknowledged doctrine of the national universities. Karaism was now revived in its purer form, rejecting entirely the authority of tradition, and resting its whole faith on the letter of the written Law. The Mischna, the Gemara, the Cabala — all Talmudic lore — the Karaites threw indignantly aside.

The Luther of this Reformation, which perhaps was not less rapidly diffused for its similarity to the simpler creed of Islamism, was named Anan, who, with his son Saul, revolted from Rabbinism. What is known concerning the lives of these men, rests chiefly on the authority of the Rabbins, and must be received with the same mistrust as the accounts of our own Reformers from the writings of their adversaries. In a contest for the succession to the Princedom of the Captivity, or to some other high office, Anan was passed by, and his younger brother appointed. Embittered by the affront, Anan assembled the wreck of the Sadducean party, so called probably by contempt, and persuaded them to name him to the dignity. Tumults arose ; the government interfered ; and Anan was thrown into prison. He recovered his freedom, some say by a large sum

of money, which his followers gladly paid, as he gave out that he had been visited in a dream by the Prophet Elias, who encouraged him in his adherence to the pure Law of Moses. But his success was chiefly owing to an artifice suggested by an Arabian philosopher, whom he met with in the prison. He demanded of the Vizier a public disputation with his adversaries, and represented the only cause of their differences to be a dispute about the period of the new moon. The Caliph was a dabbler in astronomy ; and Anan, by dexterously adopting his opinion, obtained a triumph.¹ The Karaites retired to the neighborhood of Jerusalem, to maintain in peace their simple creed, in their adherence to which the sight of the Holy City might confirm them. They hoped that thus a pure and righteous people might be ready to hail the accomplishment of its last Article. The following were, and still are, the Articles of the Karaite belief :— I. That the world was created ; II. That it had an uncreated Creator ; III. That God is without form, and in every sense One ; IV. That God sent Moses ; V. That God delivered the Law to Moses ; VI. That the believer must deduce his creed from the knowledge of the Law in its original language, and from the pure interpretation of it ; VII. That God inspired the rest of the prophets ; VIII. That God will raise the dead ; IX. That God will reward and punish all men before His throne ; X. That God has not rejected His unhappy people, but is purifying them by affliction,

¹ Anan the Karaite, according to Scherina Gaon and Abraham ben David, was contemporary with R. Juda Gaon, who died in 763 A. C. Mordecai makes him contemporary with Caliph Abu Giafar, who began to reign 754 A. C., — no great difference.

The Karaites have been described in Triglandius de Karutis, Woolf, Bibliotheca Hebraica, and "Mordecai." Other tracts may be found in Ugolini's Thesaurus.

and that they must daily strive to render themselves worthy of redemption through the Messiah, the Son of David. The Karaites formed a regular community, under their Nasi, which name afterwards gave place to that of Hachim; they have since spread into many countries, where they are hated and denounced as heretics by the Rabbins. They found their way from the East into Spain at the height of Jewish prosperity and learning. They made more progress in the Christian states than among the Arabic Jews. They were met with jealous opposition by the Rabbinical authorities; they made proselytes from their familiarity with Arabic, more vernacular with the Jew than the Rabbinical Hebrew. But all intermarriages were forbidden by the dominant party; their trade was discouraged; they had no great or eloquent writers, and had dwindled away almost to nothing before the great expulsion of the Jews from Spain.¹ Their chief settlements in later days have been in Poland and the East of Europe, in the Taurus, and in Tartary.

If their own writers deserve credit, at a period not very distant from this, the Jews in the East attained to a still more eminent height of power and splendor. Judaism ascended the throne of a great kingdom on the west of the Caspian Sea, — a kingdom before the strength of which the Persian monarchy trembled, and endeavored to exclude its inroads by building a vast wall, the remains of which still excite the wonder of the traveller: while the Greek empire courted its alliance. The name of this realm was Khazar, or Khozar;² it was inhabited by a Turcoman tribe, who had gradu-

¹ There seems likewise to have been a Sadducaic sect in Spain.

² Basnage discredited the whole story, as he could not trace the existence of such a kingdom; but De Guignes, and the more recent accounts of the Russian empire, have satisfactorily proved that point.

ally abandoned their nomadic habits and maintained considerable commerce: their capital, Bilangiar, was situated at the mouth of the Wolga, and a line of cities stretched across from thence to the Don. They exchanged dried fish, the furs of the north, and slaves, for the gold and silver, and the luxuries of southern climates. Merchants of all religions, Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans, were freely admitted, and their superior intelligence over his more barbarous subjects induced one of their kings, Bulan (A. C. 740), to embrace the religion of the strangers. By one account he was admonished by an angel; by another, he decided in this singular manner between the conflicting claims of Christianity, Moslemism, and Judaism. He examined the different teachers apart, and asked the Christian if Judaism was not better than Mohammedanism, — the Mohammedan, whether it was not better than Christianity. Both replied in the affirmative; on which the monarch decided in favor of Judaism. According to one statement secretly, to another openly, he embraced the faith of Moses, and induced learned teachers of the Law to settle in his dominions. Judaism became a necessary condition on the succession to the throne, but there was the most liberal toleration of all other forms of faith. The dynasty lasted for above two centuries and a half; and when R. Hasdai, a learned Jew, was in the highest confidence with Abderrahman, the Caliph of Cordova, he received intelligence of this sovereignty possessed by his brethren, through the ambassadors of the Byzantine Emperor. After considerable difficulty Hasdai succeeded in establishing a correspondence with Joseph, the reigning king. The letter of Hasdai is extant, and an answer of the King which does not possess equal claims to authenticity

The whole history has been wrought out into a religious romance called *Cosri*, which has involved the question in great obscurity : Basnage rejected the whole as a fiction of the Rabbins — anxious to prove that “the sceptre had not entirely departed from Israel” ; Jost inclines to the opinion that there is a groundwork of truth under the veil of poetic embellishment. More modern writers admit without hesitation, and almost boast of the kingdom of *Khasar*.¹

We travel westward, not, as usually, to sadden our eyes and chill our hearts with tales of persecution and misery, but to behold the Jews the companions and confidential ministers of princes. We pause to glean the slight and barren information which we possess of the state of the Jews in the Byzantine Empire. The writers of the opposite party accuse the Jews as instigators and abettors of the iconoclastic Emperors (the destroyers of images) ; and a fable, equally irreconcilable with chronology and history, has been repeated of their zeal in this, by some called sacrilegious, warfare. It is said that they instigated the Caliph *Yezid* the Second to order the demolition of images in his dominions.² The outraged saints were revenged by the untimely death of *Yezid*, attributed to their prayers. The successor of *Yezid* acknowledged, it is added, his father's impiety, and determined to wreak vengeance on his advisers. They fled ; but two of them, resting near a fountain in *Isauria*, beheld a youth driving an ass laden with petty merchandise. They looked on him with fixed eyes, saluted him as the future Emperor, but at the same time they strongly urged his compli-

¹ Cassel, in *Ersch und Grüber*, p. 21.

² *Cedrenus*, i. 789, Edit. Bonn. With this account *Zonaras* and *Theophanes* mainly agree.

ance with the second commandment of the Law.¹ Unfortunately, among the few facts which are known of the period is this, that Leo the Isaurian, in the early part of his reign, persecuted the Jews. It is highly probable that, when the Emperors gave the signal for havoc, the Jews, stimulated by covetousness as well as religious zeal, would not be the last to strip or break in pieces, or melt the costly ornaments, and even the images themselves, made of the precious metals. We may conceive the religious horror which the devout image-worshipper would feel, when the unclean hands of the circumcised either seized, or bought from authorized plunderers, the object of his profound adoration, and converted it, like any other object of traffic, to profane uses. But, inured to hatred, the Jew would have no fear to encounter it for the gratification at once of his revenge and his avarice. We know little further of their state, but that they were under the avowed protection of some of the succeeding Emperors. Constantine Copronymus, probably on account of his hatred of images, was called a Jew;² and Nicephorus and Michael the Stammerer are named, as extending their paternal care over this usually proscribed race.³

In Italy we know little of the condition of the Israelites; but the silence of history concurs with the single fact with which we are acquainted, to represent those days as days of peace. The Pope Zacharias found it

¹ Enough of Leo's early life is known utterly to confute this fable. Leo, though an Isaurian, left his native country early. The whole family was transported to Thrace by Justinian; Leo was in Justinian's guard in 705. Le Beau, xii. 175, relates these idle fictions.

² Theophanes, Chron. p. 617, Edit. Bonn.

³ Michael the Stammerer, perhaps on account of his equal toleration, was called by some a Jew, by others the sink of all religions. Basnage, ix. 9

necessary to interdict not only the old grievance, the possession of Christian slaves by Jews, but also unlawful sexual intercourse and marriage between the two races.

Whatever guilt, either of secret perfidy¹ or prayer for the success of the invader, might attach to the Jewish inhabitants of the South of France during the invasion of that country by the Moors of Spain, yet, when the barrier of the Pyrenees was established by the valor of Charles Martel, and by the ability of the new race of sovereigns who succeeded to the feeble Merovingians, Pepin and Charlemagne, these monarchs not merely refrained from all retribution, but displayed the more enlightened policy of conciliation towards their wealthy and useful subjects.² Though even under Charlemagne, at the commencement of his reign, they were treated with the old Roman or religious contempt; they were disqualified, like slaves, infamous persons, Pagans, and heretics, from bringing criminal actions;³ though they were prohibited from hiring the lands of Christians, or letting their lands to Christians (a proof that they were still cultivators of the soil),⁴ yet the legislator, as time advanced, seemed to become more liberal. The Jews were only restricted in the

¹ They are accused of betraying Toulouse to the enemy; but the siege of that city by the Moors appears altogether apocryphal. The singular custom which certainly existed for a considerable period in Toulouse, by which a syndic or representative of the Jews was constrained to appear before the authorities and receive three boxes on the ear, originated no doubt in some other unknown cause. See Hist. de Languedoc, ii. p. 151. See also, *infra*, p. 155.

² Beugnot, Juifs d'Occident, p. 74.

³ "Placuit ut omnes servi . . . ad accusationem non admittantur, omnes etiam infamiae maculis aspersi, et turpitudinibus subjectae personae, heretici etiam sive Pagani sive Judaei." Capit. i. 1.

⁴ "Non liceat Christianis Judaeorum neque Paganorum res emphyteosis vel conductionis titulo habere, neque suorum similiter eis accommodare." Addit. 3, c. xv.

possession of Christian slaves, subjected to the general marriage law of the empire, commanded to observe the prohibited degrees, and to conform to the general law of dower. The offender was liable to a fine of one hundred sous, and to suffer one hundred stripes.¹ Their commerce was unrestricted, except by a limitation enforced on Charlemagne, rather by the irreverent covetousness of the clergy than by the misconduct of the Jews. Bishops, abbots, and abbesses were only prevented by a severe inhibition from pledging or selling to the circumcised the costly vestments, rich furniture, and precious vessels of the churches.² To the flourishing commerce of the Israelites the extended dominions of Charlemagne opened a wide field. From the ports of Marseilles and Narbonne their vessels kept up a constant communication with the East. In Narbonne they were so flourishing, that, of the two prefects, or mayors of the city, one was always a Jew; and, as we shall presently see, the most regular and stately part of the city of Lyons was the Jewish quar-

¹ "Nulli Christianorum. vel Judæorum liceat matrimonium contrahere nisi præmissâ dotis promissione. Illud tamen fore præcipimus ut si quis Christianus vel Christiana, aut Judæus vel Judæa, nuptiale festum celebrare voluerit, non aliter quam sacerdotali benedictione intra sinum sanctæ ecclesiæ perceptâ, conjugium cuipiam ex iis adire permittimus. Quod si absque benedictione sacerdotis quispiam Christianorum vel Judæorum noviter conjugium duxerit; aut 100 principi solidos exsolvat, aut 100 verberatus publice flagella suscipiat." Was this law really carried into execution? and were the Jews compelled to be married in Christian churches? Did the Jews prefer the payment of the fine? and was it, in so far, a tax on their marriages? If the Jews would scruple to enter the church, many ecclesiastics doubtless would hold their churches desecrated by the presence of Jews, and certainly would not bless an unbaptized Jew.

² "Ut singuli, episcopi, abbates, et abbatissæ diligenter considerent thesauros ecclesiasticos ne propter perfidiam aut negligentem custodiam aliquod aut de gemmis aut de vasis reliquo quoque thesauro perditum sit; quia dictum est nobis quod *negotiatores Judæi*, necnon et alii, gloriantur, quod quicquid illis placeat, possent ab eis emere." Capit. A. c. 806; Bouquet, v. p. 677.

ter. The superior intelligence and education of the Jews, in a period when nobles and kings, and even the clergy, could not always write their names, pointed them out for offices of trust. They were the physicians, the ministers of finance, to nobles and monarchs. As physicians they alone perhaps (for they had taught the Arabians) kept up the sacred traditions of the art, the knowledge of the properties of drugs, which had come down from the East and from the Greeks. They were in the courts of kings, in the schools of Salerno and Montpellier. It is true that if their medical skill (which all mankind must submit to the necessity of employing) forced them into places of trust and honor, it exposed them to inevitable dangers. If they were successful, they were liable to the suspicion of sorcery and unlawful dealing. Knowledge and magic were so closely allied in the popular mind, that a wonderful cure wrought by a Jew could not be wrought by science, still less by divine aid, therefore must be wrought by diabolic aid. If they were unsuccessful, the dying patient must have been the victim, not of incurable malady or even of ignorance; the Jewish physician must knowingly have administered poison, as in the case of Zedekiah, the physician of Louis the Pious, accused of the death of Charles the Bald.

As financiers too we find them in the courts of kings and of the great vassals, encountering all the hatred which attaches to the levying heavy, mostly ill-apportioned, taxation upon an impoverished people. Their wisest measures probably, as beyond the political economy of the age, would be arraigned as the most cruel and iniquitous; yet they were unable or unwilling to decline these perilous dignities, by which, honestly or dishonestly, they obtained great opportunities of advan-

tage, and stored up wealth to themselves, to be the righteous or unrighteous pretext for the plunder by the sovereign whom they served, or the vengeance of the people whom they stripped. In them the possession of wealth was sufficient proof of extortion and iniquity. At all events, they were usurers; and whether they exercised usury on what might now be called fair or unfair terms, usury was in itself a sin and a crime. They rose even to higher dignities: when Charlemagne, either with some secret political design, or from an ostentatious show of magnificence, determined on sending an ambassador to the splendid Caliph, Haroun al Raschid, Europe and Asia beheld the extraordinary spectacle of a Jew, named Isaac,¹ setting forth on this mission, with two Christian counts, who died on the road, and conducting the political correspondence between the courts of Aix-la-Chapelle and Bagdad. It cannot be wondered if this embassy gave rise to the wildest speculations in that ignorant age, both as to its objects and its event. It was given out that the Caliph granted Judæa as a free gift to Charlemagne; others limited his generosity to Jerusalem, others to the keys of the Holy Sepulchre. The secret objects probably never transpired beyond the councils of Charlemagne; but it was known that Isaac returned with presents of a wonderful nature from the East. Among these was an enormous elephant, of such importance that his death is faithfully chronicled by the monkish annalists. Jewels, gold, spices, apes, a clock, and some rich robes,

¹ His acquaintance with the language and manners of the East no doubt designated the Jew for this mission. One reads in Basnage with surprise: "On est étonné de ce que l'Empereur choisissait un Juif pour cet emploi, pendant qu'il avoit dans ses états un si grand nombre de sujets capables de le remplir." Charlemagne would have been puzzled to find many subjects capable, without the Jew, of negotiating in the East. Basnage contradicts himself in the next sentences.

doubtless of silk. To these were added, by universal tradition, the keys of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.¹ Isaac acquitted himself with such ability that he was intrusted by his imperial protector with another mission to the same quarter.

The golden age of the Jews endured, in still-increasing prosperity, during the reign of Charlemagne's successor, Louis the Débonnaire, or the Pious. At his court the Jews were so powerful that their interest was solicited by the presents of nobles and princes. His most confidential adviser was a Jewish physician, named Zedekiah. The wondering people attributed Zedekiah's influence over the Emperor to magic, in which he was considered a profound adept. The monkish historians relate, with awe-struck sincerity, tales of his swallowing a whole cart of hay, horses and all, and flying in the air like Simon Magus of old.² A sort of representative of the community, the defender of their privileges, the master of the Jews,³ resided

¹ Eginhard. Vit. Carol. M. This was magnified, in later days, into a grant of Jerusalem and the whole of Judæa, but, according to the quaint speech attributed to Haroun al Raschid, as the Emperor lived so far off and if he moved his troops to Palestine the provinces of France would revolt, the Caliph therefore would still defend the country, and pay over the revenues to Charlemagne. The grant is affirmed by the monks of St. Gall (apud Pertz, the *Annales Fuldenses*, *ibid.*), and by the Saxon poet:—

. "Persarum denique princeps
Hunc Aaron, idem fuerat cui subditus, Indis
Exceptis, Oriens totus: curaverat ultro
Ejus amicitie se fœdere jungere firmo.
Nam gemmas, aurum, vestes, et aromata crebro
Ac reliquas Orientis opes direxerat illi;
Ascribique locum sanctum Hierosolymarum
Concessit propriæ Caroli semper ditioni."

Lib. iv. apud Pertz.

The death of the elephant Bubalas is recorded by Eginhart, sub ann. 810. Monach. Engolism. apud Pertz.

² Chronic. Hirsaugen.

³ This title was borne by Evrard, who appears in the inquiry on the charges advanced by Bishop Agobard.

within the precincts of the court. The general privileges of the race were preserved with rigid equity. They were permitted to build synagogues ; their appeals were listened to with equal — their enemies said with partial — justice ; they had free power to traffic, and to dispose of real or personal property ; even their slave-trade was protected.¹ They had moreover interest enough to procure the alteration of certain markets, which were customarily held on their Sabbath, to another day. They began to be recognized as under the special protection of the Emperor, as in later days in feudal language they were “ the men of the Emperor.”² They were to appear at the court annually, or every two years, to render their accounts in the king’s chamber (no doubt they were taxed with rigid impartiality), and to do the Emperor service.³ Besides this general protection, several charters are extant, granting special privileges to certain Jewish communities and individuals. One to certain Jews of Languedoc, securing to them the right of possessing and holding in perpetual tenure certain hereditaments, of which they had been unjustly despoiled. This showed that they were land-owners on a considerable scale. They were to hold these estates, with the houses and other buildings, lands cultivated and uncultivated, vineyards, meadows, pastures, watercourses, mills, rights of way.

¹ “Habeant etiam licentiam mancipia peregrina emere, et intra imperium nostrum vendere, et nemo fidelium nostrorum præsumat eorum mancipia peregrina sine eorum consensu baptisare.” *Charta Lud. Pii*, 32, 33, 34; Bouquet. iv.

² The Jews certainly had the power of holding allodial property in the Narbonnese, by the grants of Pepin le Bref, Charlemagne, and Louis the Pious, the historians of Languedoc say, “parce qu’ils y étoient très puissants et en grand nombre.” Compare *Hist. de Languedoc*, i. Notes, p. 739.

³ See this remarkable charter, *Histoire de Languedoc*, i., preuve 75, p. 322.

They held these estates in full right of property, of alienation, gift, or exchange, without let or hindrance.¹ Another to a certain Domat Rabbi, and his grandson Samuel,² granting them exemption from various tolls and taxes — permission to hire Christian slaves, who were, however, not to be forced to work on Sundays and holidays — and generally to deal in slaves within the limits of the Empire. Every litigation with a Christian was to be settled by the evidence of three Jews and three Christians. It forbade all persons to encourage their Christian slaves in disobedience under pretence of being Christians and seeking baptism.³ It took the persons of the above-named under imperial protection.⁴ Their death was to be punished at the price of ten pounds of gold. They were not to be submitted to the ordeal of fire or water, nor scourged — but allowed in every respect the free observance of their Law.

Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons, beheld with jealous indignation this alien people occupying the fairest part of his city, displaying openly their enviable opulence.

¹ It was, "Actum Francofurdi palatio regis, in Dei nomine feliciter Amen. Ita ut deinceps annis singulis, aut post duorum annorum curriculum, mandante missionum ministro, ad nostrum veniant palatium, atque ad cameram nostram fideliter, unusquisque ex suo negotio ac nostro deservire studeat." *Charta Lud. Pii*, 32, 33, 34; Bouquet, 624.

² Charter to Domat Rabbi, apud Bouquet, vi. 649.

³ "Suggesterunt etiam iidem Judæi Celsitudini nostræ de quibusdam hominibus, qui contra Christianam religionem suadent mancipia Hebræorum sub antentu (obtentu) Christianæ religionis contemnere dominos suos et baptisari; vel potius persuadent illis ut baptisentur ut a servitio dominorum suorum liberentur, quod nequaquam sacri canones constituunt, immo talia perpetrantes districtâ anathematis sententiâ puniendos dijudicant." This alludes to a canon of the Council of Gangra. No wonder that the clergy were indignant at the imperial favor towards the Jews. Compare Agobard's Letter. There are two similar precepts in favor of other Jews, p. 650.

⁴ "Sub mundebundo et defensione nostrâ."

Their vessels crowded the ports — their bales encumbered the quays — their slaves thronged the streets. In a Christian city, the Church seemed to veil its head before the Synagogue. He endeavored, by the exercise of his episcopal authority, to prevent that approximation of the two races which seemed rapidly advancing.¹ He forbade his flock, among other things, to sell Christian slaves to the Jews — to labor for the Jews on Sundays — to eat with them during Lent — to buy the flesh of animals slain by them — or to drink their wine. As far as he could he prohibited all social intercourse, which seems not to have been uncommon.

The Jews considered these laws of Agobard an infringement of their rights; they appealed to their royal protector for redress. A commission of inquiry was issued, a commission which Agobard describes as terrible to the Christians, mild to the Jews,² and at the head of it was Count Evrard, called in other places protector of the Jews. The Archbishop was commanded to withdraw his obnoxious edicts. Agobard was at Nantes. He declared himself ready to submit to the royal decree, but proceeded to offer a petition to the king against his adversaries. He accused them (a strange charge!) of selling to the Christians meat unclean to themselves, because the Mosaic law about slaying cattle was not rigidly observed, which, he said,

¹ Louis the Pious granted exemptions to Jews, who held his diplomas, from certain tolls and taxes characteristic of the times. 1. *Teloneum*, tax on goods conveyed by water carriage; *Paraverdum*, the obligation to furnish post-horses for the public use on the military roads; *Mansionaticum*, free quarters for soldiers; *Pulveraticum*, tax levied on farmers *pro labore et pulvere*; *Cespitaticum*, obligation to make hedges on the road-sides; *Ripaticum*, duties on landing goods on quays; *Portalicium*, port-dues; *Tranaticum*, toll on sledges, &c.; *Cœnaticum*, provisions for soldiers on march.

² "Christianis terribilis, Judæis mitis."

they called Christians' meat, and wine unclean, as partly spilled on the ground. He accused them of cursing daily the Christians and Christ in their synagogues. He accused them of the insufferable pride with which they vaunted the royal favor; that they went freely in and out of the royal palaces; that the highest persons solicited their prayers and blessings; that they boasted of gifts of splendid dresses to their wives and matrons from royal and princely donors.¹ He complained of the bad effects produced by the concession of the change of the market-day from the Jewish Sabbath, the Saturday, and that the Jewish had many more hearers than the Christian preachers, and, indeed, were held by the uninstructed to be the better preachers.² He added the more weighty charge, that the Jews frequently stole Christian children to sell them as slaves. This petition was followed by a long theological argument, to prove the wisdom and justice of persecuting the Jews — the most detestable of unbelievers.³ The Archbishop pressed St. Paul into his

¹ De insolentia Judæorum, Oper. Agobardi: "Dum enim gloriantur, mentientes simplicibus Christianis, quod cari sint vobis propter Patriarchas; quod honorabiliter ingrediantur in conspectu vestro et egrediantur; quod excellentissimæ personæ cupiant eorum orationes et benedictiones; et fateantur talem se legis auctorem habere velle qualem ipsi habent . . . dum ostendunt præcepta ex nomine vestro, aureis sigillis signata, et continentia verba, ut putamus non vera; dum ostendunt vestes muliebres, quasi a consanguineis vestris vel matronis Palatinorum uxoribus eorum directis," &c.

² "At dicunt imperiti Christiani melius eis prædicare Judæos quam presbyteros nostros."

M. Bédarride (*Les Juifs en France, en Italie, et en Espagne*, Paris, 1859) observes with justice on this fact: — "Il paraît qu'ils comptaient parmi eux des hommes à qui le talent de la parole n'était pas étranger, puisqu'ils prêchaient publiquement. Il paraît, de plus, que ces prédicateurs parlaient la langue du pays, puisqu'ils étaient à portée de se faire entendre des Chrétiens," p. 85. M. Bédarride mentions conversions from Christianity to Judaism, among which was "un diacre du Palais, nommé Putho."

³ "Ex quibus demonstratur quam detestabiles habendi sunt inimici veri-

service. He cited, with as little justice, the example of many of the most illustrious bishops — Hilary and Sidonius Apollinaris, Ambrose, Cyprian, Athanasius, besides a host of Gallic bishops and Gallic councils. He entered into long details of the absurdities taught by the Rabbins, their anthropomorphic notions of the Deity (among the rest he charged them with holding the eternity of the letters of the alphabet, and the assertion that the Mosaic Law was written many ages before the world began), and of the blasphemies which they uttered concerning Christ.¹ It was all in vain : the Court turned a deaf ear to his complaints, and Agobard set off for Paris, to try the influence of his personal weight and character before his sovereign. He was received with cold civility — constrained to wait in an antechamber while the councillors of state laid his appeal before the King — and then received permission to retire to his diocese.² He wrote another despatch, bitterly inveighing against the influence and conduct of the Grand Master of the Jews. But his sorrows were poured forth more fully into the confiden-

tatis, et quomodo pejores sunt omnibus incredulis, Scripturis divinis hoc docentibus, et quam indigniora omnibus infidelibus de Deo sentiant et rebus cœlestibus." Ibid.

¹ Many of these charges are very curious, as showing that some of the stranger notions in the Talmud, of course made infinitely more strange by misconception and misrepresentation, were current concerning the Jews in Europe.

² He humbly acknowledges that he was overawed by the manifest favor of the Court towards the Jews: "*Nuper cum in Palatio tempus redeundi vobis jam fuisset indultum, suavissima Dilectio vestra sedit* [the councillors were Adalhard, Wala, and Elisachar, who then reigned supreme over Louis the Pious], *et audivit me müssitantem potius quam loquentem contra eos qui Judæorum querelas astruebant.*" Adalhard and Wala were of the high ecclesiastical party. Agobard contents himself with urging more justly the protection of certain slaves of the Jews, who desired baptism. But he admits that the Jews ought to be paid for the loss. On Adalhard and Wala, see *Latin Christianity*, ii. p. 246, &c.

tial bosom of Nebridius, Bishop of Narbonne, whom he called upon to coöperate with him in separating the Christians from a people who, he says, "are clothed with cursing as with a garment. The curse penetrates into their bones, their marrow, and their entrails, as water and oil flow through the human body.¹ They are accursed in the city and the country, at the beginning and ending of their lives; their flocks, their meat, their granaries, their cellars, their magazines, are accursed." His denunciations were as unavailing as his petitions: while an instance is related of an officer of the palace joining the synagogue, the Archbishop was constrained to complain once more of the violence offered to a Jewess who had embraced Christianity.²

In the reign of Charles the Bald, the Jews maintained their high estate, but dark signs of the approaching Age of Iron began to lower around.³ Amilo, Archbishop of Lyons, the successor of Agobard, accuses the Jews, who were tax-gatherers, of forcing the poor peasants in remote districts by the cruelty of their exactions to deny Christ.⁴ But the active hostility of the clergy was no longer checked by the stern protection of the royal authority. In Lyons many converts were made,

¹ "Scientes . . . omnes qui sub lege sunt, sub maledicto esse, et indutos maledictione sicut vestimento, quæ intrat sicut aqua in interiora eorum, et sicut oleum in ossa eorum," &c.

² Agobard of Lyons was a prelate in some respects in advance of his age: he dared to condemn many popular superstitions. On image-worship he adopted the moderate view, nearly that of the Council of Frankfort; above all, he wrote a treatise of great power and strong sense against judicial ordeals.

³ Jewish merchants (negotiatores), by a law of Charles the Bald, were to pay a tenth in duty, while the Christians paid an eleventh. *Cap. Car. Calv. apud Balusium.*

⁴ "Quidem ipsorum qui in nonnullis civitatibus inlicitè constituuntur, solent in remotioribus locis Christianos pauperes et ignaros pro eodem telonio acriter constringere, deinde ut Christum negent persuadere."

by whose agency so many children were seduced from their parents, that the Jews were obliged to send their offspring for education to the less zealous cities of Vienne, Macon, and Arles. Remigius, later Archbishop of Lyons, announced his triumph to the King, and desired that the Bishop of Arles might be admonished to follow the example of his zeal. The Councils began again to launch their thunders; that of Meaux (A. C. 845) reenacted the exclusion of the Jews from all civil offices. This decree was followed up by that of Paris (A. C. 845); but in the distracted state into which the kingdom soon fell, probably these ordinances were not executed. If it be true (but of its truth there is not much probability) that Charles the Bald was poisoned by the famous Jewish physician of his father, Zedekiah, an act, which so weakened the royal authority, was a measure most pernicious to his countrymen. The Jews thenceforth, instead of being under the protection of a powerful monarch, fell rapidly under the dominion of those countless petty independent sovereigns who rose under the feudal system, whose will was law, and whose wants would not submit to the slow process of exaction and tribute, but preferred the raising more expeditious supplies by plunder and massacre. An edict of Charles the Simple, among other gifts, bestows on the Archbishop of Narbonne all the lands and vineyards possessed by the Jews, however acquired, in the whole county (A. C. 897). The King seems to have had no doubt of his right to give, the Archbishop no doubt of the justice of receiving, this donation; these properties had before belonged to them. It would seem that the Jews were no longer to hold real property.

Still commerce, even in the rudest and most anar

chical times, is a necessity of mankind. But in all these Germanic kingdoms in general, the kings, princes, warriors, were too proud to engage in what they held to be base and degrading occupations ; the serfs were too indigent and down-trodden to rise above daily labor. The cities with their guilds had not yet risen to, or recovered, their mercantile importance. Yet the interchange of commodities between remote countries was never entirely broken off ; foreign wares found their way from one region to another ; the diffusion of articles of necessity or of luxury might be precarious, interrupted, irregular, yet it never entirely ceased. Europe was never without some of the precious treasures, the stuffs, the spices, of Asia ; queens and high-born ladies must be decked with jewels ; rich stuffs were demanded for the array of knights, for the housings of their coursers.¹ The Church above all, from her own wealth or the wealth of her votaries, must have gold and velvet and precious stones for her vessels and monstres ; her censers must be filled with frankincense. Spices for banquets, or even for more common use, were still supplied ; medicinal drugs, many of which came from the East, were furnished, it is probable, as well as administered, by Jewish physicians, who were everywhere : above all, the slave-trade, the traffic in captives taken in war, was still active. The inroads of the Northmen, and later of the Hungarians, no doubt gave it new life. The constant legislation on that subject, even to a late period, shows how deeply the Jews were concerned in this traffic, which in those days brought much property

¹ The monk of St. Gall mentions a Jewish merchant, a favorite of Charlemagne, "*qui terram repromissionis sæpius adire, et inde ad cismarinæ provincias multa pretiosa et incognita solitus erat afferre.*" *De Gest. C. M.* i. 18.

and little discredit to the Jew, thus dealing to Christians some revengeful satisfaction for their insults and wrongs. The Jews probably alone, the wealthier of them, had capital; they alone had mutual intelligence and correspondence; they frequented every fair and market; they knew and communicated to each other the prices of commodities; they were a vast mercantile firm spread through Europe, and having some, it might be precarious, connection with their brethren in the East, in Africa, in Spain, in most Mohammedan countries. Trade alone, active prosperous trade, will account for their vast numbers, their dangerous wealth, even their rising intellectual importance. There was silent continued intercommunication of thoughts and ideas between the East and West, as well as constant traffic in material things. In the North of Germany and in Northern France their position and influence were seemingly not so high; they were, however, already in certain sense under special imperial protection. But the vast numbers which were found in all the flourishing German cities on the Rhine, and their great and tempting wealth before the Crusades, must have been the growth of previous centuries. Their relation to the Christian merchant-citizens till that outburst of fanaticism seems in general to have been amicable. In the South of France we hear of Jewish fleets on the Mediterranean. The Norman piracies probably, making peaceful navigation next to impossible, rather than want of capital or activity, put an end to these enterprises. We may safely therefore dismiss as an unhistoric legend their betrayal of Bordeaux to the Normans,¹ whom they must have been wise enough to know to be

¹ This accusation is found in the Ann. Bertin. sub ann. 847. They are also accused of betraying Barcelona to the Moors, A. C. 853.

their most fatal enemies. The incessant and increasing hostility of the bishops in Languedoc and Dauphiny betrays the jealousy as well as the aversion of these prelates. Towards the end of the ninth century (A. C. 889), the Archbishop of Sens, from some motive which the monk Oleron thinks fit not to reveal, expelled the Jews from his diocese.¹

Even the strange usage that the Syndic of the Jews in Toulouse presented himself three times a year to receive a box on the ear from the Christian mayor, shows at once their importance and their odiousness to the Christians; an usage of which the well-attested barbarous close seems to prove the historic truth, though its origin is lost in obscurity.² A stern, iron-handed magistrate struck the poor Syndic with such force as to scatter the brains of the unfortunate unbeliever. But even the title of Syndic implied the regular and organized community. The Jews appealed to the King against this and other acts of oppression. The King answered that "they only suffered the penalties due to their sins."³

It was in Spain that the golden age of the Jews shone with the brightest and most enduring splendor. Yet, during its earlier period, from the conquest by the Moors till towards the end of the tenth century, when, while Christian Europe lay in darkness, Mohammedan Cordova might be considered the centre of

¹ "Judæos certâ de causâ, ab urbe expulit." Apud Bouquet, viii. 237.

² It is attributed to the betrayal of Toulouse by the Jews to the Saracens, and its recapture by Charlemagne, who punished their treachery by this ignominious ordinance, and with a fine of a certain number of pounds of wax, no doubt for religious uses. But Basnage has well exposed the anachronisms and want of historic truth in the whole story of the capture (not the siege, which is confounded with that of Toulouse by the Saracens), and its recovery by Charlemagne. *Hist. des Juifs*, tom. xx. ch. 3.

³ Vit. S. Theodardi, apud Bouquet, vii.

civilization, of arts, and of letters, though we are certain that the Jews, under the enjoyment of equal rights and privileges, rivalled their masters, or rather their compatriots, in their advancement to wealth, splendor, and cultivation; though they had their full share, or, perhaps, as more intelligent, a disproportionate share, in the high ministerial and confidential offices of the court; though, by the perpetual intercourse kept up with their brethren in the East, we may safely infer that by land along the North of Africa,¹ and by sea along the course of the Mediterranean, their commerce was pursued with industry and success; yet we have not much distinct information concerning their state and proceedings. In fact, it is difficult to discriminate them from the race among whom they lived on terms of the closest amity during these halcyon days. In emulation of their Moslemite brethren, they began to cultivate their long disused and neglected poetry; the harp of Judah was heard to sound again, though with something of a foreign tone, — for they borrowed the rhythm peculiar to the Arabic verse. Yet, though but a feeble echo of their better days, we would gladly explore this almost hidden source of Jewish poetry. There too Rabbinism, while its throne was tottering to decay in the East, found a refuge, and commenced a new era of power and authority. The Talmud was translated into Arabic, under the auspices of Moses "clad in sackcloth." Moses was one of the most learned men of the East. A singular adventure cast him upon the hospitable shore of Spain, and through him the light of learning, which, by the rapid progress of the iron age of Judaism in Babylonia, by the

¹ According to Condé, (*Hist. des Arabes*, i. 144,) the Jews were very numerous and prosperous at Tunis and in Morocco. ii. 234.

extinction of the authority of the Prince of the Captivity, the dispersion of the illustrious teachers, and the final closing of the great schools, seemed to have set forever, suddenly rose again in the West, in renewed and undiminished splendor. Four Babylonian Rabbins, of great distinction, of whom R. Moses was one, fell into the hands of a Spanish pirate.¹ The wife of Moses accompanied him in his voyage; the high-minded woman, dreading defilement, looked to her husband for advice; Moses uttered the verse of the Psalm: "The Lord said, I will bring again from Bashan, I will bring again from the depths of the sea." She plunged at once into the ocean, and perished.² Moses was brought as a slave to Cordova, and redeemed, though his quality was unknown, by a Jew. One day he entered the synagogue, clad as a slave in a scanty sackcloth. Nathan, the judge of the Jews in Cordova, presided. In the course of the debate the slave displayed such knowledge that Nathan exclaimed, "I am no more judge; yon slave in sackcloth is my master, and I am his scholar." Moses was installed by acclamation as head of the community. Moses, and his son and successor, Enoch, enjoyed the protection of Hasdai, the son of Isaac, the minister of the Caliph; and though the learned preëminence of this family was disturbed by the rivalry of R. Joseph, to whom the task of translating the Talmud had been committed, yet such was the popularity of his grandson, Nathan, and such the wealth of his compatriots, that as often as the

¹ A. C. 990. The name of one of these Rabbins has not been preserved. One was R. Shemariah ben Elchanan, who was bought by the Jews of Alexandria, ignorant of his learning. He became head of the community at Alexandria. The third was R. Hushiel, who was bought at Tunis. He became head of the community at Kairouan. The fourth was R. Moses.

² Compare Basnage, ix. 130, and Jost, vi. 107.

head of the Jewish community went forth to enjoy the delicious refreshment of the groves and gardens near Cordova, he was attended by his admiring disciples in immense numbers, and in most sumptuous apparel. It is said that seven hundred chariots swelled his pomp.

The long line of learned descendants, which formed the great school of Arabico-Jewish learning, belongs to the history of their literature, for which our work has not space. This line stretched away to the end of the twelfth century, when it produced its greatest ornament — the wise Maimonides, the first who, instead of gazing with blind adoration and unintelligent wonder at the great fabric of the Mosaic Law, dared to survey it with the searching eye of reason, and was rewarded by discovering the indelible marks of the Divine wisdom and goodness.¹ The life of Maimonides marks an epoch in the civil as well as in the literary and philosophic history of Judaism; and that life is a most instructive exposition of the extent and influence of Judaism, of the state and condition of the Jews at that eventful period. He was born at Cordova, March 30, 1135. His father, a distinguished Talmudist, was the author of a Commentary on the Astronomic Treatise of Alfarghani. His father was his first instructor; but in the Arabian schools he was a disciple of Aben Pace. The

¹ There are many Lives of Maimonides.

I would venture to recommend a singularly clear and fair statement of his life and his opinions in the *Études Orientales* of M. Franck, author of an excellent book (*La Kabbale*, Paris, 1861). I subjoin the concluding sentences on the *More Nevochim*: “Ce livre, comme nous l’avons déjà dit, peut être considéré comme la première tentative du Rationalisme, et par cette qualité seule, de quelque manière qu’on le juge, il acquiert dans l’histoire générale des idées une incontestable importance. Mais il inspire également le respect par les puissantes facultés de l’auteur, la prodigieuse souplesse de son esprit, la variété de ses connaissances, l’élévation de son spiritualisme, enfin par la lumière qu’il répand sur quelques-uns des points les plus obscurs de l’histoire de l’esprit humain.” p. 360.

youth of Maimonides witnessed the great revolution in the relation between Islamism and Judaism. To the wise tolerance, the peaceful harmony, which had raised the Ommyad Caliphs to their height of splendor, succeeded, when Maimonides was thirteen years old, the fanatic dynasty of the Almohades. Abd-el-Mouhmen, the founder of the dynasty, was a predecessor of Philip II., rather than a successor of the Abderrahmans. The fanatic Caliph issued a decree that, on pain of exile, the Jews and the Christians must alike embrace Islamism. Many Jewish families, as in the later days of the Inquisition, made a base and hypocritical profession of Mohammedanism. Among these was the family of Maimonides, and, at sixteen years old, the great doctor of the Synagogue, the glory of Israel, the second Moses, was a professed Mohammedan. But the profound study of the religious writings of his people wrought conviction in the mind of the youth. Before the age of twenty-three he had composed a treatise on the Calendar, commented certain parts of the Talmud, and begun his great work on the Mischna (the *Porta Mosis*, translated by Pococke). Maimonides with his father and his family determined to leave the inhospitable shores of Spain. Africa was under the dominion of the Almohades ; but the persecuting laws were executed with less severity. He passed to Morocco, dwelt some time at Fez, and then embarked for the Holy Land. He reached St. Jean d'Acre, and from thence made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He finally settled at Fostat, the port of Cairo. The famous Saladin had founded the Fatimite Empire. The Vizier of Saladin, the Kadhi al Fâdhel, took the learned Jew under his protection ; and at Fostat the fame of Maimonides, as the most skilful physician, as the most

profound philosopher, and the oracle of the religious belief among the most enlightened Jews and Arabians, grew to its height. At the early dawn Maimonides used to pass over to Cairo to transact his business in the capital; he was the Court physician. On his return, such were the crowds of all classes and orders who came to consult him on all questions, medical, philosophical, religious, that he had hardly time to snatch a hasty meal: he was compelled to intrude on the night for his profounder studies. Thus oppressed with business, Maimonides found time to complete his voluminous medical, philosophical, and theological writings.¹ His fame chiefly rests on the *More Nevochim*, "the guide to those who have lost their way." Maimonides may be held as the founder of Rationalism; the first who endeavored on broad principles to establish the harmony of reason and religion. He was the speculative parent of Spinoza and of Mendelssohn. His knowledge was vast; he was master not only of the Bible, but of all the Talmudic writings, of the genuine

¹ Maimonides was probably one of the first of his nation, notwithstanding their study in Spain and elsewhere of astronomy, who anticipated most Christians in the bold assertion that the heavenly bodies were not created for the sole use of man. The assertion itself, and the arguments by which it is maintained, are equally remarkable. "It is shown by demonstration that the distance from the centre of the earth to the supreme altitude of the planet Saturn is a journey of nearly 8700 years, reckoning 365 days in the year, and forty miles for each day's journey, according to the mile in the Law, which is of a thousand cubits." Maimonides deduces from this the insignificance of the earth as compared to all the celestial spheres, of man as compared to the earth: "and from the height of the heavens do not we learn how limited is our apprehension of Almighty God?" (Lib. iii. cap. xiv.) The chapters on the Origin of Evil, in which he urges and expands the notion, much received in later times, that it is the privation of Good, are very curious, and deserve the study of the philosopher and divine. Like all Jewish philosophers, his great tenet is the absolute Incorporeity of God (lib. i. cap. xxvi., &c.) On the meaning of the Law being written by the finger of God, see lib. i. cap. lxvi. His favorite phrase is that the Law "speaks the language of the sons of men."

Aristotle, and of the Aristotelian Arabic philosophies ; he had read earlier Eastern writings, with how severe a critical spirit remains to be determined. He was a profoundly religious man. On such subjects as the Unity of the Godhead, the Creation, the Providence of God, on Foreknowledge and Freewill, while he asserts the power and authority of Reason, he limits its range with calm severity. He discusses all these questions with the freedom and fulness of the best Christian schoolmen, but without their arid logic and cold, subtle dialectics. To my judgment his spiritualism is more pure and lofty. During his life, such was the awe of his name that men hardly dared to reprove the fearless reasoner. After his death he was anathematized by the more superstitious of his brethren. But in later ages, the more enlightened the race of Israel, the higher has stood the fame of him whom his ardent admirers proclaimed a second Moses.¹

We revert to a sadder spectacle — the rapid progress of the Iron Age of Judaism, which, in the East and in the West, gradually spread over the Jewish communities, till they sank again to their bitter, and, it might almost seem indefeasible, inheritance of hatred and contempt. They had risen but to be trampled down by the fiercer and more unrelenting tread of oppression and persecution. The world, which before seemed to have made a sort of tacit agreement to allow them time to regain wealth that might be plundered and blood that might be poured forth like water, now seems to have entered into a conspiracy as ex-

¹ The *More Nevochim* I only knew with the aid of Buxtorf's translation. A large part, however, may now be read in the French of M. Munk, whose profound Hebrew learning, wide range of philosophical inquiry, and perspicuous language are full guaranties for the trustworthiness of his translation.

tensive, to drain the treasures and the blood of this devoted race.

Kingdom after kingdom, and people after people, followed the dreadful example, and strove to peal the knell of the descendants of Israel ; till at length, what we blush to call Christianity, with the Inquisition in its train, cleared the fair and smiling provinces of Spain of this industrious part of its population, and self-inflicted a curse of barrenness upon the benighted land.¹

¹ By far the most complete, I fear the most veracious, account of the persecutions of the Jews during the Middle Ages, has been collected, with his indefatigable industry, by Dr. Zunz in the preliminary chapters to his *Synagogal Poesie des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1855. It fills about forty-three pages, from pp. 15 to 58. It is interspersed with extracts from Hebrew poetry translated into German. In some parts it rests on Jewish authorities, occasionally manuscript. It is a most hideous chronicle of human cruelty (as far as my researches have gone, fearfully true). Of the number of victims of course I cannot speak with full reliance. Perhaps it is the more hideous, because the most continuous to be found among nations above the state of savages. Alas ! that it should be among nations called Christian, though occasionally the Mahommedan persecutor vied with the Christian in barbarity.

BOOK XXIV.

IRON AGE OF JUDAISM.

Persecutions in the East — Extinction of the Princes of the Captivity — Jews in Palestine — In the Byzantine Empire — Feudal System — Chivalry — Power of the Church — Usury — Persecutions in Spain — Massacres by the Crusaders — Persecutions in France — Philip Augustus — Saint Louis — Spain — France — Philip the Fair — War of the Shepherds — Pestilence — Poisoning of the Fountains — Charles the Fourth — Charles the Fifth — Charles the Sixth — Final Expulsion from France — Germany — The Flagellants — Miracle of the Host at Brussels.

OUR Iron Age commences in the East, where it witnessed the extinction of the Princes of the Captivity by the ignominious death of the last sovereign, the downfall of the schools, and the dispersion of the community, which from that period remained an abject and degraded part of the population. Pride and civil dissension, as well as the tyranny of a feeble despot, led to their fall. About the middle of the ninth century, both the Jews and Christians suffered some persecution under the Sultan Motavakel, A. C. 847. His edict was issued prohibiting their riding on lordly horses; they were to aspire no higher than humble asses and mules; they were forbidden to have an iron stirrup, and commanded to wear a leather girdle. They were to be distinguished from the faithful by a brand-mark, and their houses were defaced by figures of swine, devils, or apes. The latter addition throws some improbability on the story.¹ After the reign of Motava-

¹ See *ante*, p. 134.

kel, the Caliphate in the East fell into confusion, split up into separate kingdoms under conflicting sovereigns.¹ About this time Saccai was Prince of the Captivity. Towards the middle of the tenth century (A. C. 934), David ben Saccai held that high office. Under David ben Saccai the Resch-Glutha resumed the pomp, title, and independence of a king. The Jews boast that, while his weaker ancestors had condescended to pay tribute, David refused that humiliating act of submission. But it was the feebleness of the Caliphate under Muctador, rather than the power of the Resch-Glutha, which encouraged this contumacy.² It has been conjectured that the interval during both these periods,³ from A. C. 817 to about A. C. 916, was filled by a line of hereditary princes. The learned aristocracy, the Heads of the Schools of Sura and Pumbeditha, by whom the power of the Resch-Glutha, which sometimes aspired to tyranny, was limited,⁴ seem likewise to have been hereditary. The race of that of Sura expired, and the Resch-Glutha, David ben Saccai, took upon himself to name an obscure successor called Om. Tob.⁵ Om. Tob's incompetency became apparent, and R. Saadiah was summoned from Egypt. Saadiah was a great opponent of the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul, then a received article of the Jewish creed. Perpetual feuds distracted this singular state. The tribunals of the Resch-Glutha and of the Masters of the Schools, the civil and spiritual

¹ Jost, vi. 84, 85

² The obscure intrigues which led to the elevation of David ben Saccai may be read in Jost, vi. 96.

³ Ganz, Tsemach David, p. 130; Basnage, iv. 4; Jost, vi. p. 77, &c.

⁴ David ben Saccai attempted also to nominate the chief of the School of Pumbeditha. This caused great discord and confusion.

⁵ In Jost, the rival of Saadiah, Om. Tob, is R. Semaiah

powers, were in perpetual collision. David, the Prince, on some dispute about money, laid his ban on Saadiah. Saadiah hurled back the ban upon the Prince, and transferred the sovereignty to his brother. For seven years this strife lasted, till at length peace was restored, and the whole community beheld, with the utmost satisfaction, the Prince of the Captivity, who, on the death of his brother, regained his uncontested authority, entering the house of the Master of the School to celebrate together the joyful feast of Purim. The peace remained unbroken till the death of the Prince of the Captivity and that of his son. Saadiah became the guardian of his grandson. Saadiah was a man noted for the strictest justice, and his literary works were esteemed of the highest value.

Both the great dignities seem to have been united in the person of Scherira, who ruled and taught with universal admiration in the School of Pherutz Schabur from 967 to 997 A. C. Pherutz Schabur was a city five miles from Babylon. It is asserted, no doubt with the usual Jewish exaggeration, that this city was inhabited by 900,000 Jews. At the end of thirty years Scherira felt the approach of age, and associated his son Hai in the supremacy. But the term of this high office drew near. A violent and rapacious sovereign, Ahmed Kader, filled the throne of the Caliphs. He cast a jealous look upon the powers and wealth of this vassal sovereign. Scherira, now one hundred years old, and his son Hai, were seized either with or without pretext, their riches confiscated, and the old man hung up by the hand. Hai escaped to resume his office, and to transmit its honors and its dangers to Hezekiah, who was elected Chief of the Captivity. But, after a reign of two years, Hezekiah was arrested

with his whole family by the order of the Caliph, Abdallah Kaim ben Marillah (A. C. 1036.) The Schools were closed. Many of the learned fled to Egypt or Spain (the revulsion in Spain under the Almohades had not yet taken place); all were dispersed. Among the rest two sons of the unfortunate Prince of the Captivity effected their escape to Spain, while the last of the House of David (for of that lineage they fondly boasted), who reigned over the Jews of the Dispersion in Babylonia, perished on an ignominious scaffold.

The Jewish communities in Palestine suffered a slower but more complete dissolution. If credit is to be given to the facts relating to the revolutions in the East, in that singular compilation, the "Travels of Benjamin of Tudela," which bears the date of the following century, from A. C. 1160 to 1173,¹ we may safely select his humiliating account of the few brethren who still clung, in poverty and meanness, to their native land.² There is an air of sad truth about the statement, which seems to indicate some better information on this subject than on some others. In Tyre, Benjamin found 400 Jews, glass-blowers. The Samaritans still occupied

¹ The object of this author seems to have been not unlike that of the celebrated Sir John Mandeville, besides the account, seemingly credible, of the countries which he really visited, to throw together all he had ever heard or read of the strange and unvisited regions of the farther East. — *Original Note.*

² Much light has been thrown on the Travels of Benjamin of Tudela by the new edition and English translation, with valuable Notes and Essays, especially by Dr. Zunz, published by Asher, Berlin, 1840. It seems clear that Benjamin of Tudela, probably as a merchant, travelled as far eastward as Bagdad. So far his descriptions are perfectly trustworthy. Dr. Zunz has traced the names of many of the Rabbins and distinguished men of whom Benjamin writes, and vouches for their accuracy. Beyond Bagdad, Benjamin writes from hearsay, with a large admixture of fable, in parts curiously resembling Marco Polo. See Asher's Preface; and Dr. Zunz, in his valuable Essay on the Contributions of the Hebrews to the Science of Geography, vol. ii.

Sichem; but in Jerusalem there were only 200 descendants of Abraham, almost all dyers of wool, who had bought a monopoly of that trade. Ascalon contained 153 Jews; Tiberias, the seat of learning and of the kingly patriarchate, but fifty. This account of Benjamin is confirmed by the unfrequent mention of the Jews in the histories of the later Crusades in the Holy Land, and may, perhaps, be ascribed in great measure to the devastations committed in the first of these depopulating expeditions. It is curious, after surveying this almost total desertion of Palestine, to read the indications of fond attachment to its very air and soil, scattered about in the Jewish writings. Still it is said, that man is esteemed most blessed, who, even after his death, shall reach the land of Palestine and be buried there, or even shall have his ashes sprinkled by a handful of its sacred dust. "The air of the land of Israel," says one, "makes a man wise;"¹ another writes, "He who walks four cubits in the land of Israel is sure of being a son of the life that is to come." "The great Wise Men are wont to kiss the borders of the Holy Land, to embrace its ruins, and roll themselves in its dust." "The sins of all those are forgiven who inhabit the land of Israel." He who is buried there is reconciled with God as though he were buried under the altar. The dead buried in the land of Canaan come first to life in the days of the Messiah. He who dies out of the Holy Land dies a double death. Rabbi Simeon said,² "All they who are buried out of the land of Canaan must perish everlastingly; but for the just, God will make deep caverns beneath the earth, by which they will work their way till they come to the land of Israel; when they are there, God will breathe

¹ Bava Bathra.

² Ketuboth.

the breath of life into their nostrils, and they will rise again.”¹

In the Byzantine Empire, if we may place any reliance, as we surely may, on the same authority, the numbers of the Jews had greatly diminished. Corinth contained 300 Jews; Thebes, 2000 silk-workers and dyers. Two hundred cultivated gardens at the foot of Parnassus. Patras and Lepanto contained a small number; Constantinople, 2000 silk-workers and merchants, with 500 Karaites. They inhabited part of Pera, were subject to the ordinary tribunals, and were often treated with great insult and outrage by the fanatic Greeks.

We pursue our dark progress to the West, where we find all orders gradually arrayed in fierce and implacable animosity against the race of Israel. Every passion was in arms against them. The monarchs were instigated by avarice; the nobility by the warlike spirit generated by chivalry; the clergy by bigotry; the people by all these concurrent motives. Each of the great changes which were gradually taking place in the state of the world seemed to darken the condition of this unhappy people, till the outward degradation worked inward upon their own minds. Confined to base and sordid occupations, they contracted their thoughts and feelings to their station. Individual and national character must be endowed with more than ordinary greatness if it can long maintain self-estimation after it has totally lost the esteem of mankind; the

¹ “Postquam Judæi patriâ pulsi, et extorres facti sunt, amant terræ ejus cineres tam impotenter ut miræ felicitatis loco habeant, si cui contigit vel mortuo ibidem sepeliri, vel pugillo illius pulveris post fata conspergere, vel viventi ibidem degere.” From the Dissertation of John a Lent de Pseudo-Messias, apud Ugolini, Thesaurus — a melancholy picture of wretched depression and frantic hope.

despised will usually become despicable. I proceed in a few brief sentences (all my limits will allow) to explain the effects of the more remarkable changes in society which developed themselves during these dark ages, as far as they affect the character and condition of the Jewish people: 1st. The feudal system; 2d. Chivalry; 3d. The power of the clergy; 4th. The almost general adoption of the trade of money-lending and usury by the Jews themselves. I shall then pursue the course of time, which will lead us successively to the different countries in which the Jews were domiciliated.

I. In that singular structure, the feudal system, which rose like a pyramid from the villains or slaves attached to the soil to the monarch who crowned the edifice, the Jews alone found no proper place. They were a sort of outlying caste in the midst of society, yet scarcely forming part of it; recognized by the constitution, but not belonging to it; a kind of perpetual anomaly in the polity.¹ Their condition varied according to the different form which the feudal system assumed in different countries. In that part of Germany which constituted the Empire, the Jews, who were always of a lower order than their brethren in Spain and in the south of France, were in some respects under the old Roman law. By this law their existence was recognized, freedom of worship in their synagogues was permitted, and they were exempted from all military service. The last was a privilege not

¹ Comp. Beugnot. Juifs d'Occident, Introduction, pp. 58, 59: "Quiconque ne trouvait pas sa place dans la hiérarchie féodale n'était rien. . . . Tels ont été les Juifs au sein de la féodalité, privés de tout espèce de droits quand chacun venait d'en acquérir; isolés au milieu d'une société qui avait réglé ses rangs à manière à n'oublier personne, partout ils étaient traités comme étrangers, et dans ce temps l'étranger était un ennemi."

likely to be extorted from them. The noble profession of arms would have been profaned by such votaries.

The whole Jewish community were considered as special servants of the imperial chamber, *i. e.*, the Emperor alone could make ordinances affecting the whole body, and the whole body could demand justice or make appeal to their liege-lord. But this imperial right would not have been recognized by the great vassals as allowing the Emperor to seize, punish, plunder, or in any manner to interfere with the Jews domiciliated in their several feuds. In fact, while the community was subject to the liege-lord, the great feudatories and the free cities either obtained by charter, of which there are numerous instances, or assumed with a strong hand, or were persuaded by the Jews themselves to accept, dominion over the Israelitish inhabitants of their domains. The high and remote tribunal of the Emperor would afford inadequate protection for any oppressed Jew ; he was glad to have a nearer and more immediate court of appeal. Travelling, as the Israelites perpetually did, from town to town, from province to province, the fierce baron might respect the passport, which was always absolutely necessary, of some powerful noble, some princely bishop, or some wealthy community of free burghers, while he would have smiled in scorn at the general imperial edict for allowing Jews to pass unmolested. In some cities, as in Worms, there were regular officers appointed to protect the Jews, who could not perform any of their ceremonies or processions in public without these guardians to shield them from the violence of the populace. In France and in England they were the property of the king. It will appear hereafter how the kings granted them to favorites, like lands, resumed them, and treated them altogether as

goods pertaining to the Crown.¹ In Italy, at least in the South, besides the doubtful protection of the Emperor, they acknowledged the more powerful authority of the Pope. They were supposed to be in some manner under the special jurisdiction of the See of Rome.² In the Norman kingdom of Naples the feudal system soon makes its appearance. Sichelgaite, wife of Roger Duke of Apulia (son of Robert Guiscard), bequeaths the revenue of the Jews in the city of Salerno to the Church of Our Lady.³ Duke Roger makes over the Jewry and all the Jews, except those of his proper domain, to the Archbishop of Salerno.⁴ In the South of France they seem to have been considered as a kind of foreign vassals of the great feudatories; in the North, of the king. For while the edicts of the

¹ In France, according to Gul Brito, King Philip Augustus (see hereafter), who at one time only demanded for himself a fifth part of the debts due to the Jews, might legally have taken the whole:—

“Et poterat totum sibi tollere si voluisset.
Nec præjudicium super hoc fecisset eisdem,
Tanquam servorum res et catalla suorum.”
Lib. i.

² Thomas Aquinas (Summa 22, x. 10) lays down the axiom that the Jews are slaves of the Church (the Church in its widest sense), “quia cum ipsi Judæi sint servi Ecclesiæ.” He proceeds to the question, whether if the slave of a Jew becomes Christian he becomes free without any price being paid for his redemption? It is answered in the affirmative, because, the Jews themselves being slaves of the Church, the Church can dispose at her will of the property of her slaves. This applies to persons born in slavery, or if, being infidels, they had been bought for the purpose of domestic slavery. If the slaves had been bought merely for the purpose of sale, they were to be brought to market in three months. This clause (if it does not refer to former times) seems to imply an active slave-trade still going on in Europe and in the hands of the Jews. I may take the opportunity of adding that Thomas Aquinas takes the milder view (that of Pope Gregory the Great), as to tolerating the religious rites of the Jews, and condemns the forcible baptism of Jewish infants against the will of their parents.

³ Charter quoted from Pirrus, Sicilia Sacra.

⁴ Charter of Duke Roger, Muratori, Antiq., vol. i.; Depping, p. 150.

sovereign for their expulsion and readmission into the land were recognized in the North, they seem to have been executed either imperfectly or not at all in the South. The general effect of the feudal system was to detach the Jews entirely from the cultivation of the soil, though it worked more slowly in some countries — in the South of France and in Spain — than in others. They could not be lords, they were not serfs, — they would not serve, or by the older law were exempted from military service to their lords. But this almost extra-legal protection under the great vassals was of course subject to every caprice of the lawless and ignorant petty chieftains who exercised these local sovereignties.¹ It was obtained only by proving to the liege-lord that it was his interest to protect; and his eyes, blinded by ignorance and perhaps bigotry, could only be opened to his real interests by immediate and palpable advantages. The Jew must pay largely for precarious protection; he was only tolerated as a source of revenue, and till almost his life-blood was drawn, it would be difficult to satisfy the inevitable demands of a needy and rapacious master. The Jew thus often became a valuable property; he was granted away, he was named in a marriage settlement,² he was be-

¹ “À l'exemple des Rois, les Barons s'étaient appropriés les Juifs. Un Baron disait ‘mes Juifs’ comme il disait ‘mes terres,’ quand il énumérait ses revenus.” Depping, p. 174.

² In a contract of marriage between Rostang de Pasquier and the daughter of Bernard Atto, Viscount of Nismes, Agde, and Beziers, “*damus tibi et filiæ nostræ unum Judæum et unum burgensem in Biterris, Burgensem, Raymondum Durante, Judæum Benjamin, ambo cum tenezonibus eorum, et successores eisdem, et cum eisdem tenezonibus.*” Here the Burgher and the Jew were granted in the same manner. *Histoire de Languedoc*, ii.; *Preuves*, 419. William of Montpellier adds to her dower all his Jews of Montpellier. *Ibid.* 478. Aymeric, Viscount of Narbonne, endowed his wife, A. C. 1087, with the city of Narbonne and the taxes on the Jews therein. *Ibid.* ii. 266; *Preuves*, p. 557.

queathed,¹ in fact he was pawned,² he was sold, he was stolen.³ Permission to the Jew to employ his industry for his own profit implied a share in that profit to the lord.⁴ Even churchmen of the highest rank did not disdain such lucrative property. Louis, King of Provence, grants to the Archbishop of Arles all the possessions which his predecessors have held of former kings, including the Jews. Philip the Fair, after contesting the property of forty-three Jews, bought of his brother, Charles of Valois, all the Jews of his dominions and lordships. These Jews produced four hundred and thirty francs six sous every quarter; a Jew of Rouen, Samuel Viola, brought in to the same king three hundred livres a quarter.⁵

II. Chivalry, the parent of so much good and evil, both in its own age and in the spirit which has descended from it and has become infused into the institutions and character of modern Europe, was a source of almost unmitigated wretchedness to the Jew, unless in so far as

¹ Raymond of Trincavel in his will bequeaths a Jew. *Histoire de Languedoc*, ii.; *Preuves*, 550.

² The same Raymond of Trincavel pawns all his customary rights to payments in kind, of honey, canelle, and pepper, from the Jews on feast-days. *Ibid*.

³ Thibault, Count of Champagne, made a treaty with King Philip that neither should retain the Jews of the other. Some of Thibault's Jews had taken refuge from his oppressions in the territory of the King. His widow reclaimed them. There was a long negotiation about the property of Cressolin, a very rich Jew. *Ibid*.

⁴ A modern writer has well expressed this: "Ils pouvaient donner un libre cours à leur industrie commerciale à la charge de partager de gré ou de force avec les Seigneurs les profits qu'ils en avaient retirés. C'est ce qui explique pourquoi les Seigneurs étaient si soigneux de conserver les Juifs qui leurs appartenaient. C'était la portion la plus productive de leur Seigneurie. Aussi la personne des Juifs était elle un objet de commerce: on se les vendait, on se les donnait, quelquefois les Seigneurs se les volaient les uns les autres, et ne permettaient plus au Juif qui se trouvait sur leurs terres de retourner dans celles de leurs maîtres." Bédarride, *Les Juifs en Italie, en France, et en Espagne*, p. 103.

⁵ Other instances in *Depping*.

the splendor which the knight might display in his arms and accoutrements was a lucrative source of traffic. The enterprising Jew often probably made a considerable commission on the Milan corselet, the Damascus or Toledo blade, the gorgeous attire which the knight wore, or the jewels in which his lady glittered in the tournament.¹ Magnificence was the fashion of the times, and magnificence would often throw the impoverished noble into the power of the lowly man of traffic. But the knight was bound by the tenure of his rank to hate and despise the Jew. Religious fanaticism was inseparable from chivalry. When Clovis, the King of the Franks, embraced Christianity, while the pious preacher was dilating on the sufferings of the crucified Redeemer, the fiery convert sprang up and exclaimed, "Had I and my brave Franks been there, they dared not to have done it." The spirit of this speech was that of the knighthood of the Middle Ages. What they could not prevent they could revenge. The knight was the servant of God, bound with his good sword to protect His honor, and to extirpate all the enemies of Christ and His Virgin Mother. Those enemies were all unbelievers, more particularly the Jew, whose stiff-necked obstinacy still condemned him; every Jew was as deadly a foe as if he had joined in the frantic cry of *Crucify Him! Crucify Him!* The only refuge of the Jew from the hatred of the knight was in his contempt. The knight was not suffered to profane his sword with such vile blood; it was loftier revenge to trample him underfoot. But the animosity without the pride of this chivalrous feeling descended

¹ This has not escaped the author of that noblest of historical romances, *Ivanhoe*, who on this point is as true to history as in the rest of the work he is full of the loftiest spirit of poetry.

to the lower orders; he who could not presume to show his zeal for his Redeemer on the person of a Moslemite unbeliever, contented himself with the humbler satisfaction of persecuting a Jew. In awful disregard of the one great Atonement, it was a prevailing feeling that men might wash away their sins by the blood of their infidel fellow-creatures. We shall see this inhuman sentiment dreadfully exemplified in the history of the Crusaders.

III. The power of the clergy, no doubt, tended greatly to increase this general detestation against the unhappy Jew. Their breath was never wanting to fan the embers of persecution. In that age of darkness, hatred of heresy and unbelief was the first article in the creed of him who taught the religion of love. But it is remarkable that not only were there splendid and redeeming instances of superiority to this unchristian spirit (they will hereafter be noticed), but it was only in the dark and remote parts of the Christian world that this total gloom prevailed. Light still shone in the centre. Of all European sovereigns, the Popes, with some exceptions, have pursued the most generous policy towards the Jews. Among the exceptions it is melancholy not to be able to inscribe the great name of Innocent III. without some reservation. Innocent's first edict about the Jews is one of calm and enlightened humanity. Though it opens with the usual ill-omened phrase concerning Jewish perfidy, yet it confirms all the favorable statutes of his predecessors, protects their synagogues, their cemeteries, their festivals from insult; condemns in strong terms compulsory baptism, and places their persons and property under the safeguard of the law.¹ But in later days

¹ Innocent. Epist. ii. 302.

Innocent could not behold their wealth, their power, their influence in France, without jealousy. In a letter to the Count of Nevers, with words tending to inflame the worst passions, he declared them to be under the wrath of God, branded with the curse of Cain, guilty of the blood of the Redeemer.¹ He is indignant that they should be employed in finance and in the collection of taxes; imputes to the French nobles that they render more than equal justice to the Jews in their litigations with Christians about debts; he threatens the Count with the severest chastisement as guilty of this favor towards the enemies of God.² But if there be a shade of darkness on the bright fame of Innocent III., there is a gleam of light thrown on the dark character of Innocent IV., by his remarkable enactment in favor of the Jews of Germany.³ In Italy, and even in Rome, the Jews have been more rarely molested than in other countries. They have long inhabited in Rome a separate quarter of the city, but this might have been originally a measure at least as much of kindness as contempt — a remedy against insult rather than an exclusion from society.⁴ The adversaries

¹ "Quanto magis ergo divinam formidare potes offensam quod favorem præstare non metuis, qui unigenitum Dei filium cruci affigere præsumpserunt, et adhuc a blasphemii non quiescunt." Innocent III., Epist. x. 190.

² Among the strange charges brought by Innocent III. against the Jews is that they sell the milk of women for ordinary milk to nourish Christian children: "Ita similia Judæis mulieribus facientibus de lacte quod publice venditur pro parvulis nutriendis." They trampled the wine-presses in linen stockings, drew out the best wine for themselves, and sold the refuse to the Christians, even though that wine might be used for the Holy Eucharist.

³ This calm, firm, enlightened edict will shortly appear at full length.

⁴ The Ghetto, Judæa, Judaica, Judæaria; hence the Venetian Giudecca; in Verona, La Zuecca. Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Dissert.*, &c. See the curious grant, quoted above, from Roger Duke of Apulia to the Archbishop of Salerno and his successors (A. C. 1090) of all the Judæa and Jews of that city,

of the Roman Church may ascribe this to "the wisdom of the serpent," which discovered the advantages to be derived from the industry of the Jews, rather than to "the gentleness of the dove"; but where humanity is the result, let us not too invidiously explore its motives. Since the reign of Innocent II. (1130), at the accession of the Pope, the Jews have been permitted to approach the presence of the Pontiff, and to offer a copy of their Law.¹ The Pontiff receives their homage, and mildly expresses his desire that their understandings may be enlightened to perceive the hidden meaning of their own sacred volume. In the remote provinces it is to be feared that religious animosity was often aggravated by that hatred which unprincipled men feel towards those who possess the secret of their crimes. The sacred property of the Church was still often pawned by the licentious monks or clergy. No one would dare to receive the sacred pledge but a Jew, who thus frequently became odious, not only as an importunate creditor, but as exposing, by clamorous and public demands of payment, transactions never meant to meet the light. As early as the reign of the Emperor Henry I., among the pious Emperor's gifts to the Monastery of Monte Casino was a vest or altar-cloth, which he redeemed from a Jew, to whom it had been pledged for fifty gold pieces.² Guifred, Archbishop of Narbonne, in order to raise money

excepting those of his own domain or those whom he may have brought with him, "*quod huc ego tantum conduxero.*" There was a Giudecca in Constantinople. See the curious grant of the Doge of Venice, *ibid.*

¹ The first act of this kind took place on the visit of Innocent II. to Paris. The Pope replies, "May God remove the veil which is now over your eyes!" Sugerii Abbat. Vit. Ludovic. Grossi; Bouquet, xii. 58. The Jews had also a place at the coronation of the Emperors at Rome. Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 192

² Leo Ostiensis, ii. 43.

to buy the Bishopric of Urgel for his brother, sold the crosses, the reliquaries, the vessels, and all the plate of the Church of Narbonne to certain Jewish goldsmiths, who trafficked with them in Spain.¹ The Chapter of Strasburg complain that the Abbot Godfrey, of the Monastery of St. Leonard, had pledged the Missal, *Moralia Job* (St. Gregory's book), a gilded cross and chandeliers, two altar-cloths, three copes, and a chasuble for five marks to the Jews of Einheim; a chalice, three chasubles, and four books for nine marks and twenty deniers to the Jews of Rodesheim.²

In many cases it was religion itself which seemed to the Christian clergy to impose the duty of persecution. In Beziers, at the beginning of the Holy Week (of the week during which the sufferings of the Redeemer on the cross and his divine patience were represented, in symbol and in language, to the eyes and to the heart of the believer, not forgetting his sublime words of prayer for his enemies, even the Jews), it was an ancient usage to pelt the Jews with stones, — a perilous license for a fierce rabble. The preacher mounted the pulpit, "You have around you," he said, "those who crucified the Messiah, who deny Mary the Mother of God. Now is the time when you should feel most deeply the iniquity of which Christ was the victim. This is the day on which our Prince has graciously given us permission to avenge this crime. Like your pious ancestors, hurl stones at the Jews, and show your sense of His wrongs by the vigor with which you resent them."³ The bishop who put down this practice, Raymond of Trincavel, was accused of having

¹ Hist. de Languedoc, ii. p. 184.

² Schœffler, *Alsatia Diplomatica*, Note sub ann. 1215. Compare for England, Madox, *Hist. of the Exchequer*, p. 153.

³ Ex Chronic. Gaufredi Vosiensis. Apud Bouquet, xii. 194.

been bribed: no other motive could be suggested for this act of humanity, justice, and piety.¹

IV. But avarice and usurious practices were doubtless charged, not without justice, against the race of Israel. In the nation and in the individual, the pursuit of gain as the sole object of life, must give a mean and sordid cast to the character. To acquire largely, whether fairly or not, was the highest ambition of the Jew, who rarely dared or wished to spend liberally. All the circumstances of the times contributed to this debasing change. The more extended branches of commerce were almost entirely cut off. Their brethren in the East had lost their wealth; the navigation of the Mediterranean was interrupted by the Norman pirates; the slave-trade had entirely ceased or was prohibited, as well by the habits of the times as by law. In the cities and free towns they were excluded by the jealous corporate spirit from all share in the burghers' privileges. The spirit of the age despised traffic, and the merchant is honorable only where he is held in honor. The Jews no doubt possessed great wealth; what was extorted from them is ample proof of the fact, and some of them by stealth enjoyed it; but even the wealthiest and most liberal were often obliged to put on the sordid demeanor and affect the miserable poverty of the poor pedlar of their own nation, whose whole stock consisted in his pack of the cheapest portable articles.

This necessity of perpetual deception could not but have a baneful effect on the manners and mind of the people. Their chief trade seems to have been money-lending, of which, till they were rivalled and driven

¹ Hist. de Languedoc, ii. 488. The Jews of Beziers then lived in a separate quarter surrounded with walls.

out of the open market by the Lombards, they were the sole possessors. This occupation was not likely to diminish either their own sordid meanness or their unpopularity. The ignorance of the age denounced all interest for money alike as usury. The Jew was judged out of his own Law, and all the Scriptural denunciations against usury were brought forward, especially by the clergy, to condemn a traffic of which they felt and submitted to the necessity. The condemnation of usury by the Church, as unlawful, contributed, with the violence of the times, to render the payment of the usurer's bond extremely insecure. He argued, not unfairly, that the more precarious, the greater ought to be his gains: he took refuge in fraud from violence and injustice. Society was at war with the Jew. Some sudden demand of tribute, or some lawless plunderer, would sweep away at once the hard-wrung earnings of years;¹ the Jew, therefore, still practised slow and perpetual reprisals, and reimbursed himself from the wants of the needy, for his losses from the violent. Demolish his secret hive, like the ant, the model suggested by his wise king, he would reconstruct it again, and ever at the expense of his enemy. It was, generally throughout the world, the Christian, who according to our universal Master of nature, would spit upon and spurn the Jew; and the Jew, who, when he found his advantage, would have the pound of flesh nearest the heart of his bondsman. It

¹ Montesquieu thus observes of the Middle Ages: "Le commerce passa à une nation pour lors couverte d'infamie, et bientôt il ne fut distingué des usures les plus affreuses, des monopoles, de la levée des subsides, et de toutes les manières malhonnêtes d'acquérir de l'argent. Les Juifs, enrichis par leurs exactions, étaient pillés par les princes avec la même tyrannie: chose qui consolait le peuple, et ne les soulageoit pas." *Esprit des Loix*, xxi 20.

was a contest of religious zeal which had degenerated into the blindest bigotry, and associated itself with the most ferocious and unchristian passions, against industry and patience, which had made a forced but intimate alliance with the most sordid craft and the most unfeeling avarice, to the utter extinction of every lofty principle of integrity and honor.

Attempts were constantly made to restrict the exactions of the Jews from the poor: they were prohibited from taking in pawn the tools of the artisan and the implements of husbandry. By a law of Philip Augustus the interest on loans was limited to two deniers per week on the livre: this would amount to above forty per cent. Later the rate of interest was doubled, for it was found that the debtor was compelled by the Jew to inscribe a larger sum than he actually borrowed. Interest on debts was generally limited to the year, to prevent — which it did not do — all accumulation. The weekly interest was manifestly intended for the debts of the poor. There is a very curious parchment roll in the French royal archives,¹ according to which (probably during one of the expulsions of the Jews) certain inhabitants of the small town of Vitry, about five hundred, claimed sums said to have been extorted from them by the Jews to the amount of eight hundred and forty-four livres nine sous. This may show how widely these exactions spread, and how they affected the poorest classes of society. It shows, too, the utter insecurity of all these debts, and that the Jews, almost the only holders of that rare commodity, money, could hardly be expected to refrain from making as rich a harvest as possible during their short gleam of broken sunshine.

¹ Cited by M. Depping. Compare his book, p. 180.

It is time to proceed to our melancholy task, the rapid picture of the Iron Age of Judaism in the West. The first dark scene in our tragic drama is laid in a country where we should least expect to find it, the Arabian kingdom of Grenada. It took place when the Golden Age was in all its brightness, a foreshadowing of darkness to come. It was brought on by the imprudent zeal of the Jews. The nation was in the highest degree of prosperity and esteem: R. Samuel Levi was at once prince of his own nation and vizier of the king, Mohammed ben Gehwar, when one of the Wise Men, Joseph Halleui, attempted to make converts among the Moslemites. The stern orthodoxy of Islamism took fire, the rash teachers were hanged, the race persecuted, and fifteen hundred families, of whom it was said that he who had not heard of their splendor, their glory, and their prosperity, had heard nothing, sank into disgrace and destitution.¹

A few years after, the Christian monarch, Ferdinand the Great, as though determined not to be outdone in religious zeal by his rival, the Moslemite king, before he undertook a war against the Moors, determined to let loose the sword against the Jews in his own territories. To their honor, the clergy interfered, prevented the massacre, and secured not only the approval of their own consciences, but likewise that of the Pope, Alexander the Second, who, citing the example of his predecessor, Gregory the Great, highly commended their humanity.² The sterner Hildebrand assumed a different tone; he rebuked Alfonso the Sixth for having

¹ Basnage, ix. 5. This was near a century before the persecution from which Maimonides took refuge in Egypt.

² "Noverit prudentia vestra nobis placuisse quod Judæos qui sub vestra potestate habitant, tutati estis ne occiderentur: non enim gaudet Deus effusione sanguinis, neque lætatur perditione malorum." Alexander II Berengario, Vice-Comiti Narbonensi (circa 1061).

made laws restoring to the Jews certain rights, submitting, as the Pontiff declared, the Church to the synagogue of devils.¹ During this whole period of contest between the Christians for the recovery of Spain and the Mussulmans in their desperate defence of their conquests, the Jews stood on a perilous neutral ground. Their creed was obnoxious in different degrees to both. If they could have lived a peaceful life, they were disposed to submit quietly to the conqueror: but their wealth tempted the cupidity of both; both were inclined to employ them in the unpopular but lucrative functions of financiers and tax-gatherers; and their own propensities to gain induced them to undertake these offices under Christian or Mohammedan rulers.

Of all people the zealous Jews must have beheld with the greatest amazement the preparations for the Crusades, when the whole Christian world, from the king to the peasant, was suddenly seized with a resolution to conquer the Holy Land of *their* fathers, in order that they might be masters of the sepulchre of the crucified Nazarene. Though they had been so long exiled from that holy soil, though the few Jews who dwelt in Palestine were but as strangers in the land, Jewish tradition had still clung, as has been said, with undying fondness to their rightful ownership, to the hopes of returning to that blessed country. Their restoration to Judæa, to Jerusalem, was to be the great work—the final triumph of the Messiah, whensoever or wheresoever He should appear. And now of that

¹ “Dilectionem tuam monemus ut in terrâ tuâ Judæos Christianis dominari, vel supra eos potestatem exercere, ulterius nullatenus sinas. Quid est enim Judæis Christianos supponere vel hos eorum judicio subjicere, nisi ecclesiam Dei suppressere et Satanæ synagogam exaltare, et dum inimici Christi velis placere, ipsum Christum contemnere.” Greg. VII. Epist. apud Baronius, sub. ann. 1080.

land to breathe the air of which was wisdom, to tread the soil of which seemed to the living happiness, to the buried a share in the first resurrection, the Christians were about to usurp the lordship. The followers of Jesus, the false Messiah, were to take possession of the realm which awaited the coming of the true Messiah.

But the times must have opened a most extensive field for traffic and usury; and no doubt the Jews, suppressing their astonishment, did not scruple to avail themselves of such a golden opportunity of gain. Nothing was too valuable, too dear, or too sacred, but that it might be parted with to equip the soldier of the Cross. If the more prudent and less zealous monarchs, like our William the Second, or nobles or churchmen, profited by the reckless ardor of their compatriots to appropriate, at the lowest prices, their fair fields and goodly inheritances, no doubt the Jews wrung no unprofitable bargains from the lower class of more needy and as reckless adventurers. Arms and money must be had;¹ and the merchant or usurer might dictate his own terms.

But little did this prudent people foresee the storm which impended over them.² The nation was widely

¹ Even towards the close of the Crusades the princes, knights, even the clergy, were dependent on Jewish money-lenders for the sums requisite for their own equipment and that of their followers. The Lateran Council, which is the fullest exposition of the privileges of the Crusaders, contains the following canon: — “*Judæos vero ad remittendas usuras per sæcularem compelli præcipimus potestatem, et donec illis remiserint ab universis Christi fidelibus per excommunicationis sententiam eis omnino communicatio denegatur. His autem qui Judæis debita solvere nequeunt in præsentem, sic Principes sæculares utili dilatione provideant: quod post iter arreptum, usquequo de eorum obitu vel reditu certissime cognoscatur, usurarum incommoda non incurrant, compulsis Judæis proventus pignorum, quos interim ipsi perceperint in sortem, expensis deductis necessariis, computare, cum hujusmodi beneficium non multum videatur habere dispendii, quod solutionem sic prorogat, quod debitum non absorbet.*” Mansi, Concil. xxii. p. 1097, *et seq.*

² The Jews had been accused, at an earlier period, the beginning of the

dispersed in Germany ; some statutes of King Ladislaus show their existence in Hungary ; in Bohemia they had rendered good service, and lived on amicable terms with the Christians ; in Franconia they were numerous ; but their chief numbers and wealth were found in the flourishing cities along the banks of the Moselle and the Rhine. When the first immense horde of undisciplined fanatics of the lowest order, under the command of Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless, and under the guidance of a goose and a goat, assembled near the city of Treves, a murmur rapidly spread through the camp, that while they were advancing to recover the sepulchre of their Redeemer from the Infidels, they were leaving behind worse unbelievers, the murderers of the Lord.¹ In the words of Jewish tradition, no doubt generally faithful in its record of their calamities, “the abominable Germans and French rose up against them, — people of a fierce countenance that have no respect to the persons of the old, neither have they mercy upon the young, — and they said, ‘Let us be revenged for our Messiah upon the Jews that are among us, and let us destroy them from being a nation, that the name of Israel may be had no more in remembrance ; so shall they change their glory and be like unto us ; then will we go to the East.’” With one impulse the Crusaders rushed to

11th century, of stimulating the persecutions of the Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem by the Mohammedan Sultans Azed and Hakim in Egypt. These sovereigns had destroyed the Christian temple over the Holy Sepulchre. Cedrenus. ii. 486 (Edit. Bonn); Zonaras. Radulph Glaber has a story of the persecutions of the Jews at Orleans on account of (premature) information given to the Mussulmans of an intended crusade. Compare Le Beau, *Hist. du Bas Empire*, xiv. p. 202.

¹ “Nos Dei hostes, inquit, Orientem versus, longis terrarum tractibus transmissis, desideramus aggredi, cum ante oculos sint Judæi, quibus inimicitior extitit gens nulla Dei.” Guibert Abbas, ad ann. 1095.

the city, and began a relentless pillage, violation, and massacre of every Jew they could find. In this horrible day men were seen to slay their own children, to save them from the worse usage of these savages. Women, having deliberately tied stones round themselves that they might sink, plunged from the bridge, to save their honor and escape baptism. Their husbands had rather send them to the bosom of Abraham than leave them to the mercy, or rather the lustful cruelties, of the Christians.¹ The rest fled to the bishop's palace as a place of refuge. They were received by the bishop, Engelbert, with these words:—"Wretches, your sins have come upon you; ye who have blasphemed the Son of God and calumniated His Mother. This is the cause of your present miseries,—this, if ye persist in your obduracy, will destroy you body and soul forever." He reproached them with their disregard of Daniel's prophecy of our Lord's coming, and promised protection to their persons, and respect to their property, on their conversion and baptism. Micha, the head of the Jews, mildly requested instruction in the Christian tenets; the bishop repeated a short creed; the Jews, in the agony of terror, assented. The same bloody scenes were repeated in Metz, in Spiers, in Worms, in Mayence, in Cologne. It was the Sabbath in Spiers; ten were slain; a woman killed herself to escape pollution. The bishop (all bishops were not like Engelbert of Treves) saved the rest, for, says Jewish tradition, "he had compassion on them, and he delivered them out of the power of the enemy."

¹ Brower, *Ann. Trevirenses*, i. p. 571, describes this scene, and would persuade his readers that the Jews were driven to desperation only by their fears. He says nothing of the previous massacre. The Jews "*non parcerunt ætati, cui etiam Christiani pepercissent.*" The affair at the bridge he turns against the Jews: "*Liberos parentes letho ipsi potius quam offerri baptismo vellent stolidè jactitabant.*"

The bishop is accused, not by the Jews, of having received a large bribe for his mercy. Did his Christian flock suppose that his humanity could not be accounted for but by his venality? In Worms the Jews took refuge in the bishop's palace; all their houses were pulled down; all that had not escaped were put to the sword. The books of the Law were trampled underfoot; none were spared but children and sucklings, who were forcibly baptized, in Jewish language, "defiled with the proud water." Many killed themselves; the brother slew his brother, the neighbor his neighbor, the father his sons and daughters, the bridegroom his bride, the husband the wife of his bosom. The bishop's house was surprised; all, except a very small remnant, fell by the hands of the murderers or their own. About eight hundred perished; a young Levite stabbed a noble kinsman of the bishop, and of course was cut to pieces. In Mayence again they fled to the bishop's palace, but in vain; a massacre of 1300 took place; the women killed themselves, and some of the old men covered themselves with their praying garments, and said, "He is the Rock; his works are perfect." Sixty lay concealed in the bishop's treasure-house; they fled to the Rheingau to their brethren there, were pursued and slain, all but two, Uri and Isaac, who were forcibly baptized. Isaac's two daughters were also forcibly baptized. Isaac slew his polluted daughters, lit a fire in his house, and offered a burnt-offering as an atonement; then the two went into the synagogue, and, as they saw the flame arise, slew themselves. In Cologne the terror was overwhelming, but here the power of the bishop, again the protector of the Jews, was more equal to his humanity. The synagogues were sacked, the books of the Law trampled in the dust; but the

bishop sent them into the neighboring villages, with directions that they should be well treated. One obstinate man, probably a Rabbi, Isaac, refused to fly; he was dragged into the church, where he spat upon and blasphemed the Image; he was put to death, and his death, with that of a woman, are the only murders recorded at Cologne in the Jewish Chronicle.¹ The locust band passed on;² everywhere the tracks of the Crusaders were deeply marked with Jewish blood. A troop, under Count Emico, offered the same horrid sacrifices to the God of Mercy, in the cities on the Maine and the Danube, even as far as Hungary, where the influence of the king, Coloman, could not arrest his violence.³ How little horror these massacres ex-

¹ Many of these incidents are from the very curious Chronicle of Rabbi Joseph ben Joshua ben Meir, the Sphardi, translated from the Hebrew for the Oriental Fund by C. H. F. Bialloblotsky, London, 1835. The names of other cities and towns in the book of R. Joshua are so disguised that it is impossible to make them out. Some of the scenes, especially that in Mirah, are very striking. It is curious to compare the general tone of the monkish annalists of the Crusades: "Per orbem universum omnium Christianorum consensu decretum est, ut omnes Judæi ab illorum terris vel civitatibus funditus pellerentur. Hique universi odio habiti, expulsi de civitatibus, alii gladiis trucidati, alii fluminibus necati, diversisque mortium generibus interempti. Nonnulli etiam sese diversâ clade interemerunt." Radulph. The Chronicon Virdun. says, "Quamquam a multis improbetur factum et religioni adversari judicetur." Apud Bouquet, xiii. That they sent all these Jews to hell (ad Tartara demittunt) is a common phrase. The number of the Jews massacred is of course variously stated. Some Jewish accounts give only 5000, seemingly heads of families. Aventinus (Annal. Bohem.) gives 12,000 in Bavaria and the cities on the Danube. The Add. to Lambert of Aschaffenburg thus relates the massacre at Mayence: "Apud Magonantium vero utriusque sexus Judæi numero mille et quatuor decem interfecti sunt, et *mazima pars civitatis exusta est*. Judæi qui per diversas provincias, metu compellente, Christiani facti sunt, iterum a Christianitate paulatim recesserunt." Sub ann. 1097. Compare Sig. Gembl. sub ann. 1096.

² It is curious that R. Joshua (my book was written before the appearance of the translation) uses the same image: "The locusts have no honey, and yet go they forth, all of them, by bands." Prov. xxx. 27, p. 30.

³ Macius represents less favourably the conduct of the King of Hungary. "Rexque Ungarorum, persuasus principibus hoc facere, non restitit." c. xv.

cited may be judged from the coolness with which they are related by the faithful representatives of the spirit of the times, the monkish historians. The Emperor Henry the Fourth alone saw their atrocity; in an edict issued from Ratisbon, he permitted such Jews as had been baptized by force to resume their religion, and ordered their property to be restored. At this period many took refuge in Silesia and Poland.

Nor were the persecutions of the Jews in the First Crusade confined to Europe. On the capture of Jerusalem by Godfrey of Boulogne, all the Jews in the Holy City — so reports Jewish tradition — were put to the sword by the devout worshippers of Him who wept over the foreseen doom of the children of Jerusalem on its first capture.¹

Half a century elapsed for the Jews to multiply again their devoted race, and to heap up new treasures to undergo their inalienable doom of pillage and massacre. A second storm was seen gathering in the distance; and, like a bird of evil omen which predicts the tempest, the monk Rodolph passed through the cities of Germany to preach the duty of wreaking vengeance on all the enemies of God. The terrible cry of "HEP," the signal for the massacre of the Jews (supposed to be an abbreviation of "*Hierosolyma est perdita*" — *Jerusalem is lost*) ran through the cities of the Rhine. The Jews knew who were included under the fatal designation of Christ's enemies; some made a timely retreat, but frightful havoc took place in Cologne, Mayence, Worms, Spiers, and Strasburg. They found an unexpected protector, the holy St. Bernard,²

¹ Dr. Zunz, Notes to Benjamin of Tudela, pp. 89, 396.

² I have elsewhere observed the curious fact, that of the biographers of St. Bernard among the moderns are two converted Jews, Neander and the Père Ravaignan.

who openly reprobated these barbarities, and, in a letter to the Bishop of Spiers, declared that the Jews were neither to be persecuted nor put to death, nor even driven into exile. Jewish tradition does justice to St. Bernard: "And he [God] sent after this Belial [Rodolph the Monk] the Abbot St. Bernard from Clairvaux, a city that is in Tzarphath [France]. And he called also after their manner, saying, 'Let us go up into Zion, to the sepulchre of the Messiah. But take thou heed that thou speak to the Jews neither good nor bad, for whosoever toucheth them is like as if he had touched the apple of the eye of Jesus; for they are His flesh and bone; and my disciple Rodolph has not spoken aright — for of them it is said in the Psalms, "Slay them not, lest my people forget."'" . . .

And he took no ransom of the Jews, for he spake good of Israel from his heart. . . . If it had not been for the compassion of the Lord that He had sent this priest, there would have none escaped or remained of these. Blessed be he that ransometh and delivereth!" In other places, to which St. Bernard's influence did not extend, the Jews bought security at a heavy price.¹ If in truth St. Bernard was disposed to mercy, other churchmen, who approached the nearest to St. Bernard

¹ "And in other places the Jews gave their silver and their gold to deliver their lives from destruction; they withheld nothing from them of all they demanded, and the Lord delivered them." R. Joshua, p. 119. In Cologne an aged Jew refused to submit to baptism. A fierce Crusader struck off his head, placed it on the roof of a house, and trampled the body underfoot. The Jews appealed to the mayor; the body was removed and buried in their cemetery. They purchased of the bishop, by pledging their houses and all their property in the city, the strong castle of Wolkenberg, in which they defied the wild assaults of the rabble. A murder was committed on two young Jews near Wolkenberg. The Jews bought of the bishop the surrender of the murderer. They put out his eyes; he died in three days. The Jews' fierce exultation of triumph was, "Thus may all thy enemies be destroyed, O Lord!" p. 121.

in influence and authority, spoke a different language. Peter the Venerable, the Abbot of Clugny, addressed a letter to the King of France, denouncing the wickedness of sparing the most detestable and impious Jews, while they wage war on the less detestable and impious Saracens.¹ He would not condemn them to a general massacre (such was his mercy), but in pure charity only to general pillage. For their great crime, according to Peter the Venerable, besides their obduracy and blindness to the Saviour, was not their cruel and grinding usury, but the receiving of stolen goods, the furniture and sacred vessels of the Church, which they treated with contumely so dreadful that it might not be thought of, much less described in words.²

¹ "Sed quid proderit inimicos Christianæ spei in exteris aut remotis finibus insequi ac persequi, si nequam blasphemi, *longè Saracenis deteriores* Judæi, non longè a nobis, sed in medio nostro, tam libere, tam audacter, Christum, cunctaque Christiana Sacramenta, impune blasphemaverint, conculcaverint, deturpaverint. . . . Si detestandi sunt Saraceni (quia quamvis Christum de Virgine, ut nos, natum fateantur, multaque nobiscum de ipso sentiunt, tamen Deum, Deique filium quod magis est, negant, mortemque ipsius ac resurrectionem, in quibus tota summa salutis nostra est, diffitentur), quantum execrandi et odio habendi sunt Judæi, qui nihil prorsus de Christo vel fide Christianâ sentientes, ipsum virgineum partum, cunctaque redemptionis humanæ sacramenta abjiciunt, blasphemant, sub-sannant!"

² "Non inquam ut occidantur admoneo, sed ut congruente nequitiae suæ modo puniantur, exhortor. Et quid congruentius ad puniendos illos impios modus, quam ille quo et damnatur iniquitas, et *adjuvatur charitas*. Quid justius quam ut his quæ fraudulenter lucrati sunt, destituantur; quæ nequiter furati sunt, ut furibus, et quod pejus est, hucusque audacibus et impunitis, auferantur! Quod loquor omnibus notum est; non enim de simplici agricultura, non de legali militia, non de quolibet honesto et utili officio, horrea sua frugibus, cellaria vino, marsupia nummis, arcas auro vel argento cumulant, quantum de his, quæ ut dixi dolose Christicolis subtrahunt; de his quæ furtim furibus empta vili pretio res carissimas comparant." He goes on to say that the Jews bought of thieves censers, crosses, consecrated chalices; that they insulted these holy vessels. ". . . quia, ut a veracibus viris audiavi, eis usibus cœlestia illa vasa ad ejusdem Christi nostrumque dedecus nefandum illi applicant, quos horrendum est cogitare, et detestandum dicere." Petri Venerab. Epist.

Peter arraigns a royal statute, an antiquated and diabolic statute,¹ which secured the Jews in the possession of such property, and did not compel them to declare from whence they had obtained it. The Abbot forgot the ordinances which had so frequently prohibited the clergy from selling or pawning the sacred treasures. The law may have been intended to shield such ecclesiastics from shame and punishment. With the zealous Peter these men perhaps were no better than thieves, thus alienating the inalienable property of their churches. His conclusion is² that it was just that the Jews should be plundered without scruple or remorse, in order that the expense of a war against one race of Infidels should be maintained by the ill-gotten and justly confiscated wealth of another race of Infidels. Throughout this Crusade the absence of the Emperor Conrad in the Holy Land deprived the Jews of their legal protector, so that many cruel acts of individual murder took place, despite the merciful intervention of St. Bernard and the Pope, at Mayence, at Bacharach, at Aschaffenburg (where a woman drowned herself to avoid baptism), at Würzburg, where the rabble

¹ "Insuper ut tam nefarium furum Judæorumque commercium tutius esset, lex jam vetusta, sed vere diabolica, ab ipsis Christianis principibus processit, ut si res ecclesiastica, vel quod deterius aliquod sacrum vas apud Judæum repertum fuerit, nec rem sacrilego furto possessam reddere, nec usquam furem Judæus prodere compellatur. Manet inultum scelus detestabile in Judæo, quod horridâ morte suspendii punitur in Christiano. Pinguescit deinde et deliciis affluit Judæus, unde laqueo suspenditur Christianus."

² Auferatur ergo vel ex maximâ parte imminuatur Judaicarum divitiarum male parta pinguedo; et Christianos exercitus, qui ut Saracenos expugnet, pecuniis vel terris propriis Christi Domini sui amore non parcat, Judæorum thesauris tam male acquisitis non parcat. Reservetur eis vita, auferatur pecunia, ut per dextras Christianorum adjutas pecuniis blasphemantium Judæorum expugnetur infidelium audacia Saracenorum. Hæc tibi, benigne, Rex, scripsi, amore Christi, tuique atque exercitus Christiani." Epist. Petri Venerab. apud Bouquet, xv. p. 641.

accused them of drowning a young man who was made a martyr. The army passed on, as the Jews record with triumph, to perish by plague, famine, and the sword. "The Jews returned to dwell in quiet throughout the land of Ashkinaz [Germany]." An attempt to raise the old terrible cry of Hep, before the Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa, was put down by the stern vigor of the Emperor. The Jews testified their gratitude by lavish presents.¹ The Pope, Eugenius the Third, espoused the same humane part; and it has been conjectured that his release of all debts due to Jewish usurers was a kind of charitable injustice, to diminish the general odium against this unhappy people. The turbulent Rodolph was shut up in his cloister.

These atrocities, however (and I cannot lament my want of space, which prevents me from entering more at large into such and similar crimes), were the acts of a fanatic mob in the highest state of religious intoxication. We must now behold a mighty sovereign and his barons uniting in deeds, if less sanguinary, not less unjust. Both in the North and South of France, the Jews were numerous and wealthy.² They boast that they were as numerous as when they went forth from Egypt.³ In the South they were the most flourishing; they were more mingled with the people, were not entirely dispossessed of their landed property, and

¹ R. Joshua, 186.

² See the payments made by the Jews to the Bishop of Beziers, *Hist. de Languedoc*, ii. 293 (*Preuves*, 209). William Viscount of Montpellier, grants the appointment of a Jew (or Saracen) as Bayle in Montpellier, p. 442 (A. C. 1146). *Preuves*, p. 46. Lands pledged to Jews, *ib.* (*Preuves*, p. 101).

³ "Tantus vero tamque innumerabilis in illis regnis propemodum Judæorum numerus fuit ut altero tanto plures fuisse dixeris quam olim ex Egypto egressi sunt." Schevet Judah, 186.

were sometimes called to manage the finances of the great feudatories. In Narbonne, according to Benjamin of Tudela, who visited them, they held great domains under the protection of the princes of the land. In Beziers, in Montpellier, they still drove a most prosperous traffic. They had great establishments in Lunel, where there was a famous synagogue, in St. Gilles, in Arles, in Carcassonne. In Toulouse, Roger, Viscount of Carcassonne, had a Jew for his minister of finance. In these and other southern cities lived their most distinguished Rabbis, and flourished their most prosperous schools. In the North they were spread throughout the country; hardly a large city or town was without them. Their synagogues in Troyes, Dijon, Macon, vied in the learning of their Rabbis, and in the wealth of the communities, with Beziers, Montpellier, and Marseilles. While the Christians were but scantily instructed in the cathedral schools, the Jewish seminaries of learning flourished in many cities. But Paris was their headquarters. Jewish tradition and the monkish Christian annals agree in their numbers, their wealth, their luxury; they had numerous households, domestic servants, "worshippers of strange gods;" the Christianity of those days was idolatry to the Jews. That they possessed, in Paris and its neighborhood, lands, houses, meadows, vineyards, barns, and other immovable property, was sadly shown when the edict for the confiscation of all these possessions was issued. It is said by the monkish writers that they owned half Paris.¹

¹ "And the Jews multiplied in Paris in those days, and waxed very mighty in riches and goods, and they took unto themselves man-servants and maid-servants, the daughters of strange gods, from every one whom they chose." R. Joseph, p. 191.

"Siquidem . . . multitudo maxima Judæorum Parisiis habitabat, quæ

But public detestation lowered upon them with a threatening aspect. Stories were now propagated, and found an easy belief among ignorant and prejudiced minds, of the most blasphemous and sanguinary crimes perpetrated by the Jews. A renegade monk accused them of intelligence with the infidel sovereigns of Palestine. No deaths could take place under mysterious circumstances but, if Jews were to be found, the Jews were guilty of the murder. It was generally believed that they often decoyed Christian children into their houses, and crucified them alive ;¹ that, by bribery or theft, they would obtain possession of the consecrated Host, and submit it to every kind of insult. Yet both king and nobles felt that to this odious race they stood in the humiliating relation of debtors. The lavish expenditure caused by the Crusades, and the heavy exactions of the government, made it necessary to raise

de diversis orbis partibus ob pacis diuturnitatem illuc convenerat." Vincent de Beauvais, quoted in the *Fortalitium Fidei*, p. 193. "Ubi longam habentes conversationem in tantum ditati sunt quod fere *medietatem* totius civitatis sibi vindicaverant." Vincent de Beauvais and Rigord (Bouquet, xvii.) use the same words.

¹ It was the same in Germany. See in R. Joshua, where they are accused of throwing a child into the water (in that case there was no child), and of having drowned a Gentile girl who had fallen into the Rhine near Biberich. When they arrived at Cologne, all who were in the Jewish barges were thrown into the river, and there was a general cry to force the Jews to be baptized. It must be added that the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa seized the opportunity of fining the city of Cologne 500 pieces of gold, the bishop 4200. p. 178.

"Certissimè enim" (so writes an author quoted in the *Fortalitium Fidei*) "comptum est quod omni anno in qualibet provincia sortes mittuntur, quæ civitas vel oppidum Christianum sanguinem aliis civitatibus tradat." "And they began to hate them more, and found false accusations against them, saying that every year they nailed a Gentile on a cross in a cave; and so they embittered their lives." R. Joshua. The monk Rigord is even more minute and particular. He says that the Jews every year, at Easter, descended into their caves, and perpetrated the cruel and impious rite. Rigord, in Bouquet, or in Guizot, Coll. des Mémoires.

money on any terms.¹ Their only alternative lay between the Jews and the few Lombard money-lenders, whom St. Bernard seems to mean when he denounces certain Christians as more extortionate usurers than the Jews. Thus the Jews had a hold upon almost all the estates of the country; they had mortgages on half Paris, — this perhaps was their ownership, — and scarcely any one but had some article in pawn; even the clergy, whose pleasures were not without expense, had still committed vessels, reliquaries, even reliques, to the profane hands of these relentless extortioners, who probably scrupled little to wring the greatest profit from the general distress.² These vessels they were charged with misusing in the most revolting and contemptuous manner; they made the chalices serve as porringers for their children. The Jews stood to the rest of society something in the relation of the patricians in early Rome and in Athens to the impoverished commonalty, but without their power; it is said, indeed, that they imprisoned their debtors in their own houses.³ Such was the state of affairs on the accession of the ambitious Philip Augustus. The predecessor

¹ See the remarkable letter of Innocent III., quoted above, to the Count of Nevers. Not only were the widows and orphans despoiled of their inheritance, but the Church of her tithes, "*Cum Judæi castella et villas detineant occupata, qui ecclesiarum prælati de parochiali jure contemnunt penitus respondere.*" *Epist.* x. 190. Also to the Bishop of Auxerre, "*Judæi qui cum villas, prædia et vineas emerant decimus ex eisdem ecclesiis et personis ecclesiasticis debitas reddere contradicunt.*" *Epist.* x. 61.

² "*Sed et vasa sacra pro instante ecclesiæ necessitate sibi nomine vadei supposita tam viliter tractant, quod eorum infantes in calicibus offas in vino fartas comedebant, et cum eis bibebant.*" Quoted in *Fortalitium Fidei*. "And they laid against them false accusations, saying, 'Ye take the silver vessels and the goblets which are in the churches as a pledge, and despise them, and give to drink out of them unto your sons and your daughters for the sake of displaying them.'" *R. Joshua*, p. 191.

³ "*Alii Parisiis in domibus Judæorum sub juramento adstricto, quasi in carcere tenebantur captivi.*" *Rigord*, apud *Bouquet*, xvii.

of Philip Augustus, Louis VII., though he had passed a severe law against Jewish converts to Christianity who had relapsed to Judaism, punishing them with death and mutilation, yet had been so mild to the Jews as to merit a rebuke from Pope Alexander III. It is his reproach by a historian of the day, that, though a defender of the Church, yet from excessive cupidity he had favored the Jews too much, and given them privileges contrary to the laws of God and of the realm.¹ During the youth of Philip Augustus, it is said that a Jew (whether, as is often the case, the frequent mention of a crime had excited some man of disordered imagination to perpetrate it) had crucified a youth named Richard at Pontoise;² the body was brought to Paris, and wrought many miracles. No sooner had Philip ascended the throne, than he took a short way to relieve his burdened subjects, by an edict which confiscated all debts due to the Jews, and commanded them to surrender all pledges in their hands.³

¹ Apud Bouquet, xii. p. 186.

² "Saint Richard, dont le corps repose dans l'Eglise de S. Innocent des Champeaux à Paris, fut ainsi égorgé et crucifié par les Juifs, et merite par ce martyre de monter dans le royaume des cieux." Rigord, in Guizot, p. 15.

Jost seems to admit the truth of the crucifixion of Richard of Pontoise, I know not on what grounds. I can conceive such things at a later period of the persecutions. At such later period Rabbi Joseph acknowledges that in the city of Nosa (?) in Germany, a Hebrew, a foolish man, met a Gentile girl, and slaughtered her and cast her into the midst of a well, before the face of the sun, *for he raved with madness*. The result was a rising of the people, in which the murderer was killed; many Jews were broken on the wheel, among them the brothers of the murderer. His mother was buried alive. The bishop exacted a heavy fine from all the Jews. p. 219.

³ The hatred of the Jews to Philip Augustus was indelible. R. Joseph thus announces his birth: "And in his old age he [Louis VII.] begat a son, and he called his name Philip, and by surname Deodatus, and others called him Augustus; and he was an oppressor of the Jews from his birth, and from the womb, and from his conception." p. 141.

"And Philip (he came to the throne at fifteen) was pleasing in the sight

Among the effects a golden crucifix, and a Gospel, adorned with precious stones, were found. Soon after this the Jews were peacefully assembled in their synagogues on the Sabbath (February 14),¹ when suddenly all these buildings were surrounded by the royal troops, the Jews dragged to prison, while the officers took possession of their houses. A new edict followed (April), which confiscated all their immovable goods, houses, vineyards, fields, barns, wine-presses, to the use of the king and his successors,² and commanded them instantly to sell their movables and to depart from the kingdom. As they had in vain appealed to the king, who was as hard as a rock or as iron,³ so in vain they appealed to the nobles and to the ministers of the Gospel. Holy bishops as well as fierce barons closed their ears against the supplications of unfortunate creditors and obstinate unbelievers. Obligated to part with

of his servants, because he was an oppressor of the Jews. And when he was chosen, he executed judgments among them, for they accused them wrongfully; but every year they shed innocent blood, and Israel was brought very low." p. 176.

1 "Venerabilis ergo Philippus rex quod vivente patre diu mente clausum gestaverat et ob patris reverentiam perficere formidaverat, in ipso regni initio zelo Dei flammatus, aggressus est. Nam ad ipsius mandatum capti sunt Judæi per totam Franciam in Synagogis suis in Sabbato." Vincent. Bellov. in Fortalit. Fidei. As Philip's accession was at the age of fifteen, he must have been a precocious persecutor. Alberic des Trois Fontaines thus relates the act of Philip, sub ann. 1182: "Et quia Judæos odio habebat et multos in eis de nomine Jesu Christi blasphemare audebat, omnes eorum debitores a debitis absolvit, quintâ parte summæ fisco retentâ, et eodem anno omnes de regno ejecit, datis prius induciis vendendi supellectiles suas, et parandi ea quæ necessaria sunt egressui, antequam eos omnino ejiceret. Domos autem et vineas et alias possessiones retinuit fisco."

2 "Quant à leurs domaines tels que maisons, champs, vignes, granges, pressoirs, et autres immeubles, il (le Roi) s'en reserve la propriété pour ses successeurs en trône de France et pour lui." Rigord.

3 "Il eut été plus facile d'attendrir les rochers, et changer le fer en plomb, que de faire renoncer l'âme du Roi très Crétien, à la resolution que Dieu lui avait inspiré." Rigord.

their effects at the lowest prices, the Jews sadly departed, amid the execrations of the people, and bearing away little but their destitute wives and children, from the scenes of their birth and infancy. Some submitted to conversion ; some offered, in vain, splendid presents to the king and to the nobles. The decree was rigidly executed in the royal domains ;¹ in the South of France the great vassals paid less respect to the royal edict, even where it had authority, and the Jews were still found in those provinces, sometimes in offices of trust.

But, strange as it might appear to them, the nation was neither more wealthy nor the public burdens less grievous, after this summary mode of wiping off the national debt. Before twenty years had elapsed, France beheld her haughty monarch bargaining with this detested race for their readmission into the country, and, what is no less extraordinary,² the Jews, forgetting all past injustice, in the steady pursuit of gain, on the faith of such a king, settling again in

¹ In 1181, when Philip Augustus banished the Jews from his kingdom, they had two synagogues in Paris: one in the City, Rue de la Juiverie, was, after their expulsion, turned into a church, by the name of S. Mary Magdalene in the City; the other was in the Rue de la Tacherie, which formerly had the name of La Juiverie. In 1198, when recalled into France by the same king, they repaired the synagogue in the Rue de la Tacherie, and established a second in an ancient tower of one of the walls of Paris, near the cloister of S. Jean de Grève. This tower and the adjacent street were called "Pet au Diable," in mockery, it is said, of this synagogue. They had two cemeteries, one in the Rue Galande, the other at the bottom of the Rue de la Harpe, near the banks of the Seine; lower down on the river was a mill for their exclusive use. They had afterwards establishments in the Cul de Sac de S. Faron, Rue de la Tisanderie, hence called Cul de Sac des Juifs, in the Rue de Judas, Mont S. Genéviève, in the Rue des Lombards, in the Rue Quincampoix in the City, and in the Enceinte du Palais. From Dulaure, Hist. de Paris, i. p. 526.

² Ordonnance des Rois, 1198. "And in the year 4958 Philip, the king of Tzarpath (France) allowed the Jews to dwell in Paris *against the will of the nation*, but they did not lengthen out their days there, for they cast them out a second time into another country." R. Joseph, p. 220.

this inhospitable kingdom,¹ and filling many streets of Paris which were assigned for their residence. It was not till twenty years after, that an edict was issued to regulate their usurious exactions and the persons to whom it might be lawful to lend money. This ordinance, by tacitly sanctioning all transactions but those inhibited, recognized at once the extent, the legality, and the importance of these affairs. The Jews became as it were the standing and authorized money-lenders of the realm. They were forbidden to lend to those who lived by daily labor, and therefore had nothing to pledge for their debts, — to any monk or regular canon, without consent of the abbot or his chapter, signified in their letters-patent. They were forbidden to take in pawn any church-ornaments, any vestment stained with blood, any ploughshare, any animal used in husbandry, or unwinnowed corn. Knight, burgess, or merchant must give an assignment of some hereditament, tenement, or rent, with consent of the lord. The Jew was rescued from violence in enforcing his just demands. The interest was limited to two deniers on the livre per week (more than 40 per cent.). The other articles of this decree regulated the payment of existing debts. Philip Augustus and some of his barons made another ordinance for the regulation of debts to Jews. It enforced their having a common seal as the register of their debts under appointed officers. This ordinance limited the interest

¹ Jost is almost as indignant against his forefathers as against the king: "Beide Theile machten sich keine Erklärungen, keine Ehrenrettungs-Versuche, keine Versprechungen: Beide Theile waren geldgierig, und beide schlossen den Vergleich, jeder in der Absicht den andern zu betrücken: die Juden wollten durch Wucher die alten Verluste ersetzen; der König hoffte durch sie seinen Schatz zu füllen; wenigstens nahm er vorher so viel, dass er dem andern Theile Zeit lassen konnte sich zu erholen." vi. p. 272.

to the same amount; all old debts were to be resealed on a stated day. If the debtor was on his travels, the debt was to be officially recorded and the interest due thereon. No church-property was to be pledged without the assent of the count or baron. As soon as a loan is paid over to a debtor, both parties shall swear that the sum received is in accordance with the agreement; if this is not done, the creditor loses his right, the debtor is liable to punishment by the king. No debt is good without the signature and seal of the parties, unless the Jew has some gold, silver, or valuable article in pawn. Two substantial men in each city shall keep, one the seal, the other the roll of the debt. These men must take an oath not to affix the seal without having carefully investigated the transaction; every town shall keep a notary for Jewish business, and give security for the accuracy of all the legal instruments. In the South the condition of the Jews was still comparatively prosperous; it was among the bitter charges of Pope Innocent the Third against Raymond, the heretical Count of Toulouse, that he employed Jews in high official situations.

On the accession of Louis VIII., A. C. 1223, he gratified his impoverished barons with a new decree, which at once annulled all future interest on debts due to the Jews, and commanded the payment of the capital within three years, at three separate instalments.¹ The Jews were declared attached to the soil, and assigned as property to the feudatories,² or rather recognized as

¹ *Ordonnances des Rois*, A. C. 1298. Second Ordinance, Sept. 1.

² *Ordonnances des Rois*, i. 47. See the words of the statute in Hallam, *Middle Ages*, i. p. 167. The preamble is declared to be enacted, "*per assensum Archiepiscoporum, Episcoporum, Comitum, Baronum et Militum*"

property belonging to them of right; no one might receive or retain the Jew of another. In the crusade against Raymond, the seventh Count of Toulouse, it was among the terms of his submission, that he should no longer employ Jewish officers.

Louis IX. ascended the throne A. C. 1226; a man whose greatness and whose weakness make us alternately applaud and reprobate his claim to the designation of Saint. But his greatness was his own, his weakness that of his age. Unhappily it was this darker part of his character which necessarily predominated in his transactions with the Jews. Already during his minority an edict had been passed, again prohibiting all future interest on debts due to Jews. Louis himself entered into the policy of forcing them to give up what was considered the nefarious trade of usury. Another law (soon after his accession) recognized the property of each baron in his Jews, whom he might seize by force on the estate of another.¹ In 1234, Louis, for the welfare of his soul, the souls of his father and all his ancestors, annulled one third of all debts

regni Franciæ qui Judæos habent et qui non habent." A. C. 1223. "Ordinavimus de statu Judæorum quod nullus nostrum alterius Judæos recipere potest vel retinere." It was revised with some alterations in 1230.

In 1278 the seneschal of Carcassonne is ordered to compel the Jews, who had transferred themselves from the Jewry of the king (the king had by this time acquired greater power in the South) in Beziers to that of the bishop, to return to their former synagogue. The bishop was fined and ordered to destroy the new synagogue which he had built for them. *Hist. de l'anguedoc*, iv. p. 27. They are said to be "taillables à la volonté" of their lords. iv. 75-98.

¹ "Ubiunque aliquis invenerit Judæum suum licitè capere poterit tanquam proprium servum." On this M. Depping justly observes, "C'est ainsi que les planteurs d'Amérique reclamaient leurs nègres partoût où ceux-ci se sont réfugiés. Les Juifs soumis aux Barons n'étaient donc guère meilleurs que les esclaves dans les colonies, si n'est qu'on les laissait exercer leur industrie," the gains of which they claimed to share, and often confiscated. Depping, p. 190.

due to Jews.¹ No bailiff might arrest or maltreat a Christian for any debt due to a Jew, or force him to sell his hereditaments. The populace readily concurred with their devout monarch in the persecution of their creditors. Louis was actuated by two motives, both grounded on religion: one, implacable hatred towards the enemies of Christ;² the other, a conscientious conviction of the unlawfulness of usury.³ The Lombards and Cahorsins shared in the devout abhorrence of the saintly monarch, but the Christians were left to the tender mercies of the Church; the king took upon himself the duty of repressing the usuries of the Jews, at least those which were his own (it may be doubtful how far he interfered with those of his feudatories), or preventing their poison from infecting his realm.⁴ Much of his injustice may be traced to a desire of converting the Jews from usurious money-lenders into laborious artisans. It may be observed, too, that even the pious king, in his zeal for the Crusades, had been obliged to borrow of the Jews, even on usurious terms. There is a singular struggle between conscience and bigotry in the good king,

¹ "Quietavit . . . tertiam partem totius debiti quod debebant Judæos."

² "Aussi vous dis je, me dist le roy, que nul si n'est grand clerc et théologien parfait ne doit disputer aux Juifs, mais doit l'homme lay, quand il oit mesdire à la foy Chrétienne, defendre la chose non pas seulement des paroles, mais à bonne espée tranchant, et en frappant les médisans et mescréans à travers le corps, tant qu'il put le faire entrer." Joinville, *Vie de S. Louis*.

³ The Marquis Pastoret observes, "Les mesures que prit Louis IX. contre les Juifs eurent bien plus pour objet de garantir ou de protéger des Français tourmentés par leurs usures, que d'en enrichir par les confiscations le trésor de l'état." *Preface*, xv., *Ordonnances des Rois*.

⁴ "De Christianis fœneratoribus et usuris eorum ad prælatos ecclesiæ pertinere videtur, ad me vero pertinet de Judæis, qui jugo servitutis mihi subiecti sunt ne scilicet per usuras Christianos opprimant . . . et veneno suo inficiant terram meam." Gul. Carnot, quoted by Ducange, *Sur les Établissements*.

and conscience gets the upperhand. He orders that measures be taken by trustworthy persons to make restitution even to the heirs of those usurers to whom debts are due. There is, too, a singular conflict between the intolerance and the piety of the Saint. Though in one place the law states that the Jews are to be expelled from the realm and their property sold, yet their synagogues with their cemeteries are to be restored, as though he would not cut them off from the worship of God.¹ But policy or justice entered little into the minds of the populace. In 1239, they rose upon the Jewish quarter in Paris, and committed frightful ravages. Their example was followed in Orleans and many other considerable cities. The great vassals were not behind in lawless barbarity. The Assize of Brittany surpassed the worst fanaticism or injustice of sovereign or people.² It was held by John the Red, at Ploermel. It complained that husbandry was ruined by the usurious exactions of the Jews. It banished them from the country, annulled all their debts, gave permission to those who possessed their property to retain it; it prohibited any molestation or information against a Christian who might kill a Jew; in other words, it licensed general pillage and murder.

The next ordinance of the pious Louis was aimed not only at the usuries, but also at the religion of the

¹ So I understand the Ordinance of 1257-8, though it is not quite clear: "Cum antequam iter arripuissemus transmarinum quædam bona percepimus a Judæis, non tamen animo retinendi. Et postmodum cum Judæos ipsos de terrâ nostrâ mandavissemus expelli, aliqua percepimus quæ habebant; insuper et de bonis quorundam usurariorum in Normanniâ defunctorum invenerimus aliqua percepisse Restituantur usuræ hiis a quibus habitæ fuerunt, vel eorum hæredibus, si possunt inveniri." *Ordonances des Rois, sub ann.*

² Compare Beugnot, *Juifs d'Occident*, p. 99.

Jews. Something of awe mingled with the general feeling of detestation against this devoted race. The Jews were suspected of possessing much dark knowledge which they employed to wreak their revenge on Christians. They were in alliance with the evil spirits. They were the masters of many fearful secrets and cabalistic spells. A council prohibited their practising as physicians; for who knew by what assistance they might heal? The great source as well of their blasphemies against Christ as of these dangerous and mysterious secrets, was their dark and unintelligible Talmud. An edict was issued for the destruction of these volumes. Four-and-twenty carts-full of ponderous tomes were committed to the flames in Paris.¹

Could St. Louis have completed his task, and eradicated the Talmud from the hearts of the Jewish people, he might have shaken the Rabbinical power, and inflicted a fatal blow upon the religion. Many of the Wise Men fled, to secure their treasures of knowledge. The emigration was well-timed for St. Louis, who wanted money for his Crusade. The goods of the emigrants and their debts were seized for the Crown. One thing was yet wanting to fill the cup of misery. Notwithstanding his marked and indelible features, in the common dress of the country, the Israelite might escape the blind fury of the populace. To complete his outlawry, and to mark him out as an object of inevitable persecution, it was ordained that he should wear a sort

- Cæterum ordinationem factam in perpetuum de Judæis observari districtè præcipimus quæ talis est: Judæi cessent ab usuris, et blasphemis, sortilegis et characteribus, et tam Talibus [the Talmud] quam alii libri, in quibus inveniuntur blasphemix, comburantur, et Judæi qui hæc observare noluerunt expellantur et transgressores legitimè puniantur. *Et vivant omnes Judæi de laboribus manuum suarum, vel negotiationibus sine terminis vei usuris.* Ordonnance, sub ann. 1254, c. 32.

of conspicuous outward brand upon his dress ; this was called the Rouelle. It was to be worn by both sexes, and consisted of a piece of blue cloth on the front and on the back of the garment. This device originated in the clergy. It was enacted as a general usage throughout Christendom by the Council of Lateran, under Innocent the Third, — a pontiff in his later days more hostile than his predecessors to the Jews.¹ It was enforced by other councils, as at Rouen and at Arles. It was finally made a law of the realm by St. Louis in the year before his death,² who thus bequeathed to the miserable subjects, whom he had oppressed during his life, a new legacy of shame and calamity.

We are fatigued, our readers also are perhaps equally so, with the dreary prospect, which, like the desert wilderness, still spreads before us. We know not where to look for gleams of Christian mercy through these clouds of fanaticism and injustice. In Germany, indeed, the Emperors strove against the spirit of the age ; Frederick Barbarossa was accused of too great leniency to the Jews. The Archbishop of Cologne, it has appeared, was called to account by the Emperor for arbitrary maltreatment of the Jews.³ That most extraordinary man, Frederick the Second, aggravated the suspicions which attached to his Christianity on account of his high-minded resistance to the Papal power, by extending what was deemed unchristian protection over this proscribed race. They brought him intelligence that three Christian children had been found dead, at the time of the Passover, in the house of a Jew. “ Let them be buried then,” coolly replied

¹ See above, p. 196, note 1.

² Bouquet, xii. 286.

³ See above, p. 196.

the philosophic Emperor.¹ But the Emperor rendered the Jews a more effectual service, by instituting an investigation of the fact whether Jews were bound to murder children on that day. The cause was decided by grave theologians by the acquittal of the Jews from this monstrous charge. But our astonishment is great (our History has already dwelt on this strange fact) on finding Frederick's mortal antagonist, Innocent IV., one of the haughtiest bigots who ever sat on the Papal throne, issuing a Bull to the archbishops, bishops, and nobles of Germany, in which he treats with scorn the figments of murders charged against the Jews, and brands as crimes the cruelties exercised against them.²

¹ Zemach David, quoted by Jost, vii. p. 242.

² I cannot refrain from quoting this remarkable Bull, from which extracts have been given, at full length: "Archepiscopis et Episcopis per Alemanniam constitutis lachrymabilem Judæorum Alemanniæ recepimus quæstionem, quod nonnulli tam ecclesiastici quam sæculares principes, ac alii nobiles et potentes vestrarum civitatum et diœcesum, ut eorum bona injuste diripiant et usurpent, adversus illos impia consilia cogitantes et fingentes occasiones varias et diversas; hoc considerato prudenter, quod quasi ex archivis eorum Christianæ fidei testimonia prodierunt, Scripturâ divinâ inter alia mandata legis dicente 'Non occides,' ac prohibente illos in solemnitate paschali, quicquam morticinum non contingere, falso imponunt eisdem, quod in ipsâ solemnitate se corde pueri communicant interfecti, credendo id ipsam legem præcipere cum sit legi manifestè contrarium: ac eis maliciosè objiciunt hominis cadaver mortui, si contigerit illud alicubi reperiri. Et per hoc et alia quamplurima figmenta savientes in ipsis, eos super his non accusatos, non confessos nec convictos contra privilegia illis ab Apostolicâ Sede clementer indulta spoliant contra Deum et justitiam omnibus bonis suis; et inediâ, carceribus, ac tot molestiis, tantisque gravaminibus premunt ipsos, diversis pœnarum affligendo generibus, et morte turpissimâ eorum quamplurimos condemnando, quod iidem Judæi quasi existentes sub prædictorum nobilium et potentium dominio, deterioris conditionis, quam eorum patres sub Pharaose fuerunt in Ægypto, coguntur de locis inhabitatis ab eis et suis antecessoribus, a tempore cujus non extat memoria, miserabiliter exulare: unde hoc exterminium metuentes duxerunt ad Apostolicæ Sedis prudentiam recurrendum. Nolentes igitur præfatos Judæos injuste vexari, quorum conversionem Dominus misericorditer expectat; cum testante Prophetâ, credantur reliquiæ salvæ fieri eorundem; mandamus quatenus eis vos exhibentes favorabiles et benignos, quicquid super præmissis contra eosdem Judæos per prædictos prælatos, nobiles, et

Of all the Bulls issued from the Vatican this is one of the most extraordinary (I would fain suppress the suspicion that there was temptation to usurp authority and display his supremacy over the subjects of the Emperor). Among the thunders of terrible excommunications, the strong winds of ambitious usurpation, it is something to hear the "still small voice" of humanity, justice, and charity. As to Frederick II., wherever there was learning there was sure to be the patronage of the enlightened Emperor.¹ The Jews contributed their share to the cultivation of Oriental learning, which Frederick had so much at heart. A grateful pensioner gives him the praise of loving knowledge, and those who made it their occupation.²

We pass over many similar incidents, which show the barbarous credulity of the Christians, and pause only to relate the most extravagant of all. When the victorious hordes of the Mongolian Tartars threatened to overrun the whole of Europe, the Jews are said to have held a meeting, to have solemnly recognized this wild people as brethren, descendants of their own ancestors, and determined to assist their plans of conquest over their Christian oppressors. For this purpose they made proposals to the Emperor to enter into

fidentes inveneritis temere intentatum, instatum debitum legitimè revocato, non permittatis ipsos de cætero super iis, vel similibus indebite molestari." Raynold. Ann., *sub ann.* 1241, c. lxxxiv. Notwithstanding this Bull, the Cardinal Raynaldus relates the story of Hugh of Lincoln as an undoubted historical fact (1255); also another case in London, on the authority of M. Paris, 12, 1244.

¹ On the manner in which the legislation of Frederick II. affected the Jews of Sicily, compare Von Raumer, *Die Hohenstauffen*, iii. 486, 498, 540, and more hereafter.

² "L'Empereur Frederick II. encourager les travaux des Juifs. Jacob ben Abba Mar-i-ben-Antoli, qui vivait à Naples, dit, à la fin de sa traduction du Commentaire d'Ibn Rosch sur l'Organon, achevée en 1232, qu'il avait une pension de l'Empereur, qui, ajoute il, 'aima la science et ceux qui s'en occupent.'" Munk, *Mélanges*, p. 335.

a feigned league with the fierce savages to supply them with the rich wine of the country, which they promised to mingle with poison. The wagons set forth with their freight; they were stopped on a bridge over the Danube by a collector of tolls; they insisted on passing free, as being employed on a service of vital interest to the Empire. The toll-collector suspected their truth, and forced open one of the casks — which was found to contain arms. Yet even this tale was received with ready credulity.¹

The Council of Vienna, A. C. 1267, urged still farther that most dangerous plan of persecution, the total separation of the Jews from the society, and consequently from the sympathies, of their fellow-men. The canons of this Council are a singular record of the relation in which the two races stood to each other at this time. The canons were not only addressed to the prelates of Vienna, but also to the Archbishops of Salzburg and Prague, and to their suffragans. So great was the insolence of the Jew, that he presumed to pass himself off as a Christian, and so escape contempt, if not insult. Christian holiness was in danger of infection by this audacious familiarity.² The Jew was ordered to wear the high horned cap,³ under pain of an arbitrary fine by his liege-lord. The Jew was to pay to the parish

¹ This strange, wild story is told, as if he believed it, by Matthew Paris, sub ann. 1241. The Tartars were the descendants of those Jews who were shut up by God, at the prayer of Alexander the Great, within the Caspian Gates. The Christians were persuaded, it is said, that the Tartars were Jews, and would only drink wine made by Jews. The ungrateful Jews had rather succor the enemies of the human race than the Christians who allowed them to live and to conduct their commerce among themselves, and even to practise, according to their Law, usury among the Christians as strangers and Egyptians.

² "Cum in tantum insolentia Judæorum excreverit ut per eos in quam plurimis Christianis jam dicatur infici puritas Christianæ sanctitatis."

³ "Cornutum pileum."

priest not only tithes, but all dues which might have been demanded if his house had been occupied by a Christian. The Jews were not to frequent the stoves, the baths, or the shops of the Christians; they were not to have any Christian servants, man or maid, especially not nurses. Sexual intercourse with a Christian woman was severely punished: in the man with imprisonment; the woman was to be flogged out of the town. No Christian might receive a Jew at a banquet, or eat and drink with Jews, or dance at their weddings, or buy meat of them, lest it should be poisoned.¹ Strange contradiction! showing at once the intimacy which had grown up between both the rich and the poor of both races, and the aversion instilled into their heart, as if the Jew would inevitably poison the Christian if he could. The attempt to suppress extravagant usury, according to one canon, is more intelligible; such bargains came under the cognizance of the Ecclesiastical Courts. When the Host was carried through the streets, the Jews, at the sound of the bell, were to shut themselves up in their houses, and to close their doors and windows. Yet there was a singular dread that this hated race was by no means so despicable, or rather had, in some respects, a dangerous superiority. Not only was there a prohibition against disputing on religious subjects, not only were the Jews not to prevent their wives and children from becoming converts to Christianity, but a prohibition was thought necessary against alluring Christians to Judaism, a prohibition against circumcising Christian proselytes. Their increasing wealth and prosperity, too, was acknowledged by the inhibition to build new synagogues; they might

¹ "Ne forte Judæi per hoc Christianos quos hostes reputant fraudulenter machinentur venenatum."

repair, but neither make them larger, nor more costly, above all, not of a greater height.¹

In Spain, the darkness gathered more slowly ; as the Christian kingdoms gradually encroached on the still retreating Mohammedans, the Jews seemed to have changed their masters with no great reluctance, and the moderation or the policy of the sovereigns of Castile and Aragon usually refrained from any act which might array these useful subjects against them. It has been seen² that the later Islamite sovereigns departed from the lofty policy of the great founders and monarchs of Mohammedan Spain ; as though the atmosphere of Spain was fatal to that rare virtue, the King of Grenada had renounced toleration. These petty sovereigns had degenerated from the magnificent Abder-rahmans. The persecution which compelled the young Maimonides to dissemble or deny his faith, and drove him to the more hospitable court of the Sultan in Cairo, could not but leave at least apathy among the Jews towards the progress of the Christians. They remained in their neutral position. The first Christian monarchs, who, in general, allowed the conquered Moors to dwell in peace in their dominions, would hardly proscribe the less hostile Jews. No doubt at first they retained possession of their wealth, their synagogues were unviolated, they might even dare to appear wealthy. What commerce there was, was in their hands, and was enjoyed without rivalry in the kingdoms hardly won and hardly maintained by the swords of the Christians ; such occupation was beneath the warriors of the Cross, even if they had had time, leisure, or capital to devote to mercantile pursuits. The

¹ Concil. Vienn., apud Labbe, sub ann. 1267.

² See back, p. 182.

Jews were still frequently intrusted by Christian and Moorish kings with the administration of the finances, and, as they were permitted to maintain a loftier rank in society, so they did not disgrace that rank by those base and extortionate practices to which they sank or were reduced under less generous masters; they were respected, and respected themselves. Thus, on the surrender of Toledo (May 25, 1085) to Alfonso, King of Castile, according to the terms of the capitulation,¹ the Moorish inhabitants retained their houses, their property, and one mosque for their worship; no doubt the Jews, then at least less obnoxious, were included under the same favorable terms. It would be curious to inquire whether they then retained the magnificent synagogue, resembling in its architecture the famous mosque of Cordova, which afterwards became the Church of S. Benet, a surprising monument of their wealth, their splendor, and their Asiatic taste for gorgeousness.² It is said that seventeen years after the

¹ "Les Capitulaires signées et jurées par le Roi Alphonse [the VI., at Toledo] accordaient aux Maures le droit de rester dans leurs foyers, de se gouverner par leurs propres lois, de conserver les rites de leur religion. Les Juifs obtinrent le même privilège, et dans la culte Chrétienne on vit continuer de vivre en même **temps** les trois populations, qui avoient vécu pendant leur esclavage." *Amador de los Rios* (Magnabal), p. 42. The extracts from the *Fueros*, cited by *Amador de los Rios*, are not quite intelligible, and seemingly contradictory. The fine in one for the death of a Jew seems to have been very light. In another, the Christian who struck a Jew, on conviction paid four maravedis; the Jew who struck a Christian, ten. If the Christian killed the Jew, he paid 100 maravedis; if a Jew a Christian, he suffered death and forfeited all his property, in kind, to the *Alcaldes*. This *Fuero* is not of unquestioned authenticity. But in the *Fuero* of Najara (A. D. 1076) the murder of a gentleman, a monk, and a Jew, were ranked together. The fine was inflicted on the inhabitants of the town.

² See the print of the church, with its fine Moorish horse-shoe arches, in the *España artistica y monumental*, por D. Gennaro Perez de Villa Amil. Paris, 1702. There is a second synagogue, now S. Maria le Buena, more Moorish and fantastic

capitulation and reconciling edict there was a furious insurrection of the Christians, whom Alfonso had induced in great numbers to people the conquered city, and a massacre of the Jews from religious hatred, and perhaps even stronger jealousy of their wealth. The streets of Toledo ran with blood; fires consumed a vast mass of wealth, and saved it from the hands of the plunderers. The synagogues were pillaged, the Rab- bins murdered in their seats. The King in vain at- tempted to allay the tumult; law and authority were feeble against bigotry and rapacity.¹

Nearly a century passed, in which the almost total silence of history, Jewish and Christian, is the best proof of the peace and prosperity of the Jews under the Christian sovereigns. No doubt they were made to contribute from their wealth to the Christian con- quests, a subsidy readily paid for protection. The per- secutions by the Mohammedan kings of Morocco drove multitudes of Jews into the rising kingdom of Portugal, where they bore a large proportion to the Christians.² It is a singular admission of the Jewish historian that the period of advancing civilization, and it may be added of Christian amity, facilitated the conversion of Jews to Christianity. Even as early as 1106 a famous physician of Alfonso VI. (the conqueror of Toledo), after careful study of the Jewish writings, at the age of twenty-four embraced the faith of the Gospel. The king was his sponsor; he was named Petrus Alphonsi. The proselyte endeavored, in writings yet extant, to convert his brethren.³

We return to France to witness a repetition of the

¹ Mariana, iv. c. 16.

² Amador de los Rios, p. 44, with authorities.

³ Jost, ix. 249: "Die fortschreitende Bildung erleichterte den Juden den Uebertritt zur Kirche."

same extraordinary proceedings which signalized the reign of Philip Augustus; the monarch oppressing, and finally expelling the Jews; Philip Augustus himself, and his successor,¹ reduced by his poverty to enter into an ignominious treaty with these exiles, and the indefatigable Jews as readily returning to undergo the same or worse calamities. Philip III. enforced and increased the severity of the laws of Louis IX.² During his wars in Languedoc, in 1296, Philip had extorted large sums from the Jews on the charge of immoderate usury.³

Philip IV. (the Fair) was the most rapacious, perhaps the most cruel, sovereign who ever sat on the throne of France. His whole reign was a period of financial difficulty. He resorted to every measure, however unscrupulous, which could fill his still-craving coffers. He was constantly tampering with the coin of the realm. He plundered though he employed the Italian usurers. His primary quarrel with the Pope, Boniface VIII., whom he persecuted to madness and to death, was about money-matters. His chief motive in the suppression of the Templars was the hope, baffled by the subtlety of another Pope, of the confiscation of their vast estates to his own use. Such a king was not likely to leave the rich Jews in peace. Among his first acts was the expulsion of the Jews, who had fled from England to Gascony (they had been already plundered), from his realm: they were too poor to be received as subjects. Now, however, Philip the Fair, after some vain attempts to wean the Jews from their usurious dealings, and to enforce their adop-

¹ Ordonnance du Roi (Philip le Hardi), without date.

² Ordonnance, A. C. 1290; Ordonnance, 1299; Ordonnance, 1302. **The** clergy might inflict canonical punishment.

³ Hist. de Languedoc, iv. p. 83

tion of commercial habits, after selling his protection to individuals, and even limiting the power of the clergy over their persons, and prohibiting the Inquisition from proceeding against them, adopted the policy of Philip Augustus, the total expulsion of the race. It might seem as if by his former indulgence and protection he had fed them up to be more secure and richer victims of his avarice. In one day (the 22d July, 1306) the most wealthy Jews of Languedoc were seized, their goods sold, and their debts confiscated to the Crown.¹ The establishments of greater or less splendor which they had held for centuries in Toulouse, Carcassonne, Beziers, Narbonne, Pamiers, Montpellier, Nismes, Lunel, Beaucaire, were at once to be abandoned, were broken up and pillaged.² Gerard of Cortona, Canon of Pisa, with two others, were sent to sell all their goods for the king's benefit, especially at Narbonne, Pamiers, and Capestang.³ The same scene took place in Paris; their synagogues were converted into churches, their cemeteries desecrated, their grave-stones torn up and used for building. Five years after, whether the law of expulsion had been imperfectly executed, or many of them had stolen back to the place of their former abode, or whether, as the king declared, they had been allowed to return to prove their own debts for the advantage of the Crown, a second total expulsion took place, and the soil of France was for a time secured from the profanation of the feet of the circumcised.⁴

¹ "Et le secret fut si bien gardé qu'il n'en échappa aucun." Hist. de Languedoc, iv. 135. Philip was a consummate adept in these summary and well-organized arrests. He practised them even more successfully against the Templars. See Hist. of Latin Christianity.

² Ordonnance, 1306, to the Seneschals of Toulouse and Bigorre.

³ Hist. de Languedoc, iv. 136.

⁴ For the first expulsion and plunder, in 1306, no reason is assigned but

Yet scarcely had the son of Philip the Fair, Louis X. (Hutin), ascended the throne, than the disordered state of the royal finances, and the common clamor of the people (so states the royal ordinance), constrained the submission of the king and all his nobles¹ to the readmission of the Jews, and the Jews without hesitation consented to purchase, at a considerable price, the happiness of inhabiting a land where they had already been thus plundered and maltreated.² Unhappy race — the earth perhaps offered them no safer asylum! They were permitted to settle in the kingdom of France for twelve years; their cemeteries, their synagogues, and their sacred books were

the King's will. In 1311, Philip the Fair is become piously jealous about the morals and religion of his Christian subjects, as well as their oppression by usury: "*Ex multiplici fide dignorum clamor auribus nostris insonuit, quod Judæi, quos, quamvis eorum exigentibus nephandis sceleribus, de regno nostro expulsos pro declaratione veritatis debitorum ipsorum toleramus revocari ad tempus.*" The edict goes on first to accuse them of making, though some just, many false demands on Christians, of cruelly vexing and oppressing widows and orphans, of compelling innocent persons to fraudulent and extortionate bargains, of making usurious and intolerable contracts (*gestus intolerabiles ducunt*), and then, "*moresque et actus fidelium quos alias exprimere fas prohibet, illicitis modis et variis dehonestant, et tot mala etiam pullulant et divulgant, quod ex eorum morâ, si protrahatur amplius, sequeretur errore priore novissimus longè pejor.*" Ordonnance, 1311.

¹ It is remarkable that R. Joshua preserves no tradition of the cruel persecutions under Philip the Fair. He records the hatred of the King for Pope Boniface VIII., the outrage of Sciarra Colonna at Anagni; as if this event had absorbed the awe of the world. But on the milder edicts of Louis X. he has this grateful sentence: "And he allowed the Jews to live in the cities of his kingdom, for they found favor in his eyes, and he accepted their persons and made a covenant with them." p. 236. The ordinance says: "*Comme nous avons pris les dis Juifs en notre espécial protection.*" They were still under most of the restrictions of the law of St. Louis.

² Ordonnance du Roi, July, 1315. The sort of apologetic preamble to this ordinance is curious: "Since our Holy Mother, the Church of Rome, tolerates them in memory of the Passion of our Lord, and for their conversion to Christianity by conversation with Christians."

restored, except the Talmud; they were encouraged to reclaim before the tribunals such debts as had not been recovered by the royal commissioners, of which they were to receive one third; the other two thirds went to the king.¹ The secret motive of this mercy is sufficiently clear. But dearly did they purchase the precarious life which they led in this unsettled land.² The next king, Philip the Long, issued an ordinance, in some degree favorable to the Jews on the royal domains. The king's Jews were not to be challenged by Christians to wager of battle, except in case of murder. Their taxes were to be regulated; such taxes were to be levied on the Jews of Champagne and other royal domains according to their property. They were excused, when on journeys, from wearing their distinguishing mark. They ceased to be serfs as they had been. Their property was no longer held in mortmain, but passed to the nearest relatives. Another ordinance renewed the prohibition to lend money to daily laborers, or take tools or instruments of husbandry in pledge, or church-ornaments, or unthreshed corn; to lend to monks without consent of their superiors. If any knight would pawn his horse, his clothes,

¹ Louis grants the petition of the nobles of Provence, that the property of their Jews seized by the Crown, by himself, or his father, be restored to them.

² There is a curious ordinance of this time, addressed to certain commissioners in the Bailiwick of Bourges, concerning the affairs of Jews expelled from the realm. Their confiscated wealth no doubt consisted in considerable part of debts due from Christians. The Crown must lay down rules for the recovery of these debts. It was assumed that debts not claimed by Jews for twenty years could not be valid, as no Jew would have refrained so long from claiming them. If a debtor could be proved from Jewish cartularies to have paid his debt, he was to be held free. On the other hand, the debts only were to be exacted without usurious interest; and no one was to be imprisoned for a debt due to a Jew. The Crown was content to get possession of the goods *volentes credere bonis*.

or other movables, the Jew might receive them in pledge without the interference of the lord. The debtor was not bound to sell his hereditament or rent to pay his debts; but two thirds were to be assigned to the Jew; the third he was to retain to live upon.¹ Thus the Jews seem again to acquire a legal state and position in society. They might live by manual labor, by merchandise, and acquire property in houses and lands. But of all strange laws (its meaning is obvious, and will hereafter be explained) was one, abrogated only in 1381, which confiscated the whole property of the Jew converted to Christianity.² Still, however, despite of these tolerant edicts, besides that the king himself on one occasion extorted from them a fine of 150,000 livres,³ they were exposed to the tyranny of their lords the Barons, to the jealousy of the clergy, and to the usurpations of the Inquisition, eagerly watching an opportunity to comprehend them within its fatal sphere.⁴

But these evils, through strong faith, — it may be feared, through far stronger avarice, — might have

¹ Ordonnance, February, 1318.

² There is an account of the goods of the Jews in the Bailiwick of Orleans, in Depping, quoted from Broussel, *Usage des Fiefs*. The sale of their property, not reckoning merchandise, jewels, and plate, amounted to 33,700 livres 46 sous 5 deniers. A building, their great school, brought 340 livres. Another school in the city, 140. Depping, p. 219.

³ *Hist. de Languedoc*, iv. 190, with the assessment on the different cities in Languedoc. *Preuves*, 164.

⁴ In the reign of Philip the Long (A. C. 1319) an inquest was held on certain Jews of Lunel, accused of having performed what seems to have been a kind of mock Mystery of the Saviour's Passion. A crucifix was carried in public procession, the Jews, dancing and shouting (*tripudiantes*), dragging it through the mire, treating it with the utmost derision, and even striking the sacred image. The offenders were found guilty, and were to be amerced in person and property. *Hist. de Languedoc* (*Preuves*, p. 161). In the same year Bernard Guido, the Inquisitor of Toulouse, burned two cartloads of Talmuds, "pour les impiétés et les blasphèmes qui étaient dans ce livre contre Jésus Christ et la Sainte Vierge." iv. p. 181.

been endured. A worse and more unforeseen devastation burst upon their heads. This was the rising of the peasants. Long before, during the captivity of Saint Louis, a multitude of the lowest orders had assembled, and announced their intention, or rather their Divine commission, to rescue their beloved saint and king. They had signalized their zeal by great barbarities against the Jews. Now a more general commotion took place; under the guidance of a priest and a monk, the peasants and shepherds drew together from all quarters. Their design they probably knew not themselves. Some vague prophecies were said to be received among them, that the Holy Land was to be conquered only by shepherds and by the poor in spirit. They travelled in still-increasing masses, committing no violence or outrage, entreating bread at the gates of the wondering cities for the love of God. They had neither arms nor discipline; many were without shoes. The flocks, the labors of the field, were abandoned as they passed; young and old fell into their ranks. They marched in a kind of order behind a banner with a white cross. So they traversed the kingdom from Bourges, one party northward to Paris, where the government was appalled by their appearance; the greatest number spread into Languedoc.¹ They were driven only by famine to excesses against their Christian brethren, but by the sternest fanaticism to the most relentless barbarities against the Jews. The plunder of the defenceless, feeble, and wealthy Jews, would enable them to purchase arms, and all they wanted. They might then war on the Saracens. In their agony of distress, the Jews appealed to the king.

¹ For the Pastoureaux compare Latin Christianity, v. p. 280; Hist. de Languedoc, iv. 288 *et seq.*

He sent an idle monition, and a few horsemen to their defence. The Shepherds laughed to scorn their feeble aid. They appealed to the Pope, at Avignon, who issued an anathema, equally ineffectual. Everywhere this unhappy race, which the government could not perhaps have protected if it would, were pillaged, massacred, or put to the torture. Where they could, they fled to the fortified places; five hundred made their escape to Verdun, on the Garonne; the governor gave them a tower to defend; the Shepherds assailed them, set fire to the gates; the desperate Jews threw their children, in hopes of mercy, down to the besiegers, and slew each other to a man.¹

In almost all the cities of Languedoc these frightful scenes took place. At Angoulême, at Bordeaux, at Agen. At Castel Sarasin they were persuaded to be so merciful as to allow the alternative of baptism or death. All but one woman yielded. As it appears from a commission issued by the new king, Charles IV., there had been indiscriminate massacre in Auch, Gimont, Verdun, Toulouse, Rabenstein, Guilan, and many other cities.² This, however, was but the beginning of sorrows. An epidemic pestilence followed in the ensuing years. But a people in such a state of excitement could not look to the natural causes of such a visitation, the universal distress and famine conse-

¹ The Schevet Judah (*Historia Judaica*), as translated by Gentius, now begins to be historical; it contains one curious and not improbable circumstance concerning this outbreak. It originated in a vision seen by a boy, confirmed by the sign of a miraculous cross upon his arm. There were 300,000 in the host. Some one (*quidam*) suggested, "*primum aggrediamur Judæos, populum imbellem, fractum, omnique destitutum auxilio, quem vel uno etiam digitulo sternere poterimus. Victores Judeorum, qui divitiis abundant, spoliis potiti, bellica arma comparabimus, et multis augebimur divitiis. Tunc Saracenis bellum inferre.*" p. 8 *et seq.*

² Continuator Nangis. These persecutions are related in the Schevet Judah, *Persecutio xiv*

quent on the general abandonment of labor, and the widespread devastation. Dark rumors were propagated that the fountains, and even the rivers, of the kingdom had been poisoned. Public detestation pointed at once to the authors of this dire crime, the Lepers and the Jews; the Lepers as the agents, the Jews as the principals. A correspondence was said to have been detected between the King of Tunis and other Infidel kings and the Jews, offering them large rewards for their coöperation in this diabolic scheme. The poor Lepers were first tortured to confess, and on their confession condemned. The Jews' turn came next, for the partial plague seemed to give them comparative exemption from its ravages, whether from the cleanliness of their habits from frequent ablutions, possibly better food, or from constitutional causes. This was enough to designate them as accomplices in some dark way with the dire pestilence. The Pope, John XXII., had seized the opportunity of their misery, during the preceding year, to aggravate it, by denouncing their detestable sorceries and magic, and by commanding their Talmuds to be burned.¹ The Papal sanction was thus given to the atrocities which followed. In many provinces, says a chronicler, especially in Aquitaine, the Jews were burned without distinction. At Chinon a deep ditch was dug, an enormous pile raised, and 160 of both sexes burned together. Many of them plunged into the ditch of their own accord, singing hymns, as though they were going to a wedding. Many women with their children threw them-

¹ It is just to add, in favor of John XXII., the following sentence from the Abbas Uspergensis: "De hac peste infamati Judæi, quod fontibus infectis promoverint et propterea combusti fuerunt a mari usque ad Alemaniam, præter civitatem Avinionem, ubi Papa eos tutatus fuit." *Sub ann.* 1334

selves in to escape forcible baptism.¹ At Paris, those alone were burned who confessed their crimes, but the richest were detained in prison to verify their confiscated debts. The king received from their spoils 150,000 livres.

In the midst of this, Philip V. died A. C. 1322, and the heir, King Charles IV., graciously pardoned the survivors, on condition of a large payment: 57,000 livres were assessed on the Jews of Languedoc; they were permitted to leave their prisons to collect the sum required, and then, as the height of mercy, allowed to gather together the rest of their effects and leave the kingdom. A third time the same strange scene was enacted.

A second pestilence, in 1348, completed the wretchedness of the few Jews that remained in this desolated country: while themselves were perishing by hundreds, the old accusation of poisoning the wells was renewed, and the sword of vengeance let loose to waste what the plague had spared.²

¹ The description of the later Plague, the Black Plague, the Plague of Boccaccio, in Rabbi Joshua, is striking:—"In the second year of King Philip there was a great plague, from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof, and there was no city that was too high for it. And there was a great cry from one end of the world to the other, the like wherof never was. In the city which went out by a thousand there were but one hundred left, and of that which went out by one hundred only ten were left at that time; and for one that died or was sick, of the Jews, there died and sickened one hundred of the people of the land, and they clothed themselves with jealousy." R. Joshua chiefly dwells on the persecutions in Aragon and Catalonia, especially in Barcelona and Tarigah (Tarragona). He adds, "Also in the kingdom of Provence the Jews drank the cup of astonishment in those days. . . . And in Ashkenaz [Germany] they accused them of casting poison into the wells. And they chastened them with rods and with thorns, and burned them with fire. May the Lord avenge the blood of His servants that was shed. Amen! amen!" pp. 239-243. Compare Schevet Judah, p. 151.

² Trithemius (Chron. Hirsaug et Sponheim) thus describes the plague, the rumors about poisoning the fountains, the horrible massacre of the

The Jews, driven in this merciless manner from the country where their portion had been the unrestrained excesses of the boors, and legal punishment as authors of a great national calamity, the pestilence, by which they as well as the Christians had suffered so dreadfully,¹ — loaded, in short, with every popular outrage

Jews, which was by no means confined to France, sub ann. 1349: “Hujus calamitatis causa Judæis fuit imposita, quod fontes et aerem intoxicassent, unde persecutio in eos Christianorum gravissima fuit subsequuta. Nam in diversis mundi partibus cum talis in eos æstimatio Christianorum fuisset publicata, alii fuerunt miserabiliter suffocati, alii præcipitati in aquam, alii submersi, alii capitibus truncati, alii combusti, alii gladiis et lanceis perfossi, atque alii vario tormentorum genere interempti. Nonnulli vero illorum cernentes in malo se positos, necatis liberis primùm cum uxoribus, ne in manus crudeliter sævientium Christianorum devenirent, se cum domibus et mansionibus, igne supposito, incendio peremerunt. Hæc autem in Judæos persecutio prænotato anno incipiens, biennio duravit; quæ utrum jure an injuriâ peracta sit non est nostrum judicare, quamvis non nobis videtur verisimile, *quod omnes totius orbis fontes, etiam si voluissent, veneno inficere potuissent.*”

They were received with kindness by Clement VI., in the territory of Avignon.

¹ As late as Velly and Villarêt this monstrous story retained its place in what were considered the authoritative histories of France. It is worth while to transcribe the narrative: “Les Infidèles en furent alarmés, et pour rompre ce dessein [a new Crusade] prirent les mesures les plus abominables. Le Roi de Grénade, animé sans doute par les Mahométans d'Asie, excita les Juifs à empoisonner tous les puits, et toutes les fontaines. Souvent chassés, quelquefois massacrés, toujours persécutés en France, nourrissant dans leur cœur une haine secrète, mais implacable, contre la nation, les Juifs acceptent la proposition; mais surveillés de près, ils jugent prudent de charger les lépreux de l'exécution; et pour les y déterminer, ils leurs donnent de l'argent et leurs font croire que ceux qui ne mourront pas du poison deviendront lépreux. Ceux-ci, rebut de la société à cause de leur mal, cédant à cette double tentation, empoisonnent toutes les eaux de la Haute Guienne et du Poitou, suivant les uns *avec du sang humain, de l'urine, trois sortes d'herbes, et des hosties consacrées*: tout cela desséché, mis en poudre dans un sachet, était jété dans les puits et dans les fontaines; suivant d'autres, on employait *la tête d'une couleuvre, des pattes de crapaud, et des cheveux de femmes*, souillés d'une liqueur noire et puante, le tout à preuve des flammes. Le complot fut découvert par deux lettres Arabes, interceptées, et que l'on conserve, avec la traduction, dans le Trésor des Chartes. Des lépreux et des Juifs, *mis à la torture*, s'avouent coupables de la plus horrible conspiration qui eut jamais été tramée. Ils sont brûlés vifs et leurs biens confisqués. A Paris on livre aux flammes les Juifs coupables; on

and calumny, began, nevertheless, to steal back into a land where their sordid industry still found a harvest. And no sooner were the distresses of the kingdom at their height, through the civil wars, the conquests of the English, and the captivity of the king (John), than they opened a negotiation with the Regent to purchase the privilege of returning to this land of lawlessness and blood. Miserable truly was the condition of the kingdom which led to the peace of Bretigny, A. C. May 8, 1360; there seemed to be no resource but to acknowledge the dependence of France on Jewish industry and wealth. In these times the Dauphin, as Regent, had debased the coin; the Jacquerie suppressed only by horrible massacres, the license of the disbanded soldiery, which ravaged almost the whole country; the intolerable taxation, had reduced France to the lowest extremity.¹ It was a strange event, the capitulation of a great kingdom with subjects despised with ineffable scorn, but recently persecuted without remorse and forced to fly the realm, yet who dictated terms, if not honorable, yet advantageous to themselves. And on these terms, outcasts, indeed, equally in the rest of the world, the Jews were content to purchase a limited period of residence, precarious safety, with the chance of gain among a people who, from the king in his palace, the noble in his castle, to the insurgent peasant, looked on them with undisguised hatred, and were

bannit les autres en *retenant les biens des plus riches*, qui fournirent au Roi la somme alors enorme de 150,000 livres. Ailleurs, *coupables ou non*, on les brula indistinctement. Quant aux lépreux, on les enferma tous à perpétuité." Velly or Villarêt, *Hist. de France*, Philip V., A. C. 1321. Are these letters still in the *Trésor des Chartes*? This account, in substance the same, varies much in different copies. In the modern reprint of Velly by Desodoards the crime as against the Jews and lepers is declared to be inadmissible.

¹ See the state of the kingdom in Sismondi, "*Hist. des Français*," ix. c 25.

ready, on the first impulse, to renew all the horrors of former massacres, plunder, and exile. Before the conclusion of the treaty they were already in the kingdom, as appears by the appointment, during the Regency (March, 1361), of Louis Count d'Etampes, as guardian of the Jews. In Languedoc they were in great numbers; in Nismes one large street, and several smaller ones, were assigned for their occupation; in Toulouse, in the absence of Louis d'Etampes, the royal Protector, Robert of Outre Eau, was appointed as their guardian, to defend them against the insults and injuries of the populace.

Menecier (Manasseh) of Vesoul, and Jacob of Pont St. Maxime, conducted the treaty on the part of the Jews. The price of admission into the kingdom was fixed at fourteen florins for a man and his wife; for children and servants one florin two tournois; the price of residence at seven florins annually for man and wife; children and servants, one florin. The treaty was for twenty years. The Jews might buy houses, possess synagogues, cemeteries, and their sacred books. They were no longer under baronial jurisdiction, but under the king,¹ represented by his officer, the guardian of the Jews. They were free from all other taxes, except land-tax. They might trade in money as in other merchandise.² They might take in pawn anything except religious books, church furniture or ornaments, or church vessels,³ agricultural implements and tools. The interest of money was

¹ See the extraordinary oath imposed by Eliezar of Villeneuve on a Jew bearing witness in a court of justice in his domains (A. D. 1337) in Beugnot, p. 112.

² "Ils puissent marchander tant de leurs deniers comme de leurs autres marchandises et denrées quelconques." Art. 8.

³ "Saints reliques, calices, sanctuaires, livres, aournements, ou autres biens d'église dédiés à Dieu." Art. 10.

fixed at four deniers the livre weekly, double the former standard. They might defend their houses and property from unlawful attacks. They could not be challenged to trial by battle. They were not to be compelled to hear Christian sermons. Finally, all their former privileges were confirmed. They were free if they could find bail. They were pardoned all crimes charged against them, even robbery and murder, if committed before they left France.¹

For some time the position of the Jews seemed materially improved; though still pursued by the clergy and the people with unmitigated hatred, they had detached the Crown from the hostile confederacy.² In Languedoc the clergy published an excommunication against all who should furnish the Jews with fire, water, bread, or wine.³ In Languedoc, too, the zeal of some Jewish converts would force their former brethren to attend the churches to hear sermons, amidst the mockery and insults of the Christians. They appealed to the king, Charles V., who issued an ordinance inhibiting all compulsion, not only as unjust, but as irreverent to the Church and to the Holy Sacrament.⁴ The civil power, the Marshal d'Audenham, interposed and repressed the fiery zeal of the Church. The Jews obtained a prolongation of the term of sufferance in the land for ten years; they paid for this privilege 3000 livres in gold. Charles the Fifth renewed the treaty

¹ The whole in the *Ordonnances*, especially *Ordonnance v.* (p. 491), cited under the date of its confirmation, Bois de Vincennes, May, 1370; July, 1372.

² The abbot of St. Denys had an especial privilege from the king to possess as many as five families of Jews. No doubt he protected them *Ordonnances*, iv. p. 139.

³ *Ordonnances*, iv. p. 339 (Aug. 1378).

⁴ *Ordonnances*, v. p. 167 (March, 1368). In 1380, powers were given to certain commissioners to redress all wrongs perpetrated against the Jews in Languedoc by their guardians. *Ordonnances*, vi. p. 467.

first for six, afterwards for ten years. The Crown began to have open dealings with, and to raise loans from, the Jews. In 1378 they lent the king 20,000 livres, and covenanted to furnish 200 per week.¹ It was from the wealth of the Jews that Paris began to rear her fortresses and lofty edifices. The prudent Menecier de Vesoul, their acknowledged representative, appears to have conducted their affairs with great address; the worst grievance must have been their being still compelled to wear a distinguishing mark upon their dress; but even this they obtained permission to lay aside on a journey. Menecier de Vesoul, his wife and children, John his son-in-law, Master Matathias and his mother, and Abraham his son, alone had the privilege of exemption from the penalty of twenty sous if they should appear without the mark, the ensign of the Jews.² But with their wealth their danger inevitably increased. Whether honest or usurious, their gains were wrung from an impoverished nobility and people. During the administration of the Duke of Anjou (1380), who had confirmed the privileges of the Jews granted by John³ and Charles V.,⁴ a tumult took place, arising, it was said, out of the heavy burdens of the people. The nobles cried aloud for the expulsion of the Jews; the people, at their instigation, wreaked their rage partly on the archives where their debts, or rather the debts of the nobles, were registered, partly on the Jews, who were pillaged and slain, their children torn from their mothers' arms, and carried to the churches to be baptized. The strong

¹ Hist. de Languedoc, iv. p. 325.

² Ordonnances, v. p. 498.

³ King John openly avowed the principle of his indulgence: "The more privileges the Jews possess, the better will they be able to bear taxation."

⁴ Ordonnances, vi. p. 521.

arm of authority allayed for a time, but could not suppress, the brooding storm of popular emotion.¹ The Duke of Anjou published a proclamation on all the cross-ways, with sound of trumpet, that all persons should restore, on pain of death, the plunder of which they had robbed the Jews; very few obeyed the order.

During the early part of the reign of Charles the Sixth, the Jews were treated with equity and consideration;² in the frequent disputes which arose about the registering and recovery of their debts, they obtained equal justice; in one respect alone they were unfortunate, — they were withdrawn from the special jurisdiction of the king, and submitted to the ordinary tribunals.³ But the distresses of the country still increased; with the distresses, the difficulty of obtaining money: every order lay at the mercy of the money-lender. But former calamities did not teach the Jews moderation; regardless that they were arraying against themselves both nobles and people, they went on accumulating their perilous riches, till, like a thunder-clap, the fatal edict (Sept. 7, 1394) burst upon them, commanding them once more to evacuate the kingdom, though on milder terms, with the liberty of receiving all debts due to them, and of selling their property.⁴ The cause of this change in the royal policy is probably

¹ Anonyme de S. Denys; Juvenal des Ursins, 27; Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, xi. 318.

² Peter Aymeric, Doctor of Laws, was appointed guardian of their privileges in the three seneschalties (Beaucaire, Carcassonne, Toulouse). *Hist. de Languedoc*, iv. 366. In 1387 the Duc de Berri granted remission to the Jews of the three seneschalties of their usuries and *other crimes*, on the payment of 5000 francs in gold, with a promise only to demand the ordinary tax. This tax was 10,000 francs a year, in half-yearly payments. *Ibid.* iv. 390. Their usurious practices were pardoned. *ibid.* 396.

³ *Ordon. des Rois*, vii. 643. *Comp. Beugnot, Juifs d'Occident*, p. 130.

⁴ "Doresnevant nul Juif ou Jouifve ne habitent, ou conversent en nostre dit royaume, ni en aucune partie d'icelluy en Languedoc." Juvenal des Ursins.

to be sought in the malady of the unhappy king.¹ His confessor was perpetually at his ear, urging to the disordered and melancholy monarch the sin of thus protecting an accursed people from the miseries to which they were deservedly doomed by the wrath of God. The nobles hated them as debtors, the people as fanatics. The queen was won over,² and the advice of those few wise counsellors who represented the danger of depriving the country of the industry of such a thriving and laborious community, was overborne by more stern advisers.³ An accusation made without proof against the Jews of Paris, of the murder of converts to the Church, aggravated the popular fury. Four of the most wealthy were scourged two successive Sundays in all the cross-roads of Paris, and bought their lives at the price of 18,000 francs. The rest were allowed a month to wind up their affairs, and the whole Jewish community crossed for the last time the borders of France, for a long and indefinite period of banishment.⁴

¹ Lobineau, *Hist. de Bretagne*, p. 407.

² Juvenal des Ursins, *Hist. de Charles VI.*, pp. 129-675.

³ The edict was published at Toulouse, 1394. *Ordonnances*, vii. 675. There remained twelve families of Jews in Toulouse, seven in the rest of the Seneschalty. The Count of Foix endeavored to prevent the expulsion of the Jews from Pamiers. But the officers of the Seneschalty compelled them to depart, fifty-six in number, men and women. It was probably the influence of the lords which protected the few who lingered behind in Provence and Languedoc.

⁴ I must doubt the justice of M. Beugnot's remarks on this final expulsion of the Jews from France. Though perhaps they had ceased to be absolutely necessary to the commerce of the kingdom, commercial rivalry may to a certain extent have conspired with intolerance: "Soyons assurés que ce ne fut pas l'intolérance religieuse qui fit chasser les Juifs de France. On proscrivit en eux ces audacieux usuriers, qui, par leurs complaisances financières, mettaient le désordre dans les deniers publics, rendaient vaines les garanties accordées aux peuples par les rois, et ruinaient l'état en le désorganisant." Poor Jews! even history written by enlightened men in modern days is still darkened by the old prejudices. Sismondi's account

The history of the German Jews during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries displays the same dreary picture of a people, generally sordid, sometimes opulent, holding their wealth and their lives on the most precarious tenure. No fanatic monk set the populace in commotion, no public calamity took place, no atrocious or extravagant report was propagated, but it fell upon the heads of this unhappy caste. In Germany the Black Plague raged in all its fury, and wild superstition charged the Jews, as elsewhere, with causing and aggravating the misery, and themselves enjoying a guilty comparative security amid the universal desolation.¹ Fatal tumults were caused by the march of the Flagellants,² a host of mad enthusiasts, who passed through the cities of Germany, preceded by a crucifix, and scourging their naked and bleeding backs as they went, as a punishment for their own offences and those of the Christian world. These fanatics atoned, as they supposed, rather than aggravated, their sins against the God of Mercy, by plundering and murdering the Jews in Frankfort and other places.³ The same dark stories were industriously propagated, readily believed, and ferociously avenged, of fountains poisoned, children crucified, the Host stolen and outraged. The power of this final expulsion of the Jews is far more wise, just, and true. xxii. p. 52.

¹ Compare the History of the Epidemics in the Middle Ages, by Dr. Hecker, translated by C. Babington, London, 1859, and the account of the Black Plague, the persecutions of the Jews, above all the remarkable confessions wrung from them by torture at Chillen and elsewhere, p. 70 *et seq.*

² On the Flagellants compare Hist. of Latin Christianity, iv. 396. "Sur-rexit secta Pœnitentium seu Flagellatorum, Teutonicè Crucebrüder, in Alemannia; et anno sequente, scilicet MCCCCL., qui fuit Jubilæus, magna persecutio Judæorum, ut fere ubique cremarentur. Tanquam morte rei tunc cruciabantur Hebræi." Engelhus. Chron. apud Leibnitz, ii. 1128.

³ The chapter in Raumer's Hohenstauffen, v. 381, Die Juden, may be consulted with advantage.

of their liege-lord and Emperor,¹ recognized by the law of the Empire, even when exerted for their protection, was but slightly respected and feebly enforced, especially where every province and almost every city had or claimed an independent jurisdiction. Still, persecuted in one city they fled to another, and thus spread over the whole of Germany, Brunswick, Austria,² Franconia, the Rhine Provinces, Silesia, Brandenburg, Bohemia, Lithuania, and Poland. Oppressed by the nobles, anathematized by the clergy, hated as rivals in trade by the burghers in the commercial cities, despised and abhorred by the populace, their existence is known by the chronicle, rarely of protective edicts, more often of their massacres.³ In Prague, where no doubt their wild old cemetery, if its legends were carefully deciphered, would tell terrible stories;⁴ in Nuremberg, Würzburg, and Rottenberg.

¹ "Imperialis auctoritas in priscis temporibus ad perpetuam Judaici sceleris ultionem, Judæis induxerit perpetuam servitutem." Lunig Reichs' Archiv, quoted by Von Raumer, p. 312. The harsh language of the law would intimate that the Emperor was invested with this power solely that he might wreak vengeance on the Jews, and keep them in perpetual slavery.

² In the middle of the thirteenth century there were Jews in Austria, generally farmers of the royal domains, entitled Counts of the Donau. Depping, p. 236, with authorities. See the grant of the Emperor Frederick I. to the Duke of Austria. "Et potest in terris suis omnibus tenere Judæos et usurarios publicos, quos vulgus vocat *gawertshin* sine imperii molestia et offensa." Pertz, *Leges* ii. 101. In the year 1335 Ernest Duke of Brunswick, in his grant of privileges to the city of Hamelin, enacts, "Quicumque Judæus moratur vel morabitur in civitate, nobis ad nullum servitium tenebitur, sed civitati tenetur ad jura civilia." Apud Leibnitz, *Script. Brunsw* ii. 515.

³ "Item primo Alberti Imperatoris anno (1298) Judæorum *aliquot millia* Norimbergæ, Herbipoli, Rottenburgæ et in aliis terris ob malefacta combusti fuerunt, infantibus aliquot ad baptismum reservatis:" so coolly writes the Abbas Uspergensis, p. 204.

⁴ "Pragæ comburebantur Judæi, ad tria millia, Die Paschæ, quia blasphemabant Sacramentum Eucharistiæ in bonâ feriâ quintâ, et Sabbatho Sancto precedentibus. Versus.

M simal et tria C.LXLI. removete,
Paschæ luce reus Pragæ perit ense Judæus.

Of the means by which the general hatred was exasperated and kept alive, none was so universal, none so deeply stirred the passions of the Christian's breast, sunk into the popular belief, none, therefore, was so fatal to the Jews in all lands, as the tales of the crucifixion of Christians, certainly of children, and usually at Easter. It would be curious to inquire how many saints the Jews have thus undesignedly added to the Calendar,¹ saints famous for the miracles wrought by their bodies and by their reliques;² saints who were the object of devout worship, and to whose shrines men gathered by

De quorum strage prædictus Wenceslaus Rex recepit v. tunnas plenas argento, ut famabatur." *Chronic. Engelhus. Leibnitz*, ii. 1134. There is a very curious passage, *De Reformatione Monasteriorum* (written about 1470), *Leibnitz*, ii. p. 818. The writer asserts that the Jews were settled in Halle before the birth of Christ, as is certified by inscriptions on the tombstones in their cemetery. Were these Spanish Jews, who had imported from Spain the fictions so constantly pleaded in that country as exempting them from the guilt of Christ's crucifixion? It appears that a popular preacher (a monk) so stirred up the shopkeepers of Halle by denouncing the usuries of the Jews (a graphic passage of one of his sermons is cited), that they refused all dealings with the race. A signal was given when a Jew appeared in the streets, and all the shops were shut. The preacher returned to the charge, "'How then are the Jews to live if not by usury?' Let them take to husbandry or mechanical employments, dig gardens, cleanse the streets, or work like laborers." The Jews refused to do this; the people were obstinate; the consulate of Halle, therefore, by the advice of the preacher, and with the approbation of the archbishop, drove them out of the town (of their long immemorial residence no notice was taken), refused to readmit them, and turned their synagogue into a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

¹ In the *Fortalitium Fidei* the *Consideratio Septima* begins with the cruelty of the Jews to the Messiah, their cruelty to themselves, as entailing on their own heads perpetual captivity and eternal damnation, and their cruelty to Christians. These chapters give a succession of all the monstrous and frightful stories of this kind current in the Middle Ages.

² See *Trithemius, Chron. Hirsaug. et Sponheim*. The following may be found: A. C. 1236, several Christians murdered in a mill. Jews burned for this offence in Hagenau, 1297. The boy Wernher pricked to death with needles; worshipped as a martyr at Bacharach, 1432. A boy murdered in the village of Weiler. The Jews burned at Kreuznach. As late as 1510 the Margrave of Brandenburg burned Jews on some such charge.

thousands. Each country has added to this holy host:¹ France (to name but a few), St. Robert of Pontoise; England, St. Hugh of Lincoln, St. William of Norwich; Germany, St. Wernher of Bacharach, St. Simon of Trent;² Spain, S. Juan Passamente, the Martyr of Granada. Christian poetry abused its magic power, seizing on these fables and melting them into the hearts of the people. Of all Chaucer's Tales none is so exquisitely pathetic as that of the lost child, whose mother had taught it to repeat, with infantine fondness, the "*Alma Redemptoris Mater*."³ The mother sought the missing child, and wandered in her search into the Jews' quarter. She appealed to their humanity to tell her if they had seen her child. The Jews gave a hard, coarse denial, when suddenly from a deep foul pit was heard the child's voice, which

"Alma Redemptoris 'gan to sing,
So loud, that all the placè 'gan to ring."

The scene of this is laid in Asia. There is a beautiful old Scotch ballad (imperfect) of the Jew's daughter of Merry-land (Milan).⁴ As in Chaucer, the mother

¹ Bleeding crosses often bore witness of such crimes. There is one which converted many Jews; in Bothon. Chronicon, Leibnitz, S. B. iii. 306. In the year 1422 a woollen manufacturer at Sobernheim, in the diocese of Mayence, was supernaturally directed to a cross near the mill, which he found mutilated, thrown down and covered with mud. As he reverently replaced it he heard a voice, "The four Evils are Jews, whores, bad priests, and pagans." Contin. Engelhus., Leibnitz, ii. 86.

² For SS. Simon of Trent and William of Norwich, see Alban Butler, *Lives of Saints*, both, March 24. The Bollandists for the same day give the *juridical acts*. It is remarkable to see the dawn of candor and charity forcing themselves on writers like Alban Butler. He will not venture to question legends sanctified by acts of canonization, but he ventures to add, "Nevertheless, it is a notorious slander of some authors who, from these singular and extraordinary instances, infer this to have been, at any time, the custom or maxim of this people."

³ Chaucer, *Prioress's Tale*.

⁴ There is a French ballad among those published by M. Michel.

wanders into the Jews' quarter, seeking her missing child : —

“My bonny Sir Hew, my pretty Sir Hew,
I pray thee to me speak.”

“O lady, rin to the deep draw-well,
Gin ye your sonne would seek.”

Lady Helen ran to the deep draw-well,
And knelt upon her knee ;

“My bonny Sir Hew, so ye be here,
I pray thee speak to me.”

“The lead is wondrous heavy, mither,
The well is wondrous deep ;
A keen penknife sticks in my heart,
A word I dounae speak.

Gae hame, gae hame, my mither dear,
Fetch me my winding-sheet ;
And at the back of Merry-land toune,
It's there we twa shall meet.”

But the Brussels legend surpasses all in the minuteness of its particulars, in its audacious incredibility, and in its vitality. It is commemorated, to their infinite shame, in the enlightened city of Brussels to the present day, by a solemn procession of the clergy and the exposition of the Host.¹ My account is taken from a book regularly reprinted and sold, and which all faithful members of the Church are directed to receive as undoubted truth, because “charity believeth all things”!! — A Jew, named Jonathan of Enghien, desired to possess himself of the consecrated Host in order to treat it with the sacrilegious insult by which that impious race delight in showing their hatred to Christianity. He applied to one John of Louvain, whose

¹ Compare Depping, p. 276, who says that when the festival was celebrated, in the year 1820, eighteen pictures were painted for the Church of S. Gudule, representing all the atrocities of the scene, even the execution of the three elders.

poverty could not resist the bribe of sixty golden coins, called moutons d'or. John mounted by night into the Chapel of St. Catherine, stole the pix with its sacred contents, and conveyed it to Jonathan. The Jew, triumphant in his iniquity, assembled his friends, when they blasphemed the Host in the most impious manner, but abstained from piercing it with their knives till the approaching Good Friday. In the mean time, on account of the murder of their son, Jonathan's wife persuaded him to migrate to Brussels. There the Host was borne into the synagogue, treated with the grossest insult, then pierced with knives. The blood poured forth profusely, but the obdurate Jews, unmoved by the miracle, dispersed tranquilly to their homes. Having done this, they resolved to send their treasure to Cologne. They made choice of a woman, unfortunately for them, secretly converted to the Catholic faith, as the bearer. Her poverty but not her will consented; but during the night, seized with remorse of conscience, she determined to denounce the crime to the clergy. The consequences may be anticipated: all the Jews were arrested, put to the torture, convicted, condemned to be torn by red-hot pincers, and then burned alive. The picture of their sufferings as they writhed on the stake is exhibited with horrid coolness, or rather satisfaction, in the book of the legend. And this triumph of the faith, supported, it is said, by many miracles, is to the present day commemorated in one of the first Christian cities of Europe.

BOOK XXV.

JEWS IN ENGLAND.

First Settlement — William Rufus — Henry II. — Coronation of Richard I. — Massacre at York — King John — Spoliations of the Jews — Henry III. — Jewish Parliament — Edward I. — Statute of Judaism — Final Expulsion from the Realm.

IN the dark ages England was not advanced beyond the other nations of Europe in the civil or religious wisdom of toleration. While the sovereign authority — that of the Pope in Italy, of the Emperor in Germany, and of the Kings in Spain — frequently held in check the fierce animosities of the nobles, the clergy, and the populace against their Israelitish subjects, with rare exceptions the Kings of England, like those of France, joined in the inhuman and impolitic confederacy against them. There were Jews in England under the Saxons. The ecclesiastical constitutions of Egbricht, Archbishop of York, A. C. 740, prohibit Christians from appearing at Jewish feasts. They are named in a charter to the monks of Croyland, A. C. 833, and named in the strange character of Benefactors, granters of land to the monastery.¹ They are said to have purchased from William the Conqueror the right of settlement in the country. His son, William Rufus, shocked the devout feelings of his people by his open

¹ “ Omnes terras et tenementa, possessiones, et eorum peculia, quæ reges Merciorum et eorum procures, vel alii fideles Christiani *vel Judæi*, monachis dederunt.” Ingulph. Hist. p. 9. There are doubts, however, of the authenticity of these charters.

intercourse with the enemies of Christ. He appointed a public debate in London between the two parties, and profanely swore, by "the face of St. Luke," that if the Rabbins defeated the Bishops, he would turn Jew himself. The Jews boasted that they obtained the victory, while the trembling people, in a thunder-storm and an earthquake, recognized the wrath of God against the irreligious king. But William was unmoved; he received at Rouen the complaint of certain Jews, that their children had been seduced to the profession of Christianity.¹ Their petition was supported by a liberal offer of money. Many, either from conviction or confiding in the king's protection, abjured their new faith. One Stephen offered sixty marks for his son's restoration to Judaism, but the son had the courage to resist the imperious monarch. "Get thee hence quickly," said the king, "and obey, or, by the face of St. Luke, I will cause thine eyes to be plucked out of thine head." The young man temperately adhered to his determination. The king yielded, on which the Jew demanded back his money.² The king unwillingly restored half. Rufus gave still deeper offence by farming to Jews the vacant bishoprics. During this reign Jews were established in Oxford and in London. In the former city they had three halls, hostelries or lodging-houses, for the accommodation of youth:—Lombard Hall, Moses Hall, and Jacob Hall. They taught Hebrew to Christian as well as Jewish students. They were not, however, permitted

¹ Gul. Malmesb. sub ann. 1083. William usually swore "by the Cross of Lucca."

² This rests on the circumstantial but somewhat suspicious authority of Holingshead. Indeed, considering the hatred of the monkish chroniclers, our only vouchers, for William Rufus and for the Jews, the historian, though relating these stories as characteristic of the times and so far historical, may allow some reasonable doubt of their perfect veracity.

a burial-ground ; their only cemetery was in St. Giles, Cripplegate, in London.¹ As history is silent about them for a short period, we may conclude that they were growing in opulence, and consequently in public detestation. In the 10th of Stephen the same dark tales began to be bruited abroad which were so readily credited on the Continent ; they are said to have crucified a youth at Norwich. William of Norwich became a saint of wide repute. His wonder-working powers for some centuries brought pilgrims in multitudes, no doubt much to the benefit of that ancient and flourishing city.² "This crime," their historian shrewdly observes, "they are never said to have practised but at such times as the king was manifestly in want of money." The same atrocity was imputed to them at Gloucester, and at St. Edmondsbury (1160). At the latter place likewise the churchmen derived further advantage besides aggravating the general hatred against the Jews ; the body of the youth was interred with great solemnity, and his tomb wrought frequent miracles.³ Nor did the king (Henry the Second) overlook this favorable opportunity for filling his coffers : twelve years before he had extorted a large sum from the Jews — 5000 marks — and banished many, probably those who refused to accede to his terms.⁴ Other anecdotes illustrate their increasing

¹ They afterwards obtained a piece of burial-ground, the site on which the beautiful tower and part of Magdalene College stand.

² "In his reign [Stephen's] the Jews of Norwich bought a Christian child before Easter, and tortured him after the same manner as our Lord was tortured, and on Long Friday hanged him on a rood in memory of our Lord, and afterwards buried him. And they thought it would be concealed, but our Lord showed that he was a holy martyr, and the monks took him and buried him with high honor in the Minster ; and through our Lord he worketh wonderful and manifold miracles, and is called S. William." Saxon Chronicle, sub ann. 1137.

³ Gervas, sub ann. 1160.

⁴ Gervas, *ibid*.

wealth and unpopularity. They are charged with having lent money to some of the adventurers for Ireland, who undertook that enterprise contrary to the king's order; and with receiving in pledge some of the sacred treasures of the church of St. Edmondsbury:¹ it is to be hoped that this transaction had no connection with the horrible charge of the crucified boy.² Their riches, which they were not so prudent as to conceal, kept alive the rankling jealousy. Their mansions were as stately as palaces.³ The most remarkable evidence of their wealth is, that, at a parliament held at Northampton, to raise a tax for an expedition to the Holy Land, the whole Christian population was assessed at £70,000—the Jews alone at £60,000.⁴ The abandonment of

¹ These facts are well authenticated. The records of both transactions are quoted by Tovey from the Rolls. For the second, "*Sancto Judæus de Sancto Edmundo reddidit conpotum de v. marcis, ut sit quietus quod recepit in vadio vasa deputata obsequio altaris.*" We remember the severe and reiterated laws prohibiting, and necessarily prohibiting, the pledging the vessels and furniture of the Church in all countries.

² "Others," says the author of *Anglia Judaica*, "were grown so presumptuous as to scoff at and ridicule the highest dignitaries of the Church." For we read that a certain Jew, having the honor about this time to travel towards Shrewsbury in company with Richard Peche, archdeacon of Malpas in Cheshire, and a reverend dean, whose name was Deville: amongst other discourse, which they condescended to entertain him with, the archdeacon told him that his jurisdiction was so large as to reach from a place called Ill Street, all along till they came to Malpas, and took in a wide circumference of country. To which the infidel, being more witty than wise, immediately replied, "Say you so, sir? God grant me then a good deliverance! For it seems I am riding in a country where Sin is the archdeacon, and the Devil himself the dean—where the entrance into the archdeaconry is in Ill Street, and the going from it Bad Steps;" alluding to the French words "*Pêché*" and "*Malpas*." Our author is grievously offended at these liberties being taken with such reverend personages; but charitably concludes that so facetious a Jew would hardly have been concerned in such tragical crimes as they were charged with. The story rather indicates that the clergy and the Jews sometimes met on terms of amity; and it is curious as showing the mixture of French and English which seems to have prevailed in the language of the time.

³ "*Domus eorum quæ quasi palatia erectæ fuerunt.*" *Ann. Waverl.*

⁴ Authorities in *Anglia Judaica*.

the expedition, and the death of the king, prevented the levying of this enormous burden. But Henry's death, instead of relieving them from oppression, was the accidental cause of a worse calamity, — it gave an occasion for all the passions, which had long been brooding within the hearts of the people, to break forth into fierce and undisguised hostility. The whole nation crowded to the coronation of the brave Richard the First. Among the rest the Jews were eager to offer their allegiance, and to admire the splendor of the spectacle. They came in such apparel as suited the occasion, and were prepared with costly offerings to the new sovereign. But the jealous courtiers and the whole people demanded the exclusion of such dangerous guests from the royal presence, who were likely to blast all the prosperity of the reign by their ill omened appearance. It was dreaded that these notorious and wicked sorcerers would bewitch the king. Peremptory orders were issued that none should be admitted.¹ A few strangers incautiously ventured, supposing themselves unknown, into the Abbey; they were detected, maltreated, and dragged forth, half dead, from the church. The news spread like wild-fire; the populace rose at once, broke open the houses of the Jews, whom they suspected, and found to conceal, under a modest exterior, incalculable wealth; they pillaged and set fire on all sides. The king sent the chief justiciary, Sir Richard Glanville, to arrest the tumult. Proclamation was made that the Jews were under the king's protection; they had supplied him largely with contributions for his Crusade.² Avarice and hatred were too strong for authority, and during the whole night the work of plunder and havoc went

¹ *Matt. Paris*, sub ann. 1189.

² *Anglia Judaica*, p. 29.

on. "Blessed be God," is the pious ejaculation of the monkish historian, "who delivered up the wicked to death!"¹ The king, when the people, satiated with their booty, had retired, ordered a strict investigation. Many were apprehended — three were hanged; but such seems to have been the state of the public feeling, that the government either would not, or dared not, revenge the wrongs inflicted on the Jews: of the three, two suffered for robbing a Christian, on pretence of his being a Jew; one for setting fire to the house of a Jew, which burned down the next belonging to a Christian. One Benedict, to save his life, had submitted to baptism. He appealed to the king to release him from his compulsory engagement. The king referred this new case to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was present. The Archbishop, Baldwin, who was more used to handle the battle-axe than to turn over tomes of casuistry, answered, though bluntly, perhaps with more plain sense than his more learned brethren might have done, "Why, if he is not willing to become a servant of God, he must even continue a servant of the devil."² The intelligence of the vengeance wrought by the citizens of London on the enemies of the Lord, probably likewise of the rich spoil they had obtained, spread rapidly throughout the country. All England was then swarming with fanatic friars preaching the Crusade, and fierce soldiers, of all classes, who had taken up the cross.³ The example of London sounded like a tocsin, and directed their yet untried zeal and valor against the wealth and the infidelity of the Jews. At Norwich, at Edmondsbury, at Stamford, the Jews were plundered,

¹ "Per omnia benedictus Dominus qui tradidit impios." Ann. Waverl.

² Matt. Paris, sub ann. 1189.

³ Brompton, sub ann 1189.

maltreated, slain. At Lincoln they took timely warning, and, with the connivance of the governor, secured themselves and their more valuable effects in the castle. At York more disastrous scenes took place. Benedict, the relapsed convert, was a native of that city, but died in London of the ill usage he had received. His friend Jacimus (Joachim) returned to York with the sad intelligence; but scarcely had he arrived when he found the city in a state of the most alarming excitement. The house of Benedict, a spacious building, was attacked; his wife and children, with many others who had fled there as to a place of strength, were murdered; the house was burned to the ground. Joachim, with the wealthiest of the Jews, took refuge in the castle with their most valuable effects; those who were not sufficiently expeditious were put to the sword, — neither age nor sex was respected;¹ a few only escaped by submitting to baptism.

The Jews within the citadel, whether on good grounds or not, suspected that secret negotiations were going on between the governor of the castle and the populace, for their surrender; the governor, it was subtly spread abroad among them, was to be repaid for his treachery by a large share of the plunder. The desperate men felt that they had but one alternative: they seized the opportunity of the governor's absence in the town, closed the gates against him, and boldly manned the citadel. The sheriff of the county happened to be in the town with an armed force. At the persuasion of the indignant governor and of the populace, he gave the signal for attack; but, alarmed at the frantic fury with which the rabble

¹ The most complete account of all these transactions, at the accession of Richard I., is in Hemingford, sub ann. 1189.

swarmed to the assault, he endeavored to revoke his fatal order, but in vain. A more influential body, the clergy, openly urged on the besiegers. A Canon Regular, of the Premonstratensian order, stood in the midst of the ferocious multitude, in his surplice, shouting aloud, "Destroy the enemies of Christ; destroy the enemies of Christ!" Every morning this fierce churchman took the Sacrament, and then proceeded to his post, where he perished at length, crushed by a great stone from the battlements. The besieged, after a manful resistance, found their fate unavoidable. A council was summoned. Their Rabbi, a foreigner, a man educated in one of their schools of learning, and universally respected for his profound knowledge of the Law, rose up. "Men of Israel," he said, "the God of our Fathers, to whom none can say, 'What doest thou?' calls upon us to die for our Law. Death is inevitable; but we may yet choose whether we will die speedily and nobly, or ignominiously, after horrible torments and the most barbarous usage: my advice is, that we voluntarily render up our souls to our Creator, and fall by our own hands. The deed is both reasonable, and according to the Law, and is sanctioned by the example of our most illustrious ancestors." The old man sat down in tears. The assembly was divided; some declared that he had spoken wisely; others, that it was a hard saying. The Rabbi rose again, and said, "Let those who approve not of my proposal depart in peace." Some few obeyed, and left the place; the greater number remained unmoved upon their seats. They then arose, collected their most precious effects, burned all that was combustible, and buried the rest. They set fire to the castle in many places, cut the throats of their

wives and children, and then their own. The Rabbi and Joachim alone survived. The place of honor was reserved for the Rabbi; he first slew Joachim, then pierced himself to the heart. The next morning the populace rushed to the front with their accustomed fury. They beheld flames bursting from every part of the castle; and a few miserable wretches, with supplications and wild cries, running to and fro on the battlements, who related the fate of their companions; they entreated mercy, they offered to submit to baptism. No sooner were the terms accepted, and the gates opened, than the fanatic multitude poured in, and put every living being to the sword. Not content with this triumph, they rushed to the cathedral, demanded all the bonds and obligations, which had been laid up there in the archives, and cast them all into an enormous bonfire. The king might perhaps have forgiven their former crime, the massacre of his unoffending subjects, but this was an inexpiable offence, — treason against his exchequer, — as all these debts would have fallen to the Crown. Geoffrey Rydal, Bishop of Ely, the Chancellor, was sent to York, to investigate the affair, but the ringleaders of the riot fled for a time to Scotland,¹ the chief citizens entered into recognizances, nor does it appear that any persons paid the penalty of the law for this atrocious massacre, by which 500 or 1500 men — the numbers vary — were put to death.²

¹ During the reign of William the Lion (1165-1189; the accession of Richard was 1189), churchmen in Scotland were interdicted from pledging their benefices for money borrowed from Jews. Innes, *Sketches from Scottish History*, ii. p. 36.

² There is a record of one person, whose land was seized to the king on account of his concern in this massacre: "*Ricardus Malebisse r. c. de xx. marcis pro repetendâ terrâ suâ usque ad adventum regis quæ saisita fuit in manu Regis propter occisionem Judæorum Eborac. Et ut Walterus de Carton et Ricardus de Kukenciâ armigeri ejus habeant pacem Regis usque*

On his return from captivity, Richard directed his attention to the affairs of the Jews; the justices on their circuits were ordered to inquire who were the murderers, and what became of the property which had been seized: all who were in possession of these effects, and had not compounded by a fine, were to be brought to justice. The whole community was placed under certain statutes. The Jews were formally recognized as belonging to the Crown.¹ Their property was to be registered, on pain of forfeiture. No bonds and obligations were to be valid unless made in the presence of two lawyers, Jews, two lawyers, Christians, with two public notaries, and enrolled; a fee to the Crown was due on the enrolment of every bond. Two justices of the Jews² were appointed, who attended at the Exchequer to superintend this important branch of the royal revenue. There was a special court in the Exchequer for the affairs of the Jews;³ there was likewise an officer named the Jews' Escheator. All these contracts were to be made by indenture, one part to be held by the Jew, the second deposited in a common chest, of which there were three keys, one to be kept by the Jewish, one by the Christian attorney, the third by the two public

ad adventum ejus." Magn. Rot. 4. R. I.; *Anglia Judaica*, p. 28. Perhaps the statement in the text above is too strong; there may have been others.

¹ This had long been the case, upon the feudal principle, in other countries. It was recognized in England by a law (a law, however, of which the authenticity has been doubted), that the Jews, and all that belongs to them, are the property of the king (*Anglia Judaica*): "*Judæi et omnia sua regis sunt.*" Spelman admits the law, Prynne doubts it. In after-times this right was fully recognized. The Jews were taxable at the king's will. See authorities below.

² There seem to have been two kinds of justices, two Jewish justices, one named, no doubt, as representing the community (the record quoted in *Anglia Judaica*, pp. 31, 32), and the Christian justiciaries who represented the Crown. I think that more probable than the view in *Anglia Judaica*. List of Justices in Madox, p. 159, &c.

³ Madox, *Hist. of Exchequer*, pp. 150-178.

notaries. The chest was to be sealed with three seals; but in every step of all these processes the Crown contrived to wring out some emolument.¹

John, previous to his accession, had probably many dealings with the Jews; he knew their value, as a source of revenue, and commenced his reign with heaping favors upon them, by which more were daily tempted to settle in the kingdom. It might almost seem that this weak and unprincipled, but crafty prince, had formed a deliberate scheme of allowing them to accumulate ample treasures, in order that hereafter he might reap a richer harvest of plunder, and render himself independent of his unruly subjects. Their high-priest received a patent for his office from the king. He was styled in the deed, "our Beloved and our Friend" (*dilectus et familiaris noster*).² The next year a charter was issued, restoring the Jews, in England and Normandy, to all the privileges enjoyed under Henry the First. They might settle where they pleased; they might hold lands and fees, and take mortgages. They might move about with perfect freedom with their chattels, which, being the king's, could not be molested.³

¹ See in *Anglia Judaica* several forms of contract and release. In short (concludes Tovey of all these contracts), the king's will was the measure of everything; and upon paying generously for it, they might have a dispensation for anything. If the Jew's debtor would give the king a sum of money, he would order that the record should bear no interest; and unless the Jew would give him something too, he would perhaps compound the matter with the debtor, and make the Jew lose even his principal. But in no case was a Jew allowed to sue for his debt without paying poundage to the king. pp. 42, 43. Compare Madox throughout.

² He is called in the records *Sacerdos* and *Presbyter*; and it is amusing to see, where such questions run high, theology forcing itself into antiquarianism, and grave writers, like Selden and Prynne, debating whether he was priest or lay-elder. See the form of three or four such appointments, *A. J.*, pp. 58, 60, and Madox, p. 177.

³ "Et ubicunque Judæi fuerint, liceat eis ire ubicunque voluerint, cum omnibus catallis eorum, sicut res nostræ propriæ, et nulli liceat eos retinere, neque hoc eis prohibere."

They were to be tried only in the king's court, or before the governors of his royal castles. Their oath was valid as evidence,—a Christian and a Jewish witness were of equal weight. In disputes with Christians, Jews were to be tried by their own peers. They might freely buy and sell, excepting the sacred vessels and furniture of the Church. All the subjects of the realm were called upon to protect the Jews and their chattels, as the chattels of the king. Four thousand marks were paid for this charter.¹ By another statute, their own suits were to be determined by their own Law.

The favor of John was not likely to conciliate that of his subjects. All classes looked on the Jews with darker jealousy. The perpetual defamatory tales were repeated of their crucifying children; and the citizens of London, probably envious of their opulence, treated them with many indignities. The king wrote a strong rebuke to the Mayor and to the Barons of London, in which he complained that the Jews, who lived in peace in all other parts of England, were maltreated, in violation of the peace of the king and of the realm, in London alone;² he commended the Jews to their protection, stating that he attributed the recent outrages only to the fools—not to the discreet citizens³—of the metropolis; he declared that he would require their blood at the hands of the civic magistrates.

On a sudden, in the next year (1210), impatient, as it were, that any part of his subjects should sup-

¹ The Charter in *Anglia Judaica*, p. 63: "Et omnia illa quæ modo rationabiliter tenent in terris et feodis et vadiis et ablatis suis; et quod habeant omnes libertates et consuetudines suas, sicut eas habuerunt tempore prædicti Regis H. avi, patris nostri melius et quietius et honorabilius." Compare Madox, p. 173.

² The letter in *Anglia Judaica*, p. 67.

³ "Per fatuos villæ, et non per discretos."

pose him capable of a long effort of justice, or yielding with his accustomed weakness to the immediate pressure of his necessities, or perhaps rejoicing in thus having prepared himself subjects for spoliation, in whose behalf neither the imperious Pope nor his refractory Barons would interfere, John passed to the extreme of cruelty against the miserable Jews.¹ Every Israelite, without distinction of age or sex, was imprisoned, their wealth confiscated to the Exchequer, and the most cruel torments extorted from the reluctant the confession of their secret treasures. The story of the Jew of Bristol is well known—who was to lose a tooth a day till he betrayed his hoards. Ten thousand marks of silver were demanded of this wealthy merchant; he obstinately lost seven teeth, and saved the rest by paying the ransom demanded. The king gained 60,000 marks by this atrocious proceeding. A second time, demands equally extravagant were made, and these unhappy wretches, who paid so dearly for the privilege of being the vassals of the Crown, were still further plundered by the Barons, as belonging to the king. Their treasures in London were seized, and their houses demolished to repair the walls, by these stern asserters of the liberties of the land. Yet the regulations relating to the Jews in the Great Charter, though not perhaps quite equitable, were by no means wanting in moderation.² If a man died in debt to a Jew, the debt bore no interest till the heir came of age. The wife was to receive her dower, and the children their maintenance; the debt was to be discharged out of the residue.³

¹ Matt. Paris, sub ann. 1210.

² See the order for taxing the Jews of Southampton, in *Anglia Judaica*, p. 72.

³ These clauses were not in the Charter as renewed by Henry III. A. J., p. 73.

The first act of the Guardians of the Realm under Henry the Third was to release the Jews who were in prison,¹ and to appoint twenty-four burgesses of every town where they resided, to protect their persons and property,² especially against the Crusaders. Among the towns in which they were settled in considerable numbers were Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, York, Lincoln, Stamford, Bristol, Northampton, Southampton, Winchester, Oxford, Warwick, Norwich.³ They were exempted from spiritual jurisdiction, and amenable only to the king and his judges; but they were commanded to wear a distinctive mark on their dress, two stripes of white cloth or parchment. This fatal distinction may have been intended in mercy to protect them as the king's property; it would, however, more surely designate them for popular insult, or more than insult; it was in fact the reënactment or reënforcement of the Canon of the Lateran Council. Power was also given to the Rabbins to excommunicate refractory Jews. The High-Priest was presented to the king, and his authority so ratified.⁴ But the avowed protection of the Crown could not shield them from the jealousy of the merchants whose traffic they injured, the hatred of the people, and the bigotry of the clergy. The Warden of the Cinque Ports imprisoned several Jews on their landing in England. The Government interfered, but enacted that all Jews should report themselves and be enrolled by the jus-

¹ In the year 1232, Henry III. makes over the custody of the Jewry and all the Jews in Ireland to Peter de Rivaux. Royal Letters of Henry III., Appendix, p. 519.

² Many of these writs are now extant in the Tower, in a Roll marked "De Judæis deliberandis." Ang. Jud., p. 76.

³ See writ to Gloucester, A. J., p. 77.

⁴ One high-priest (he is called a bishop) was deprived, but, on his payment of three marks of gold, restored to his office. Rot., p. 29.

tices of the Jews immediately on their landing, and not quit the kingdom again without a passport.

But the Church was their more implacable enemy; among many enactments, similar to those which had been passed in other kingdoms, was one against Jews keeping Christian slaves,¹ one prohibiting the building any new synagogues, and another for the payment of all tithes or dues to the Church and the Bishop of Norwich. Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Hugh of Wells, Bishop of Lincoln, prohibited all Christians, on fear of ecclesiastical censure, from selling to them the necessities of life.² The Crown again interfered in a royal precept addressed to the Mayor of Canterbury, the Sheriff of Lincoln, the Mayor and Provost of Oxford, and the Bailiff of Norwich, and commanded all good subjects to defy the spiritual interdict.³ But these days of peace did not continue long. The Jews offered too great temptation to an impoverished king, in perpetual contest with his subjects. Their offences were said to call for punishment; they dared to sue even the clergy on their bonds;⁴

¹ The slaves were to be compelled to keep this law by ecclesiastical censure; the Jews, by canonical punishment, or by some arbitrary fine to be imposed and exacted by the diocesan.

² At the Synod of Oxford (held by Stephen Langton in 1222), a deacon, who had, from love of a Jewish woman, apostatized to Judaism, was hanged. A. J., p. 81; Matt. Paris, sub ann., with Watts's note and quotation from Lyndewood. Tovey says that the deacon was originally a Jew, but M. Paris does not bear him out. This Synod also enforced the wearing the badge.

³ A. J., p. 82.

⁴ The Prior of Dunstable permitted certain Jews to live in that town, on condition of offering two silver spoons yearly. The Jews were not duly grateful for this privilege. A Jew sued the Prior for 700 pounds (marks?) on a document said to have been proved a forgery. One of the proofs was that it contained bad grammar. The Jews paid a mark to the king for arrest of judgment; afterwards 100 pounds, lest their Law should be disgraced by the Jew being hanged. Hearne, Preface to Chron. of Dunstable.

probably in England as in other countries, their sordid spirit, ever watchful to make reprisals on society, might give countenance to many scarcely perhaps exaggerated stories of their usurious extortions. A crime was now laid to their charge, much more probable than the tales of their crucifying children, their tampering with and clipping the coin of the realm;¹ of this crime we shall soon hear more. On the occasion of the wars in France, a sudden demand was made (A. C. 1230) of a third of their movables to be paid into the Exchequer. It was followed in two years by another, of 18,000 marks; in 1236, by a third, of 10,000 marks.² Yet the royal confidence in the inexhaustible resources of the Jews, and the popular prejudice that they could only be supplied by nefarious, if not by magical or supernatural means, were confirmed not only by the discharge of these enormous demands, but by other indications of opulence, which could not be drained even by such unprecedented exactions.³ The daughter of Hamon, a Jew of Hereford, paid to the king 5000 marks as a relief. A baron's heir paid for his barony only 100 marks; a knight's fee 100 shillings. Aaron of York compounded for a payment of 100 marks a year to be free from taxes. Aaron solemnly declared to Matthew Paris, that the king had exacted from him in seven years 30,000 marks of silver — besides 200 of gold, paid to the queen.⁴

¹ A. J., p. 89.

² About this period a house was opened in London for the reception of Jewish converts; it was in Chancery Lane. Its site is now occupied by the Rolls Court. The extraordinary law which prevailed in France, that the Jewish convert to Christianity forfeited all his property (why should the lord lose his property in his Jew because the Jew would save his soul?) obtained in England also. Henry III. granted back his chattels in Kent to one Augustine, a convert from Judaism. See the Precept to the Sheriff of Kent, A. J., p. 87.

³ A. J., p. 91.

⁴ Matt. Paris, sub ann. 1250.

Yet a few years after, the nation beheld the curious spectacle of a Jewish Parliament regularly summoned. Writs were issued to the sheriffs, with most extraordinary menaces of punishment in case of disobedience,¹ to return six of the richest Jews from the more considerable towns, two from those where they were fewer in number.² This parliament met, and, like other parliaments, was graciously informed by the sovereign that he must have money; 20,000 marks was the sum demanded. His Majesty's faithful Jews could boast no parliamentary privileges, nor were they permitted to demand freedom of debate. They were sent home to collect the money as speedily as possible; it was to be assessed and levied among themselves, and, as this enormous charge was not immediately forthcoming, the collectors were seized, with their wives and children, their goods and chattels, and imprisoned.

Jewish history has a melancholy sameness — perpetual exactions, the means of enforcing them differing only in their degrees of cruelty. The Parliament of the Realm began to consider that these extraordinary succors ought at least to relieve the rest of the nation.

¹ See, in A. J., Writ to the Sheriff of Northampton: "*Sciturus quod nisi illuc ad terminum præfatum venerint, ita manum nostram tam erga corpus quam catalla tua aggravabimus, quod tu perpetuo senties non mediocriter prægravare.*" This threat must have been intended to alarm not only the sheriff, but rather the Jews; though, as their chattels were already the king's, they were liable to arbitrary seizure. "*Prynne,*" observes the author of *Anglia Judaica*, "has given us above a hundred names of persons returned to this parliament, but as they make but indifferent musick, I shall not repeat them." See warrants in A. J., pp. 112, 113. Also in Royal Letters of the time of Henry III., p. 392, Precept to the Sheriff of Kent to send up the six most substantial Jews from Canterbury and from Rochester.

² Southampton and Newcastle had petitioned that no Jews might be permitted to reside within their walls. This privilege was extended to other towns. Derby, Rot. p. 32; Rumsey, p. 38. The exemptions to Southampton and Newcastle, A. J., pp. 102, 105. Madox, pp. 176, 177.

They began to inquire into the king's resources from this quarter, and the king consented that one of the two justices of the Jews should be appointed by Parliament. But the Barons thought more of easing themselves than of protecting the oppressed. The next year a new demand of 8000 marks was made, under pain of being transported, some at least of the most wealthy, to Ireland; ¹ and, lest they should withdraw their families into places of concealment, they were forbidden, under the penalty of outlawry and confiscation, to remove wife or child from their usual place of residence, for their wives and children were now liable to taxation as well as themselves. During the next three years 60,000 marks more were levied.² How then was it possible for any traffic, however lucrative, to endure such perpetual exactions? The reason must be found in the enormous interest of money, which seems to have been considered by no means immoderate at fifty per cent. ; certain Oxford scholars thought themselves relieved by being constrained to pay only twopence weekly on a debt of twenty shillings.³ In fact, the rivalry of more successful usurers seems to have afflicted the Jews more deeply than the exorbitant demands of the king. These were the Caorsini, Italian bankers, though named from the town of Cahors, employed by the Pope to collect his revenue. It was the practice of these persons, under the sanction of their principal, to lend money for three months without interest, but afterwards to receive five per cent. monthly, till the debt was discharged: the former de-

¹ "Aliquos de ditioribus Judæis, ut corpora eorum mittant ad Regem usque ad Gannock." *Anglia Judaica*, p. 118.

² Document, A. J., p. 119. They were obliged to contribute, at least in kind, to the building and decoration of Westminster Abbey; p. 128.

³ A. J., p. 122

vice was to exempt them from the charge of usury.¹ The king, at one time, attempted to expel this new swarm of locusts; but they asserted their authority from the Pope, and the monarch trembled. Nor were their own body always faithful to the Jews. A certain Abraham, who lived at Berkhamstead and Wallingford, with a beautiful wife who bore the heathen name of Flora, was accused of treating an image of the Virgin with most indecent contumely; he was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, but released, on the intervention of Richard Earl of Cornwall, on payment of 700 marks. He was a man, it would seem, of infamous character, for his brethren accused him of coining, and offered 1000 marks rather than that he should be released from prison. Richard refused the tempting bribe, because Abraham was "his Jew." Abraham revenged himself by laying information of plots and conspiracies entered into by the whole people, and the more probable charge of concealment of their wealth from the rapacious hands of the king. This led to a strict and severe investigation of their property. At this investigation was present a wicked and merciless Jew, who rebuked the Christians for their tenderness to his brethren, and reproached the king's officers as gentle and effeminate. He gnashed his teeth, and, as each Jew appeared, declared that he could afford to pay twice as much as was exacted. Though he lied, he was useful in betraying their secret hoards to the king.²

The distresses of the king increased, and, as his Parliament resolutely refused to maintain his extravagant expenditure, nothing remained but to drain still further the veins of the Jews. The office was dele-

¹ See the bond in Matt. Paris to certain Milanese merchants.

² This characteristic scene is related by Matt. Paris, sub ann. 1250

gated to Richard Earl of Cornwall, his brother, whom, from his wealth, the king might consider possessed of some secret for accumulating riches from hidden sources. The Rabbi Elias was deputed to wait on the prince, expressing the unanimous determination of all the Jews to quit the country, rather than submit to further burdens: "Their trade was ruined by the Caorsini, the Pope's merchants (the Jew dared not call them usurers), who heaped up masses of gold by their money-lending; they could scarcely live on the miserable gains they now obtained; if their eyes were torn out, and their bodies flayed, they could not give more." The old man fainted at the close of his speech, and was with difficulty revived.¹ Their departure from the country was a vain boast, for whither should they go? The edicts of the King of France had closed that country against them, and the inhospitable world scarcely afforded a place of refuge. Earl Richard treated them with leniency, and accepted a small sum. But the next year the king renewed his demands; his declaration affected no disguise: "It is dreadful to imagine the debts to which I am bound. By the face of God, they amount to 200,000 marks; if I should say 300,000, I should not go beyond the truth. Money I must have, from any place, from any person, or by any means."² The king's acts display as little dignity as his proclamation. He actually sold or mortgaged to his brother Richard all the Jews in the realm for 5000 marks, giving him full power over their property and persons: our records still preserve the terms of this extraordinary bargain and sale.³ Popular opinion,

¹ Matt. Paris, sub ann. 1254.

² Ibid. 1255.

³ "Noveritis nos mutuo accepisse a dilecto fratre et fideli nostro R. Comite Cornuviæ quinquē millia Marcorum Sterlingorum, *novorum et integ-*

which in the worst times is some restraint upon the arbitrary oppressions of kings, in this case would rather applaud the utmost barbarity of the monarch than commiserate the wretchedness of the victims; for a new tale of the crucifixion of a Christian child, called Hugh of Lincoln, was now spreading horror throughout the country. The fact was confirmed by a solemn trial, and the conviction and execution of the criminals. It was proved, according to the mode of proof in those days, that the child had been stolen, fattened on bread and milk for ten days, and crucified with all the cruelties and insults of Christ's Passion, in the presence of all the Jews in England, summoned to Lincoln for this especial purpose; a Jew of Lincoln sat in judgment as Pilate. But the earth could not endure to be an accomplice in the crime; it cast up the buried remains, and the affrighted criminals were obliged to throw the body into a well, where it was found by the mother.¹ Great part of this story refutes itself, but I have already admitted the possibility, that among the ignorant and fanatic Jews there might be some who, exasperated by the constant repetition of this charge, might brood over it so long as at length to be tempted to its perpetration.

I must not suppress the fearful vengeance wreaked on the supposed perpetrators of this all-execrated crime. The Jew into whose house the child, it was said, had gone to play, tempted by the promise of life and security from mutilation, made full confession, and threw the guilt upon his brethren. The king, indignant at this unauthorized covenant of mercy, ordered him to

rorum, ad quorum solutionem assignavimus et tradidimus ei omnes Judæos nostros Angliæ." A. J., p. 131; from Madox, p. 135.

¹ The Annals of Waverley are full on the death and canonization of Hugh of Lincoln.

execution. The Jew, in his despair or frenzy, entered into a still more minute and terrible denunciation of all the Jews of the realm, as consenting to the act. He was dragged, tied to a horse's tail, to the gallows; his body and his soul delivered to the demons of the air. Ninety-one Jews of Lincoln were sent to London as accomplices, and thrown into dungeons. If, says the monkish historian, some Christians felt pity for their sufferings, their rivals, the Caorsini, beheld them with dry eyes. The king's inquest declared all the Jews of the realm guilty of the crime. The mother made her appeal to the king. Eighteen of the richest and most eminent of the Lincoln Jews were hung on a new gallows; twenty more were imprisoned in the Tower awaiting the same fate. But if the Jews of Lincoln were thus terribly chastised, the Church of Lincoln was enriched and made famous for centuries. The victim was canonized; pilgrims crowded from all parts of the kingdom, even from foreign lands, to pay their devotions at the shrine, to witness and to receive benefit from the miracles which were wrought by the martyr of eight years old. How deeply this legend sank into the popular mind may be conceived from Chaucer's Prioress's Tale alluded to above.

The rest of the reign of Henry the Third passed away with the same unmitigated oppressions of the Jews; which the Jews, no doubt, in some degree revenged by their extortions from the people. The contest between the royal and ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Jews was arranged by certain constitutions, set forth by the king in council. By these laws no Jew could reside in the kingdom, but as king's serf. Service was to be performed in the synagogue in a low tone, so as not to offend the ears of Christians. The

Jews were forbidden to have Christian nurses for their children. The other clauses were similar to those enacted in other countries: that the Jew should pay all dues to the parson; no Jew should eat or buy meat during Lent; all disputes on religion were forbidden; sexual intercourse between Jews and Christians interdicted; no Jew might settle in any town where Jews were not accustomed to reside, without special license from the king.¹

The Barons' wars drew on, fatal to the Israelites as compelling the king, by the hopeless state of his finances, to new extortions, and tempting the Barons to plunder and even murder them, as wickedly and unconstitutionally attached to the king. How they passed back from Richard of Cornwall into the king's jurisdiction as property appears not. It is not likely that the king redeemed the mortgage; but in 1261 they were again alienated to Prince Edward. The king's object was apparently by this and other gifts to withdraw the prince from his alliance with the Barons. The justiciaries of the Jews are now in abeyance. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was to seal all writs of Judaism, and account to the attorneys of the prince for the amount. But this was not the worst of their sufferings or the bitterest disgrace; the prince, in his turn, mortgaged them to certain of their dire enemies, the Caorsini, and the king ratified the assignment by his royal authority.²

But for this compulsory aid, wrung from them by violence, the Jews were treated by the Barons as allies and accomplices of the king. When London, at least

¹ The law in *Anglia Judaica*, and *Madox*, p. 168, who dates it about the 37th year of Henry III., A. C. 1252.

² Documents in A. J., pp. 157, 158.

her turbulent mayor and the populace, declared for the Barons ; when the grand justiciary, Hugh le Despenser led the city bands to destroy the palaces of the King of the Romans at Westminster and Isleworth, threw the Justices of the King's Bench and the Barons of the Exchequer into prison, and seized the property of the foreign merchants, five hundred of the Jews,¹ men, women, and children, were apprehended, and set apart, but not for security. Despenser chose some of the richest in order to extort a ransom for his own people ; the rest were plundered, stripped, murdered by the merciless rabble. Old men, and babes plucked from their mothers' breasts, were pitilessly slaughtered. It was on Good Friday that one of the fiercest of the Barons, Fitz John, put to death Cok ben Abraham, reputed to have been the wealthiest man in the kingdom, seized his property, but, fearful of the jealousy of the other Barons, surrendered one half of the plunder to Leicester, in order to secure his own portion.² The Jews of other cities fared no better, were pillaged, and then abandoned to the mob by the Earl of Gloucester ; many at Worcester were plundered and forced to submit to baptism by the Earl of Derby. At an earlier period the Earl of Leicester (Simon de Montfort) had expelled them from the town of Leicester ; they sought refuge

¹ In his Charter to the City, King Henry exempts his Jews, who were to remain the exclusive property of himself and his successors: "*De Judæis autem nostris nos et civitatem nostram tangentibus, providebimus, nos et hæredes nostri, prout melius nobis videbitur expedire.*" The Barons no doubt seized them as the property of the king. *Liber Albus*, p. 255.

² Lingard, of our historians, has related this with the greatest spirit and felicity from Wikes and M. Westminster. Wikes is full; Westminster more pitilessly brief: "*Ac in ipsâ Passione Dominicâ apud Londinium de quâdam proditione Baronibus simul ac civibus inferendâ, omnes fere Judæi trucidati sunt, thesauro incomparabili assumpto in Judaismò.*" p. 286 (sub ann. 1264)

in the domains of the Countess of Winchester. Robert Grostête, the wisest and best churchman of the day, then Archdeacon of Leicester, hardly permitted the Countess to harbor this accursed race; their lives might be spared, but all further indulgence, especially acceptance of their ill-gotten wealth, would make her an accomplice in the wickedness of their usuries.¹

After the battle of Lewes, the king, with the advice of his Barons (he was now a prisoner in their camp), issued a proclamation to the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London, in favor of the Jews. Some had found refuge, during the tumult and massacre, in the Tower of London; they were permitted to return with their families to their homes. All ill-usage or further molestation was prohibited under pain of death. Orders of the same kind were issued to Lincoln; twenty-five citizens were named by the king and the Barons² their special protectors; so also to Northampton. The king (Prince Edward was now at war with the Barons, who had the king in their power) revoked the grant of the

¹ Read the remarkable letter of Robert Grostête, then Archdeacon of Leicester, afterwards the famous Bishop of Lincoln, to the Countess on this subject, as showing the feelings of the most enlightened churchman in those times towards the Jews. His mercy, if it was mercy, would spare their lives. "As murderers of the Lord, as still blaspheming Christ and mocking His Passion, they were to be in captivity to the princes of the earth. As they have the brand of Cain, and are condemned to wander over the face of the earth, so were they to have the privilege of Cain, that no one was to kill them. But those who favored or harbored them were to take care that they did not oppress Christian subjects by usury. It was for this reason that Simon de Montfort had expelled them from Leicester. Whoever protected them might share in the guilt of their usuries." There are some sentences evidently pointed at the king, for his dealings with them, and his connivance (by extorting, it is presumed, a share in their ungodly gains) in their nefarious practices: "*Principes quoque qui de usuris, quas Judæi a Christianis extorserint, aliquid acceperint, de rapinâ vivunt et sanguinem eorum quos tueri deberent, sine misericordia bibunt et induunt.*" *Epist. Rob. Grostête*, p. 36, Rolls Publication.

² Trivet, A. J., p. 166.

Jews to his son ; with that the grant to the Caorsini, which had not expired, was cancelled. The justiciaries appointed by the prince to levy the tallage upon them were declared to have lost their authority ; the Jews passed back to the property of the king. The king showed his power by annulling many debts and the interest due upon them to some of his faithful followers, avowedly in order to secure their attachment.¹ It was now clearly for the king's interest that such profitable subjects should find, we may not say justice, but something like restitution, which might enable them again to become profitable. The king in the parliament, which commenced its sittings immediately after the battle of Lewes, and continued till after the battle of Evesham, restored the Jews to the same state in which they were before the battle of Lewes. As to the Jews in London,² the Constable of the Tower was to see not only that those who had taken refuge in the Tower, but those who had fled to other places, were to return to their houses, which were to be restored, except such as had been granted away by the king ; and even all their property which could be recovered from the king's enemies. Excepting that some of the Barons' troops, flying from the battle of Evesham, under the younger Simon de Montfort, broke open and plundered the synagogue at Lincoln, where they found much wealth, and some excesses committed at Cambridge, the Jews had time to breathe. The king, enriched by the forfeited estates of the Barons, spared the Jews. We only find a tallage of 1000 pounds, with promise of exemption

¹ " Ut nobis devotiores et ad obsequium nostrum promptiores efficiantur." See the Instrument, A. J., p. 167.

² Writ to the Mayor and Sheriffs, A. J., p. 161; Parliamentary Writ, p 164.

for three years, unless the king or his son should undertake a Crusade.¹

Their wrongs had, no doubt, sunk deep into the hearts of the Jews. It has been observed that oppression, which drives even wise men mad, may instigate fanatics to the wildest acts of frenzy; an incident at Oxford will illustrate this. Throughout these times the Jews still flourished, if they may be said to have flourished, at Oxford. In 1244 certain clerks of the University broke into the houses of the Jews and carried away enormous wealth. The magistrates seized and imprisoned some of the offenders. Grostête, as bishop of the diocese (Oxford was then in the diocese of Lincoln), commanded their release, because there was no proof of felony against them.² We hear nothing of restitution. The scholars might indeed hate the Jews, whose interest on loans was *limited*, by Bishop Grostête, to twopence weekly in the pound, — between 40 and 50 per cent. Probably the poor scholars' security was not over-good. Later, the studies in the University are said to have been interrupted, the scholars being unable to redeem their books pledged to the Jews.³

Four-and-twenty years after the outbreak of the scholars, years of bitterness and spoliation and suffering, while the Chancellor and the whole body of the University were in solemn procession to the reliques of St. Frideswide, they were horror-struck by beholding a Jew rush forth, seize the cross which was borne before them, dash it to the ground, and trample upon it

¹ Warrant, A. J., p. 167.

² "Bona eorum innumerabilia asportaverunt." Wikes, sub ann. 1244. ". . . quia nullus apparuit qui eos directe convincere posset de crimine felonie." Ibid.

³ Compare Luard. Preface to Grostête Epistolæ, p. lxix.; for the latter fact, A. J., p. 209.

with the most furious contempt. The offender seems to have made his escape in the tumult, but his people suffered for his crime. Prince Edward was then at Oxford; and, by the royal decree, the Jews were imprisoned, and forced, notwithstanding much artful delay on their part, to erect a beautiful cross of white marble, with an image of the Virgin and Child, gilt all over, in the area of Merton College;¹ and to present to the proctors another cross of silver, to be borne in all future processions of the University.² The Jews endeavored to elude this penalty by making over their effects to other persons. The king empowered the sheriff to levy the fine on all their property.³

The last solemn act of Henry of Winchester was a statute of great importance. Complaints had arisen that the Jews, by purchase, or probably foreclosure of mortgage, might become possessed of all the rights of lords of manors, escheat wardships, even of presentation to churches. They might hold entire baronies with all their appurtenances. The whole was swept away by one remorseless clause. The Act⁴ disqualified the Jews altogether from holding lands, or even tenements, except the houses of which they were actually possessed, particularly in the city of London, where they might only pull down and rebuild on the old foundations. All lands or manors were actually taken away; those which they held by mortgage were to be restored to the Christian owners, without any interest on such bonds. Henry almost died in the act of extortion; he

¹ Walter de Merton purchased of a Jew the ground on which the front of his College now stands, Nov. 12, 1272.

² Wood's Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford, ad ann. 1288.

³ See king's warrant, &c., A. J., p. 176.

⁴ See the Act, which the author of *Anglia Judaica* discovered in the Bodleian, p. 188.

had ordered the arrears of all charges to be peremptorily paid, under pain of imprisonment. Such was the distress caused by this inexorable mandate, that even the rival bankers, the Caorsini, and the Friars themselves, were moved to commiseration, though some complained that the wild outcries raised in the synagogue on this doleful occasion disturbed the devotion of the Christians in the neighboring churches.¹

The death of Henry released the Jews from this Egyptian bondage; but they changed their master, not their fortune. The first act of Edward's reign, after his return from the Holy Land, regulated the affairs of the Jews exactly in the same spirit: a new tallage was demanded, which was to extend to the women and children; the penalty of non-payment, even of arrears, was exile, not imprisonment. The defaulter was to proceed immediately to Dover, with his wife and children, leaving his house and property to the use of the king. The execution of this edict was committed, not to the ordinary civil authorities, but to an Irish bishop (elect) and to two friars.² This edict was followed up by the celebrated Act of Parliament concerning Judaism,³ the object of which seems to have been the same with the policy of Louis IX. of France, to force the Jews to abandon usury, and betake themselves to traffic, manufactures, or the cultivation of land. It positively prohibited all usury, and cancelled all debts on payment of the principal. No Jew might distress beyond the moiety of a Christian's land and goods; they were to wear their badge, a badge now of

¹ *Anglia Judaica*, p. 196.

² See *Commission*, p. 198.

³ See the Act translated from the Norman-French. It is remarkable that the king admits, notwithstanding, that they (the Jews) are and have been very profitable to him and his ancestors.

yellow, not white, and pay an Easter offering of three-pence, men and women, to the king. They were permitted to practise merchandise, or labor with their hands, and — some of them, it seems, were still addicted to husbandry — to hire farms for cultivation for fifteen years. On these terms they were assured of the royal protection. But manual labor and traffic were not sources sufficiently expeditious for the enterprising avarice of the Jews. Many of them, thus reduced, took again to a more unlawful and dangerous occupation, clipping and adulterating the coin. In one day (Nov. 17, 1279) all the Jews in the kingdom were arrested. In London alone, 280 were executed, after a full trial; many more in other parts of the kingdom. A vast quantity of clipped coin was found, and confiscated to the king's use.¹ The king granted their estates and forfeitures with lavish hand. But law, though merciless, and probably not over-scrupulous in the investigation of crime, did not satisfy the popular passions, which had been let loose by these wide and general accusations. The populace took the law into their own hands. Everywhere there was full license for plunder, and worse than plunder. The king was obliged to interpose. A writ² was issued, addressed to the justiciaries who had presided at the trials for the adulteration of the coin, Peter of Pentecester, Walter of Heylynn, John of Cobham, appointed justiciaries for the occasion. It recited that many Jews had been indicted and legally condemned to death, and to the forfeiture of their goods and chattels; but that certain Christians, solely on account of religious differences,

¹ Ann. Waverl., sub ann. 1278: "*Inventa est maxima summa retonsonis [clipped coin] apud eos quæ totaliter devenit ad fiscum Regis, ad magnum damnum totius regni et gravamen.*"

² See the Writ, in A. J., p. 208.

were raising up false and frivolous charges against men who had not been legally arraigned, in order to extort money from them by fear. No Jew against whom a legal indictment had not been issued before the 1st of May was to be molested or subject to accusation. Those only arrested on grave suspicion before that time were to be put upon their trial. Jewish tradition attributes the final expulsion of the Jews to these charges, which the king, it avers, did not believe, yet was compelled to yield to popular clamor.¹

But not all the statutes, nor public executions, nor the active preaching of the Dominican Friars, who undertook to convert them if they were constrained to hear their sermons (the king's bailiffs, on the petition of the Friars,² were ordered to induce the Jews to

¹ Schevet Judah: "*Hac arte evertere Judæos aggressi Christiani fingunt et dictitant, adulterasse monetam.*" Though these charges were disproved, the king would not acknowledge his belief of their innocence. p. 140.

² The petition of the Friars was, "*Quod omnes Judæos, ubicunque locorum in Ballivis vestris conversantes, efficaciter moneatis et inducat, quod in locis ubi vobis de consilio Fratrum ipsorum magis expedire videbitur ad audiendum verbum Dei convenient; et illud ab iisdem Fratribus, absque tumultu, contentione vel blasphemia, audiant diligenter et benigne.*" A. J., p. 219. The king was graciously pleased to accede to the wishes of the Dominicans, and to issue instructions accordingly, to be valid so long as he should think fit. The king did more: he generously waived his claim for seven years to more than a moiety of the goods of the converts; the other half was given to maintain the poor in the Hospital for Converts, already founded on ground now occupied by the Rolls Court. (The king had before granted deodands on the Jews to the Friars Preachers.) There are in Anglia Judaica several appointments of wardens, and other documents relating to this house and chapel. It is still more curious that allowances were made to converts from Judaism, after the grant of the house to the Master of the Rolls, out of the revenue of the house. One in the time of Richard II. to a female, said to have been the daughter of a bishop (Episcopi) of the Jews; she had one penny a day. Another as late as James II.; the convert had 1½d. a day (A. J., p. 226). Among the strange anomalies of the time was an action for defamation against certain persons (it was a litigation about the dower of a Jew's wife), for asserting that the Jewess had been baptized. A. J., p. 231.

become quiet, meek, and uncontentious hearers), could either alter the Jewish character, still patient of all evil so that they could extort wealth, or suppress the still-increasing clamor of public detestation, which demanded that the land should cast forth from its indignant bosom this irreclaimable race of rapacious infidels. Still worse, if we may trust a Papal Bull, the presence and intercourse of the Jews were dangerous to the religion of England. In the year 1286, the Pope (Honorius IV.) addressed a Bull to the Archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans, rebuking them for the remissness of the clergy in not watching more closely the proceedings of the Jews. The Archbishop, indeed, had not been altogether so neglectful in the duty of persecution. The number and the splendor of the synagogues in London had moved the indignation, perhaps the jealousy, of Primate Peckham. He issued his monition to the Bishop of London to inhibit the building any more of these offensively sumptuous edifices, and to compel the Jews to destroy those built within a prescribed time. The zeal of the Bishop of London (Robert de Gravesend) outran that of the Archbishop; he ordered them all to be levelled to the ground. The Archbishop, prevailed on by the urgent supplications of the Jews, graciously informed the bishop that he might conscientiously allow one synagogue, if that synagogue did not wound the eyes of pious Christians by its magnificence.¹ But the Bull of Honorius IV. was something more than a stern condemnation of the usurious and extortionate practices of the Jews; it was a complaint of their progress, not merely in inducing Jewish converts to Christianity to apostatize back to Judaism, but of their not unsuccessful endeavors to

¹ A. J., pp. 302-304.

tempt Christians to Judaism. "These Jews lure them to their synagogues on the Sabbath [are we to suppose that there was something splendid and attractive in the Synagogue worship of the day?]; and in their friendly intercourse at common banquets, the souls of Christians, softened by wine and good eating and social enjoyment, are endangered."¹ The Talmud of the Jews, which they still persist in studying, is especially denounced as full of abomination, falsehood, and infidelity.

The king at length listened to the public voice, and the irrevocable edict of total expulsion from the realm was issued. Their whole property was seized at once, and just money enough left to discharge their expenses to foreign lands, perhaps equally inhospitable.² The 10th October was the fatal day. The king benignantly allowed them till All Saints' Day; after which all who delayed were to be hanged without mercy. The king, in the execution of this barbarous proceeding, put on the appearance both of religion and moderation. Safe-conducts were to be granted to the sea-shore from all parts of the kingdom. The Wardens of the Cinque Ports were to provide shipping and receive the exiles

¹ "Præfati quoque Judæi non solum mentes fidelium ad eorum sectam pestiferam allicere moluntur, verum etiam illos qui salubri ducti consilio infidelitatis abjurantes errorem ad lucem catholicæ fidei convolarunt donis multimodis ad apostatandum inducere non verentur." They invite Christians on the Sabbath to their synagogues, "quamobrem plerique Christiani pariter Judaizant." They buy Christian servants of both sexes. . . . "Christiani et Judæi in domibus propriis sæpe conveniunt, et dum simul comessionibus et potationibus vacant, erroris malitia præparatur." Apud Raynaldum, sub ann. 1286.

² The Act for the expulsion of the Jews has not come down to us; we know not, therefore, the reasons alleged for the measure. Of the fact there can be no doubt (see Report on the Dignity of a Peer, p. 180), and there are many documents relating to the event, as writs to the authorities in Gloucester and York, to grant them safe-conduct to the ports where they were to embark.

with civility and kindness. The king expressed his intention of converting great part of his gains to pious uses, but the Church looked in vain for the fulfilment of his vows. He issued orders that the Jews should be treated with kindness and courtesy on their journey to the sea-shore. But where the prince by his laws thus gave countenance to the worst passions of human nature, it was not likely that they would be suppressed by his proclamations. The Jews were pursued from the kingdom with every mark of popular triumph in their sufferings; one man, indeed, the master of a vessel at Queenborough, was punished for leaving a considerable number on the shore at the mouth of the river, when, as they prayed to him to rescue them from their perilous situation, he answered, that they had better call on Moses, who had made them pass safe through the Red Sea; and sailing away with their remaining property, left them to their fate.¹ The number of exiles is variously estimated at 15,060 and 16,511; all their property, debts, obligations, mortgages, escheated to the king. Yet some, even in those days, presumed to doubt whether the nation gained by the act of expulsion, and even ventured to assert that the public burdens on the Christians only became heavier and more intolerable.² Catholics suffered in the place of the enemies of the Cross of Christ. The

¹ Coke's Institutes, p. 508. Matt. Westminster, sub ann. 1290.

² "Sane quantum emolumenti regis fisco deperit per relegationem Judæorum a regno, multo amplius eidem per deplorabilem quintæ decimæ totius regni quam extorsit a Catholicis exaggerationem: sic quoque pro inimicis Christi crucis immisericorditer puniuntur." Wikes adds, "Nec quatenus æstimari potest occasione tanti *sceleris* deperit, præsertim cum non tantum tallagiis, sed et placitis, denariis, eschætis, et exeniis ærarium Domini Regis consueverunt multipliciter augmentare." Wikes, sub ann. 1290.

loss to the Crown was enormous.¹ The convents made themselves masters of the valuable libraries of the Jews, one at Stamford, another at Oxford, from which the celebrated Roger Bacon is said to have derived great information ; and long after, the common people would dig in the places they had frequented, in hopes of finding buried treasures. Thus terminates the first period of the History of the Jews in England.

¹ "Great," writes the author of *Anglia Judaica*, "were the spoils they left behind them. Whole Rolls, full of patents relating to their estates, are still remaining in the Tower, which, together with their rents in fee and their mortgages, all escheated to the King." p. 244.

BOOK XXVI.

JEWS EXPELLED FROM SPAIN.

Superiority of the Jews of Spain — Early Period — Alfonso VIII. — **Ferdinand III.** — Alfonso X., the Wise — *Siete Partidas* — Attempt at Conversion — Ferdinand IV. — Alfonso XI. — Pedro of Castile and Henry of Trastamare — Zeal of the Clergy — Pope Benedict XIII. — Conversions — Vincent Ferrer — New Christians — The Inquisition — Ferdinand and Isabella — Expulsion of the Jews from Spain — Sufferings in Italy — In Morocco — In Portugal — Their subsequent History in the two Kingdoms.

FRANCE and England had thus finally, it might appear, purified their realms from the infection of Jewish infidelity. Two centuries after their expulsion from England, one after that from France — Spain, disdaining to be outdone in religious persecution, made up the long arrears of her dormant intolerance, and asserted again her evil preëminence in bigotry. The Jews of Spain were of a far nobler rank than those of England, of Germany, and even of France. In the latter countries they were a caste, — in the former, as it were, an order in the state. Prosperous and wealthy, they had not been, generally, reduced to the sordid occupations and debasing means of extorting riches, to which, with some exceptions, they had sunk in other countries. They were likewise the most enlightened class in the kingdom; they were possessors and cultivators of the soil; they were still, not seldom, ministers of finance; their fame as physicians was generally acknowledged, and no doubt deserved, — for they had

in their own tongue, or in Arabic, the best books of the ancient writers on medicine, and, by their intercourse with the East, no doubt obtained many valuable drugs unknown in the West.

Jewish tradition, which took the form of legend, looked back to Spain as the scene of a golden age. "For more than six hundred years beautiful and flourishing Spain might be looked on as the happy land, the earthly Paradise. There party-madness had not inflamed the inhabitants against each other, and disturbed the sweet domestic peace. Every one might worship God in his own manner, without on that account being despised and hated. Even Israel, that oppressed and persecuted people, found in happy Spain a haven of freedom. Every one sat under his shady fig-tree or cluster-laden vine, singing hymns of thanksgiving to the mighty God of Israel, who again had mercy on His people, and gave them rest so long unknown. There were great men who sprang from the stock of Israel, men of learning, men of wisdom, poets, artists, whose names even to our own days are held in honor."¹ It might have been difficult for the author of these glowing sentences to make out his six centuries of peace. The Moorish persecution, which drove Maimonides from his native land, and other persecutions, related in my former pages, break in on this bright and serene retrospect. Whatever they were in other lands, in Spain they were more than a people within a people — they were a state within a state. The heads of the community, whether as princes or Rabbins, exercised not only religious, but civil authority also; they formed a full judicial tribunal in criminal as well as ecclesiasti-

¹ I cannot call to mind from what Jewish writer I transcribed this, but can vouch for its accuracy.

cal affairs; adjudged not only in cases of property, but of life; passed sentences beyond that of excommunication, sentences of capital punishment. Many of the hostile statutes of the Kings and of the Cortes aim at depriving them of this judicial power; they are to cease to have judges. Even as late as 1391 they put to death, as unsound, Don Joseph Pichon.¹ It was only at that time, under John I., that they were deprived of this right.

We have seen the commencement of the Iron Age in Spain;² we must ascend again the stream of history to trace the gradually and irregularly darkening doom of the race in the Spanish peninsula.

Mariana would give the authority of history to the passion of the renowned Alfonso VIII. (A. c. 1158–1213) for the beautiful Jewess of Toledo, Rachel. To the judgment of God, for the sin of the king and his adultery, was attributed the loss of the great battle of Alarcos (A. c. 1195). The nobles released the king from the bonds of his unholy love by murdering the unhappy Jewess. The subject has been a favorite with Spanish dramatists.³ In the great crusade of the Christian kings, of Castile, of Aragon, and of Navarre, which won the crowning victory of Navas de Tolosa (A. c. 1212), the wild cry, which had rung through the cities of France and on the Rhine against the Jews, was raised in Toledo. The king and the nobles interposed,⁴ but it is said not before 12,000 miserable Jews had been maltreated or fallen by the sword. The

¹ Amador de los Rios, p. 188.

² See p. 211.

³ Lope de Vega, *Mirademesqua*, *Diamante*, and *La Huerta*. I have read *Diamante's* play, which is very spirited. *Huerta's* is a more regular tragedy. See Mariana, xi. c. 18.

⁴ Mariana, xi. c. 23.

triumph of the Christians threatened to be as fatal to the Jews as their arming for battle against the unbelievers; but the conquering monarch had power to restrain their ferocity.

Better times came with better kings. The silence of history as to the state of the Jews during the reign of Ferdinand the Saint, from 1217 to 1252, shows at least that he had a nobler title to sanctity than as a persecutor. Scarcely more is known than that at his remonstrance on the impracticability of branding the Jews with a peculiar dress, and so arraying the two races in irreconcilable hostility and exposing one to daily and habitual contempt, the mild Honorius III. suspended the execution of the stern law of his predecessor, Innocent III., unless under further instructions from the Papal See.¹

Alfonso the Wise of Castile commenced his long reign in A. C. 1252. Already, before his father's death, in the settlement of the affairs of the city of Seville, the Prince showed manifest signs of favor to the proscribed race. He conceded to them certain lands; in Seville he gave them three mosques for synagogues. Their Jewry was enclosed by a wall which reached from the Alcazar to the Carmona Gate. He bestowed other heritable possessions on opulent Jews. He encouraged the residence of learned and distinguished Jews in the city. The Jews, in gratitude, presented

¹ "Quare nobis fuit, tam ex dicti regis [Ferdinand III.] quam ex tua parte humiliter supplicatum, ut executione constitutionis super hoc edictæ tibi supersedere de nostra provisione liceret, cum absque gravi scandalo procedere non valeat in eadem: volentes igitur *tranquillitati dicti regis et regni* paternâ solitudine providere, præsentium tibi auctoritate mandamus, quatenus executionem constitutionis supradictæ suspendas, quamdiu expedire cognoveris, nisi forsan super exequendam eandem apostolicum mandatum speciale reciperes." Honor. III. ad Archiepiscopum Toletanum, April, 1219.

to him a key of exquisite workmanship for the cathedral of Seville, with the inscription, "God will open; the king will enter in." The same words in Hebrew characters ran round the ring of the key.¹ Soon after his accession Alfonso founded professorships at Seville, at Toledo, and other places, for the cultivation of the Hebrew language and literature. Perhaps the grant, under a sealed letter, to the metropolitan church of Seville, to impose the same capitation-tax on the Jews which prevailed in other dioceses of Spain, may have been in some degree a protective measure. It is but natural, and no unfair imputation, to suppose that the zeal of the clergy would be somewhat mitigated by this tribute. Such useful tributaries would be less hateful, for money is a great peace-maker. But when the wise and just Alfonso was called on to draw up the great Statute Laws of the realm (the *Siete Partidas*),² he was constrained to make concessions to the sterner spirit of the times. In this code there is a severe enactment against the public preaching of Judaism and the endeavor to make proselytes (this ordinance, like all of the same class, betrays some dread of the strength of Judaism). There is an inhibition (perhaps a merciful one) for all Jews to keep within their houses on Friday, on pain of being exposed to insult and injury from the excited Christians. They are excluded from all public offices. The Christians are interdicted from living in familiarity with Jews. Jews are forbidden to have Christian servants; and finally they are condemned to wear some mark on their dress distinguish-

¹ There is another version of this story, which would suppose that the Jews were not quite so grateful. The words in Hebrew, it is said, were, — "The king of all the earth [meaning their Messiah] shall enter in." *Amador de los Rios*, p. 49, with note.

² *Siete Partidas*, vii. 24.

ing them from other vassals of the realm. This last and severest clause was perhaps inevitable. The austere old Pope, Gregory IX., had retracted the concession of the mild Honorius III. (A. C. 1234). He had exacted from all the kings of Spain the strict enforcement of the canon of the Lateran Council concerning the distinctive dress of the Jews (A. C. 1235). The same Pope had issued two Bulls, one to the King of Castile, one to the whole of Spain, commanding, in the spirit of St. Louis, the interdiction of the Talmud to the Jews. But the execution of this ordinance, in Spain, was impossible. On the other hand, there were enactments in this code of a more liberal character. The Jews were permitted to rebuild their synagogues; severe penalties were attached to the Christian who should profane them. The Jews were exempt from arrest (save in cases of robbery or murder) on the Sabbath, lest the quiet of their religious observances should be disturbed. And there was a provision, that Jews who became Christians were to be held in honor; they were not to be reproached, neither themselves nor their families, with their Jewish blood. They were to be masters of their own possessions, to share with their brethren, and to inherit according to Jewish law, as if still Jews. They might hold all offices and honors open to other Christians.

This privilege was no doubt connected with a noble and generous movement for their conversion to the faith of the Gospel by fair argument, to which it was supposed that their high state of cultivation, their liberal learning, and the milder spirit of legislation, and of general usage, might open their minds with far greater success than hatred, contempt, and persecution. At the head of this movement stood Raimond de Pen-

naforte, confessor to King James of Aragon. The Dominicans, the fathers of the Inquisition, had not yet hardened themselves into the fatal belief that the fire and the stake were the lawful and the best instruments of conversion to the faith of Jesus. James of Aragon went so far as to permit a religious tournament to take place in his palace at Barcelona. A monk named Paul appeared on the Christian side; on that of the Jews, the famous Moses, the son of Nachman. Each combatant claimed the victory. The brother Paul received permission from the king to preach in all the synagogues of the Jews, and to receive the expenses of the journey out of the tribute paid to the Church by the Jews. Ben Nachman claimed the triumph, and received a valuable present in money from the king. But the dispute, like all such disputes, had little effect; no one was the better, not a convert was made.¹ The

¹ It is, I presume, to Alfonso the Wise that is to be referred the curious conference, in the Schevet Judah, with Thomas the Philosopher. Though a Christian (see p. 42), Thomas was yet profoundly versed in Jewish erudition. A bishop had preached to the king, that the Jews never celebrated their Passover but with the blood of a Christian. "Though," says the king, "there are manifest signs of folly rather than of wisdom in that bishop, yet the populace fully believe a man of his position. What am I to do?" The king then enters into a strange view of Roman and Jewish history, not giving a high notion of his historical knowledge. The philosopher expresses his wonder that the king and a people so wise as the Spaniards could listen to such old wives' fables. He insists on the prohibition in the Law against murder, and against the tasting of the blood even of animals. The latter part of the philosopher's defence is more curious: "All these calumnies against the Jews are from envy. When the Jews came into the kingdom, poor, and with tattered garments, no one heard of the charges of killing children and drinking Christian blood; now that the Jew appears like a king [regnare videtur], and if he has 200 florins buys for himself a robe of silk, for his sons gold brocade, such as princes whose annual revenues are 1000 crowns cannot afford, the Christians take counsel to expel the Jews from the realm. When the Christian was rich, the Jew poor, all was well; now that, through usury, the Jew is rich, the Christian poor, the Jews, by their superior cleverness, have scraped together so much wealth that they possess one half of the lands and property in the king-

king ordered a censure upon Jewish books ; all passages against Christianity were to be struck out. This Paul is the same monk who obtained great influence over Louis IX., and advised him to pass that persecuting law. But Alfonso the Wise rendered more important homage to the Jewish civilization of Spain. Of the Arabian science and the Arabian philosophy, which in older times had allured the more enlightened and inquiring minds of Europe, such as Gerbert (Pope Sylvester II.), to their schools in Spain, almost all which remained was with the Jews. In framing his famous Astronomical Tables, the king called in the aid of Jews, and it is probable that to them they owe their scientific value.

During all this time the perpetual and complicated money transactions between the Jews and the Christians throughout the Peninsula as elsewhere, if they did not require, were compelled to submit to legal reg-

dom." The king goes on to assign another cause for the hatred of the Jews, — their unsocial disposition: "Nothing unites the hearts of those who differ so much as familiar and friendly intercourse: but if the lip of a Christian has touched a cup, the Jew pours out the wine as unclean." Thomas excuses this as a narrow Talmudic prejudice. He then gives advice to the king, of which the Jews assuredly would not approve: "Send out a herald and make proclamation that all the lands and possessions now occupied by the Jews be returned to their owners; from henceforth let no Jew wear silk, but every one wear the red fillet which distinguishes the Jew." The whole people applauded, as they might be expected to do, this wise proposal of the philosopher; and he was then enabled to pursue an investigation by which it appeared that the body of a dead Christian, found in the house of a Jew, had been placed there by a wicked conspiracy of some zealous Christians. Here, if the reader be tempted to open the Schevet Judah, let him pause, unless he would lose himself in a labyrinth of Talmudic nonsense. There is another singular conference of Alfonso the Wise with a Jewish deputation, on account of a charge of murdering a Christian at Ossuna. The king avails himself of the knowledge which he has obtained from the philosopher Thomas. At the close of this inquiry, John de la Vera, who had brought a false (pp. 78-92) accusation against the Jews, is condemned to be buried alive, but, on his petition, only hanged.

ulation. Usury was prohibited by law, and the Jews were held to be violating their own law in demanding it. But necessity knows no law; and the supposition that the rich would lend their money without profit or advantage was an absurdity open to the coarsest common sense. The creditor, Lombard, Caorsin, or Jew, would lend on the highest interest he could extort, and in proportion to the precariousness of the security. The debtor, under the necessity of borrowing, would use every subterfuge and implore legal protection against the payment of his debts. In Spain the Jews probably held a monopoly in the money-market; it was as yet too barren a province for the enterprising Italians; and the wealth was chiefly in the hands of the Jews.¹ The laws, and the kings and nobles, the authors of the laws, had the difficult task of adjusting the demands of concession to one class of their impoverished subjects with the least possible injustice to the other class, their useful, if despised subjects. Some laws of Alfonso VII., in the *Fuero Viejo*, of Castile, had seemed to favor the Jews on this point. The Jewish as well as the Christian creditor might seize the movables of a debtor, either for the debt or the interest upon it, and sell them. He might even seize their lands, under certain restrictions, but not sell them. There were provisions, not unjust, for the proof of debts. In Aragon, King James limited interest to 20 per cent.;² but in the kingdom of Navarre it was otherwise. Not only was usury altogether forbidden, but a Bull was obtained from Pope Alexander IV.

¹ “*Comperies tertiam agrorum et possessionum partem cuæ in universa Hispania sunt, per immanes usuras jam cessisse Judæis.*” Schevet Judah, p. 33.

² Jost, vi. 296

(A. C. 1254–1261), which empowered the kings to seize all estates obtained by the Jews through what were called usurious practices, and restore them to the owners, — in default of owners, to give them to the Crown. In Navarre, too, the law of St. Louis prevailed, by which the Jew could recover only the capital, not the interest of his debt.

But of the wealth of the Jews there is extant a remarkable evidence, a detailed account of the capitation-dues paid to the prelates and to the nobles of Castile, or to hidalgos, who had obtained grants out of these funds, on the field of battle, or from the bounty of kings or prelates, or in commutation for other grants, in the archbishopric of Toledo, the bishoprics of Cuenca, Palencia, Burgos, Calahorra, Osma, Plasencia, Sigüenza, Segovia, Avila, the kingdom of Murcia, the kingdom of Leon, the frontiers of Andalusia. The total sum was from two millions and a half to towards three millions of maravedis (the maravedi was reckoned at ten deniers); the number of Jews who paid the tax is stated at 850,961. But, as in the *Aljama*, this tax, which had been granted at the instigation of Alfonso before his accession to the throne, was paid only by males above seventeen years old, the Jewish population must have amounted to three millions; and as the commerce and industry, perhaps even in large part the profitable cultivation of the soil, was in the hands of the Jews, their flourishing state, under the administration of the Wise Alfonso, may be fairly estimated; — a state to be sadly changed under his fierce and barbarous successors. To the Jews in the kingdoms of Castile and Leon must be added those of Aragon and Navarre.¹

¹ Unfortunately, in the account of this curious document, though the

In the frontier provinces, in Navarre and Catalonia, and the adjacent districts, the Jews suffered by the insurrection of the shepherds, which spread through those parts. They were accused in those districts, as in the South of France, of causing the dreadful plague of leprosy, which ensued, and of poisoning the fountains.¹ Still, on the whole they were protected by the wiser kings of Aragon and Castile from the growing jealousy of the nobles, and the implacable animosity of the clergy.

From the reign of Alfonso the Wise in Castile, under Sancho I.; and Ferdinand IV. to that of Alfonso XI.; during the wars of the Kings of Aragon with France for the possession of the crown of Sicily, and through-

detailed numbers are given, Magnabal's translation of Amador de los Rios is deficient, and there seems to me an inexplicable contradiction between the text and the notes. It is a copy of an ordinance of the metropolitan church of Toledo, preserved in the city of Huete; the date is 1290, six years after the death of Alfonso the Wise. Neither the text nor the notes state how much each Jew paid per head, but no doubt it was three maravedis (thirty pence). In the text the sum total is given at 2,801,345; in the note, at 2,564,855. Nor are we distinctly told, but left to infer, from the grant of the Aljama to the metropolitan church at Seville, that it was paid only by persons above seventeen years old (p. 48). But there is this further grave difficulty: Jost had before (vi. 380) printed this document. But the numbers in Jost differ in particular parts most materially; *i.e.*, for Toledo and those that paid there, Jost has 16,505; Amador de los Rios, 216,500. The total of the archbishopric of Toledo in Jost is 558,216; in De Rios, 1,062,902. The total in Jost is 2,100,000. They differ more formidably in the more important result, the number of the Jews (neither determines whether the tax was paid on the whole population or only by adults). Jost reckons only 80,000 taxable Jews (*achtzig tausend*); De Rios, as we see, above 800,000 (*"nombre d'âmes qui payait," note*). Jost calculates the Jews in Christian Spain at half a million. Considering that the Christian population of Spain, especially of Castile, must have been by no means great, the smaller number would appear more probable. In Ersch und Grüber there is a third transcript of this account, differing again in the numbers. Cassel thinks Jost incorrect.

¹ The Jewish historian (Schevet Judah) relates with pride that the wealthy Jews of Tudela, and even those of France and Germany, contributed largely to allay the sufferings of their brethren.

out the contest for the Castilian throne, and the long strife of the king against the nobles, although the financial embarrassments were perpetual, and more than once the kings resorted to the ultimate remedy of tampering with the coin, yet the great desperate mode of alleviating taxation, the unfailing resource of France and England, the plunder of the Jews, does not seem to have occurred to the sovereign or to the nobles. The Jews of the great cities, Toledo, Seville, Burgos, still paid to the churches or chapters of those cities in their Aljamas, the three maravedis, or thirty pence, for each adult. The sum had long been fixed by the Christians, and the Jews might overlook, if they would, the ignominious significance of that special sum fixed in memorial of the betrayal of Christ.¹ The king, however, does not seem to have assumed or exercised the right of taxing them at his will, as his men, his feudal serfs. The great Queen Regent, Maria de Molina, on her resumption of the royal power, issued a singular edict against the Jews, partly a reënactment from the *Siete Partidas*, that the Jews were not to assume Christian names under pain of being dealt with as heretics; that Christians were not to consort with Jews or Moors, or to allow Jews or Moors to educate their children.²

During the reign of Ferdinand IV., a Jew exercised great authority over the finances. Under Alfonso XI., Joseph, the famous Jew of Ecija, collected the royal rents, and appears to have been the financial minister. By his great power (he resided in the palace), he

¹ See in Amador de los Rios (p. 60, note) the remarkable proclamation of Ferdinand IV., enforcing these payments from the Aljama of the Jews in Segovia and other towns in that diocese.

² Flores, *Reinas Catholicas*, quoted by Amador de los Rios.

excited the jealousy of the nobles, who accused him, and the Christian Count Osorio, of having bewitched the king by magical beverages.¹ The nobles were at first content with the sacrifice of the Christian favorite, and condescended to despise the Jew; yet at a later period the Jew was accused of malversation, stripped of his office, and it was enacted that no Jew hereafter should administer the royal finances.² But, notwithstanding this prohibition, the king's physician, Samuel Abenhuer, obtained the privilege of coining money, on paying a fixed rent to the Crown.³ He was also empowered to buy up the current coin at a lower price. The consequence of the Jew's financial operations is said to have been a general rise in provisions; from that rise came distress, from distress insurrection. The king by timely measures alone averted proscription and a general outbreak of popular fury against the whole race.⁴

¹ Chronique du Roi Alphonso XI., quoted in Amador de los Rios, p. 61. The nobles, according to Mariana, complained, "que el nuevo Conde, Alvaro Osorio, y un Judio llamado Juzeph, governavan todo el Regno, y lo trastornavan a su voluntad. Que tenian rendido el Rey como si los fuera esclavo, y como si le uvieron dado bevedizos." xv. 20.

² Amador de los Rios, p. 63.

³ Amador de los Rios, with authorities. Is this Samuel the Samuel son of Wakeri, in the Schevet Judah?

⁴ The Schevet Judah has a strange but particular history of the influence and fall of Joseph. Martin Gonzales, an officer under Joseph d'Ecija, became jealous of his master's wealth. He offered to the king an enormous sum (octo talenta) if he would sell to him ten Jews with all their families. The king agreed, and gave his seal as a pledge. Gonzales chose Joseph, and the king's physician Samuel, the son of Wakeri. The Jews were seized. Joseph died under the hands of the men sent to arrest him. The king gave him a splendid funeral in Cordova. In the house of Samuel, seized with his sons and two brothers, was discovered a vast mass of gold, silver, and other riches. He was cruelly tortured to make further disclosures, and died under the torments. Gonzales was rewarded with great honors, became Bishop of Alcantara, and persevered in his hatred of the Jews. In a war against the Saracens, Gonzales advised the king to confiscate all the wealth of the Jews. The bishop himself took arms, and in-

With the son of Alfonso, Pedro the Cruel, the Jews rose to more than their former power and influence. In defiance of the prohibitory law, a Jew, Samuel Levi, became the king's treasurer. Under his wise, it might be oppressive, administration, the royal rents were raised to an enormous amount. At a later period in the reign, Samuel Levi became too wealthy to be the trusted friend and minister, too temptingly wealthy not to be the victim of his unscrupulous master. He was arrested, accused of many malversations, thrown into prison, tortured with such horrible cruelty that he died on the rack. The king confiscated all his wealth, which amounted to 400,000 ducats ; besides furniture, jewels, cloth of gold and silk,¹ and Moorish slaves. Still, during the power of Samuel Levi, as after his fall; the Jews were proud of the fatal favor of the detested king ; to them alone Pedro was not the Cruel, if cruel, only so in his kindness. In his prosperity Samuel Levi had uilt a synagogue in Toledo in the Moorish style, which surpassed all their other temples in magnificence.² In the Hebrew inscription on the walls are commemorated the happy days and happy years of King Pedro. On the other hand the Jews were accumulating heavy arrears

flicted a signal defeat on the Moors. But God heard the prayers of His people. The heart of the king was moved against Gonzales. Some of the nobles, even a bishop, took part with the Jews. Gonzales shut himself up in a strong fortress. It was stormed, Gonzales put to death, his body burned. His wealth was confiscated and restored to the Jews. pp. 98, 108.

¹ Mariana writes: "Con que juntò las grandes riquezas, y alcanzò la mucha privança y favor que al presente se acarrearon su perdicion." The historian adds, "cosa maravillosa que un Judio juntasse tantas riquezas, y que no pudo ser sin grave daño del Reyno." xvii. 4.

La Fuente gives the confiscated treasures of Samuel Levi, 166,000 doblas d' oro, 4000 marcos de plata, 125 chests of cloth of gold and silk, 80 moros y moras. t. vii. p. 241.

² Can this be one of those alluded to in a former paragraph?

of public detestation, to be repaid in full measure after the fall and death of Pedro. In a poem written by the chronicler Lopez de Ayala, the chancellor of King Henry of Trastamare, prisoner in England after the battle of Najara, the exactions and oppressions of the Jews are described in the darkest terms.¹ "They are the blood-suckers of the afflicted people; they present their packed accounts, and propitiate the king by presents and precious jewels; they heap up his rents to an enormous height, as high as the walls; they exact fifty per cent., or eighty, or a hundred. Through them the land is desolate; where lived a thousand men, there are but three hundred; impositions fall upon them like hail; rich and poor fly together. Truly these Jews are skilful in inventing new taxes, new demands. Tears and groans touch not their hard hearts; their ears are deaf to petitions for delay." If this ardent partisan of Henry of Trastamare be somewhat suspicious authority against the Jews, he is an unimpeachable witness to the popular detestation of them, and to the jealousy of their power and influence.

Henry of Trastamare and his partisans were not slow in appealing to the passion of popular hatred. In the first tumults in Castile, when he attempted to seize Toledo, the first act of his followers was to plunder and put to the sword the opulent Jews of that city. The

I transcribe these stanzas from *Amador de los Rios*:—

"Alli vienen Judios que estan aparejados
Para beber la sangre de los pueblos cuitados;
Presentan sus escriptos, que tienen concertados,
Et prometen sus dones, et joyas muy preciados.

.
Alli fassen Judios el su repartimiento
Sobre el pueblo que muore por mal defendimiento;
Et ellos lo maltraptan entre si medio ciento,
Que han de haber probados qual ochenta, qual ciento." — p. 64.

slaughtered were as many as 1000 or 1200, old and young, men, women, and children.¹ But the largest Jewry resisted their attack. King Pedro took terrible vengeance on the insurgents of Toledo; no doubt he would be represented by his enemies as not merely asserting his royal authority, but as avenging his beloved Israelites. In the war of Aragon and Castile, when Henry of Transtamare took the city of Najara, many Jews were killed, with the avowed design of grieving King Pedro.² But when Henry of Transtamare asserted his right to the crown, Pedro's favor to the Jews was urged in a bolder and more formidable way; Pedro himself became infected with their guilt and infidelity. Not only, was it everywhere hinted, did he consort with the Jews, and admit them to his councils, — they ruled in his palace and in his court; he was himself addicted to Judaism.³ Worse than this, he was born a Jew. A rumor was industriously propagated in Spain, and spread into France, that he was a supposititious child. His mother, the queen of Alfonso XI., had borne a daughter, — a Jewish boy had been substituted. At a later period, when the Black Prince took up arms to restore Pedro to his kingdom of Castile, Henry of Transtamare addressed Bertrand du Guesclin, — "Will he set up that Jew,

¹ "Entrada fatal para los Judios de aquella ciudad, puesto que desfogando en ellos su saña las companias de Don Enrique mataron hasta mil docientos, entre hombres y mugeres, grandes y menos, y eso que no pudieron penetrar en la Juderia mayor, aunque la cercaron y atacaron." La Fuente, vii. p. 201.

² "Dieron la muerte a muchos Judios por hazer pesar al Rey, que los favoreciò mucho por amor de Samuel Levi su tesorero mayor." Mariana, xvii. 4. This was before the fall of Levi, which I have anticipated.

³ "Nihilominus dictus Rex Petrus per Judæos, qui in maximâ abundantia erant in Hispaniâ, seipsum et domum suam regebat." Continuât Nangis. "Legi Judaicæ addictus," *ibid.*

who calls himself King of Spain, on my throne?"¹ Nor was this all. Maria Padilla, the beautiful mistress for whom Pedro had deserted the bridal bed of Blanche of Bourbon, was called a Jewess.² This no doubt, as accounting for the bewitchment by other sorcery than that of beauty, more inflamed that indignation which roused the chivalry of France, even of England, to avenge the wrongs, and the murder (for it is impossible to clear Pedro of this crime) of the unfortunate Queen.³ Bertrand du Guesclin's expedition was a crusade, not only because Pedro had been solemnly excommunicated by the Pope, but "because he was worse than a Saracen, and consorted with Jews." Saracens and Jews were said to be his chief partisans. If credit be due to a French historian, the Jews appeared in arms, and in a formidable body on the justly unpopular side of Pedro the Cruel. This, if true, can only have been at the final battle, after the restoration of Pedro by the Black Prince, and the second invasion of Henry of Transtamare, aided by Bertrand du Guesclin, near Monteil in Andalusia. There they were slain in vast numbers. Some escaped, and found their way to Paris and other cities in France, where they had recourse to the common usurious practices of their nation.⁴ There, too, it must have been, if at all, that the order, attributed to Bertrand du Guesclin, must have been issued, —

¹ Froissart, i. cciv.

² Continuator Nangis.

³ See the account of the murder in *La Fuente*, vii. 24. M. Merimée's quixotic defence of King Pedro certainly fails in this part.

⁴ "Et potissime infinitos Judæos qui in potentia armorum, regem Petrum adjuvabant, trucidando potenter in magnâ potentiâ. Qui interfecti, trucidati, et effugiati de illis partibus turpiter perierunt. De quibus sunt multi hodie in Parisiis et alibi in diversis civitatibus commorantes, per usuras Christianos nostros multas subtiliter defraudantes." Continuat. Nangis. This account of Jews in France, so long after their expulsion, is remarkable.

“Kill all like sheep and oxen, unless they accept baptism.” The Moors certainly, as well as the Jews, formed a powerful part of Pedro’s army. Before the last death-struggle in the castle of Monteil, when Pedro fell by the hand of Henry of Transtamare, aided, it is said, by Du Guesclin, Froissart¹ repeats the uncourtly colloquy of the rival kings. “Where,” said Henry of Transtamare, “is the son of a whore, the Jew, who calls himself King of Castile?” Don Pedro, who was a very brave and cruel man, advanced, and said, — “Thou art the son of a whore. I am the son of the good King Alfonso.”²

It is hardly probable that, in other parts of Spain, the Jews thus bound up with the odious cause of Pedro the Cruel would escape persecution. But, however Henry, in the battle or after the battle, might give the rein to his fierce French allies or his Spanish partisans in order to gain his throne, he was too wise (mercy was not in his character) to follow these destructive acts to extermination or expulsion, when the throne was won. On his triumphant progress through Castile to Andalusia, the Jews of Burgos and Toledo had paid him tribute, compulsory perhaps, but still

¹ Froissart, I. cclv.

² Amador de los Ríos, as translated by Magnabal (p. 70, &c.), is not very accurate in his account of these transactions. The surrender of Seville, whether in the first or second invasion, must have been long after the massacres of Toledo, to which he seems to refer in the next sentence. He adds, “Et les champs de batailles étaient jonchés d’une multitude des Juifs, qui suivaient, fidèles, les étendards du monarque légitime.” p. 72. Now it is remarkable that in these two revolutions there were but two great battles. Pedro, on the first invasion, fled the country without resistance. The battle of Najara, won by the Black Prince, replaced him on his throne. On the second invasion, Pedro retreated rapidly to Seville. Henry took peaceable possession of the Castiles; nor was there bloodshed before the closing victory of Monteil.

valuable tribute.¹ It is said that two Jews (their names are given, Turquand and Daniel) betrayed Seville to Du Guesclin, and admitted his bands through the Jewry, which had been committed to their charge.² But, whatever their motive,³ Henry of Transtamare, during the latter part of his reign, protected the Jews from popular excesses. They were again at peace, and with the Jews peace was prosperity.⁴ A strange event, soon after the accession of John I., justly aroused the king's aversion to the Jews. Joseph Pichon, a Jew of great wealth and influence, held the office of collector of the royal rents, and of treasurer to the Crown. It seems that in these offices the Jews, notwithstanding all prohibitory laws, were indispensable. It is unknown from what cause, but many of the leading Jews became jealous of Joseph Pichon, and conspired against his life. They took an extraordinary and unaccountable course to compass their end; they obtained a warrant for his death, signed in ignorance by the king, and a second order to the royal headsman, suborned or deceived by them, to execute the sentence. The king was highly indignant at this abuse of his authority. Those guilty of the crime suffered death;

¹ "La Juderia de Toledo le serviò en cuento de maravedis, come la de Burgos." *La Fuente*, p. 271.

² *Amador de los Rios*, p. 270.

³ Basnage has a remarkable story, utterly irreconcilable with the course of events and the character of the time. The Jews of Burgos refused to surrender. Henry was seized with so much admiration of their fidelity to King Pedro, that from that time he was favorably disposed towards the Jews. ix. 18, § 10. Basnage's whole account of these events is brief and worthless.

⁴ This is admitted by *Amador de los Rios*, who perhaps exaggerates the vengeance; it was political vengeance, wreaked by the nobles and people on the Jews as partisans of Pedro. He quotes, however, from the archives of Toledo a fine imposed on the Jews of Toledo of 20,000 gold doubloons, and exacted by all kinds of torture.

and the Jews were deprived of the privilege of holding a tribunal for the judgment of their own causes, of which the Crown had not hitherto ventured to deprive them, lest they should suffer in the collection of their rents by offending or limiting the power of these useful subjects.¹ An interpretation of this strange story suggests itself, that Joseph Pichon was inclined towards, or suspected of an inclination to, Christianity; hence the hatred of the Jews. He was condemned to death in their courts, as unsound in the faith. Those courts were secret, as far as any knowledge of them by the Christians. They applied for the king's warrant to punish a convicted unbeliever, concealing or disguising the name. The warrant was granted without examination, and by their bribes and interest they urged on its immediate execution. When it was discovered, the wrath of the king and of the Christians would of course be intense.

After this time, the Cortes seized every opportunity of invading the privileges and increasing the burdens of the Jews; for the nobles, as in other countries, bore impatiently the mortgages with which their estates were encumbered, and were eager to revenge on their creditors the shame and inconvenience of their embarrassments. The Cortes of Burgos raised the protection money of the Jews, — that of Valladolid attempted to renew an Act forbidding them to practise as physicians, surgeons, or apothecaries, as well as to hold high offices about the Court, — they also made bitter complaints of their usurious practices. But the clergy beheld with

¹ Mariana, xvii. 3: "Y se le quitò a esta nacion la potestad que tenia, y el tribunal para juzgar los negocios y pleytos de los sujos, desorden con que avian hasta alli dissimulado los Reyes por la necesidad y apretura de las rentas Reales, y ser los Indios gente que tan bien saben los caminos de allegar dinero."

still deeper sentiments of animosity so large a part of the population disdaining their dominion, and, if not refusing tribute to the Church (the Aljama payment was still regularly made), perhaps holding profitable bonds on the estates of the cathedrals and convents. Religious zeal was still further animated by pride, avarice, and jealousy. The clergy began to preach against them with fatal if not unceasing energy; the growing power and activity of the friars, especially the Preaching Friars, was even more fatal to their peace. The Jews themselves assert that they were popular with the king, the nobles, and the enlightened of the land; the populace hated and persecuted them as raising the prices of the necessities of life. The monks were their deadly and irreconcilable enemies; with their fiery sermons, they were like tribunes of the people; constantly stirring up the rabble, of themselves savage enough, to more savage hostility.¹

There was at Seville a fierce popular preacher, Ferdinand Martinez, Archdeacon of Ecija. During the reign of John I., his inflammatory harangues against the obstinacy and the usury and the wealth of

¹ Schevet Judah: "Judæi enim in Hispania Regibus, proceribus, sapientibus atque prudentibus viris semper chari acceptique fuere; neque aliunde enata fuerunt odii et exiliorum semina nisi ex inconditâ plebe, quæ semper obstrepere solebat Judæis in regnum advenientibus rerum necessariorum pretia in immensum crevisse annonamque inclementissimè flagellatam esse.

"Altera vero malorum nostrorum tempestas oriebatur ex monachis qui, ut sanctimoniam suam populo probarent, acerrimi scilicet Christianæ religionis promotores quotidie asperas et quasi tribunicias contra Judæos ad populum orationes habebant quibus hoc unum agebant ut plebis per se satis ferocis animas magis exasperarent. Quod vero ad cæteros Christianos attinebat, illi Judæos æstimabant et ut cives indigenas impensè amabant, ut admodum senes Hispani qui olim pueri istis rebus oculati testes interfuerunt, testari solebant." p. 309.

the Jews, had excited the populace to some excesses. The Archbishop and the Chapter of Seville, to their honor, endeavored to allay the tumult, and by their authority to silence the dangerous fanatic. A petition from the Chapter was presented to the King; the reply of the feeble king was, that holy and excellent as was the zeal of the Archdeacon, he ought to take care that he did not disturb the peace of the city. This mild rebuke was almost an encouragement. On the sudden death of the king, and the accession of the boy Henry III., the Archdeacon, who, if not silent, had been more moderate, broke out again, and with his hot sermons maddened the slumbering passions of the multitude. They began by insulting, plundering, pursuing to their quarters the unfortunate Jews. The city was in a wild uproar. The chief alguazil of the city, Alves Perez de Guzman, and his colleagues, the other alguazils, it is said, with the authority and in the personal presence of the Count of Niebla,¹ one of the Council of Regency (who can hardly have been in Seville), interposed to keep the peace. Two of the ringleaders in the riot were apprehended. The mob turned on the civil authorities, and, as usual, rescued the prisoners. On the triumph of the mob at the release of their accomplices, there was a momentary lull. But in a short time the tumult broke out with tenfold fury. The Jewries were attacked, forced; and a general pillage, violation, and massacre took place of men and women, old and young. Fire and sword raged unresisted

¹ In the former editions I was guilty of some errors by following Jost, in general a trustworthy guide. He made Martinez Archbishop of Niebla. This could not be, and I substituted *Bishop*. He was, however, according to Spanish authorities, Archdeacon of Ecija. The Count of Niebla was one of the six nobles and prelates who formed the Council of Regency. I have now chiefly followed Amador de los Rios, 76, 82.

through these quarters of the city. The streets of noble Seville ran with blood, and the wild voice of the Archdeacon in the pulpit rose over all, and kept up the madness. Four thousand Jews perished in the massacre.

The Cortes of the kingdom were assembled at Madrid. The Jews, who still farmed the royal revenues (they were yet indispensable in that capacity), appealed to the three Estates of the realm, and made strong representations concerning these sanguinary proceedings at Seville. The Cortes, superior to the popular passions, acknowledged the righteousness of their cause. Judges, called priors, were sent to Seville, armed with authority to do full justice, to allay the tumults, and punish the criminals; but the judges were either unable or unwilling to act with severity. Even the fierce Archdeacon was suffered to go unpunished. The Christians remained in possession of their plunder; they had seized two of the most splendid synagogues, and converted them into churches, Santa Croce and Santa Maria Bianca. The Jews, perhaps on account of their reduced numbers, reduced by the merciless massacre, were confined to one Aljama, that of St. Bartholomew. Instead of expiating their guilt, the plunderers had obtained a triumph.

The terrible example of their impunity, the fame of the blood which they had shed without rebuke, the wealth which they had acquired without restitution, spread throughout the kingdom. Hardly more than a year had passed, when in one day (Aug. 8) the populace rose in Cordova, in Valencia, in Toledo, in Burgos. Each of these cities, says a Spanish author, was another Troy. All the horrors of a town taken by storm were suffered by the Jewries: plunder, rape,

massacre, conflagration.¹ In all these cities many Jews submitted to baptism (the only refuge from death), and from renegade Jews became unbelieving Christians. Redress, justice, punishment of the offenders, when the offenders were almost the whole population of these great towns, appeared impossible. To destroy a whole city on account of the destruction of the Jews' quarters would have been to heap disaster on disaster.

Nor were these enormities confined to the kingdom of Castile; the contagious thirst for plunder, and for blood, raged simultaneously in Aragon, even as far as the island of Majorca. The capital city of Barcelona was crowded with strangers to celebrate the Feast of St. Dominic (May 6, 1392); the day after, as if the worship of that stern saint had hardened their hearts, the silent streets were roused with a wild cry of extermination against the Jews. The city was thronged, besides its own rabble, with sailors and galley-slaves; they broke into the Jewry, and perpetrated the most dreadful cruelties. The houses were sacked, the streets heaped with dead bodies. Some of the desperate Jews demanded baptism; that Christian rite was hastily administered in the midst of pillage, violation, and murder. Late in the day appeared the city militia, seized some of the more violent insurgents, and placed a guard over the Aljama; but, as in Seville, the interference of the civil authority only maddened to a greater height the irresistible populace. The next day the tumult was more wild and general. The Jews, abandoning all their wealth, fled to the *Castello Nuevo*. The castle was stormed; all who would not submit to

¹ See, for the persecutions of the Jews during the youth of Henry III. and King John, the *Schevet Judah*, 312, 313. But Solomon ben Virga leaps about strangely in his chronology.

baptism were put to the sword. Three hundred bodies lay in their agony. Amid the shrieks of their more faithful dying brethren, many abjured their faith, the only pride and consolation of their brethren in death, and embraced that of Christ, thus preached to them by the Mohammedan argument of the sword. Which were the least Christian, those who enforced, or those who embraced the faith?

It should be added that the king of Aragon, John I., called the *Amador de Gentileza*, dared to punish these wickednesses perpetrated in Barcelona. Twenty-six of the ringleaders were beheaded; many were imprisoned, and only released on the supplication of the queen, and through the mercy of the sovereign. On the other hand, it is said that the severity of the king was chiefly provoked by the burning of many books and registers belonging to the Crown, by which the royal finances suffered serious loss.

The Jews of Navarre suffered no less than those of Aragon. In Pampeluna, and the other cities of that kingdom, their houses were burned; they were pillaged, massacred, compelled to baptism.¹

Spain had throughout her borders destroyed these secret enemies, which, according to the notions of the day, preyed upon the wealth of the country, and heaped up in their secret hoards the riches which they extorted from the revenues of the king, the luxuries or warlike expenditure of the nobles, and the more grinding necessities of the indigent. To her astonishment and utter perplexity, Spain found herself poorer than before. "The Christians, who thus mercilessly indulged their madness against the Jews, did not see that in destroying their industry, in depriving them

¹ MS. authorities quoted in *Amador de los Rios*, p. 83.

of all means of employing it with profit, they threw upon themselves all the charges hitherto shared by the Jews, and that they smothered in blood every germ of prosperity and well-being. What became, in fact, of all the trade and commerce of Toledo and Seville? What became of those rich marts in which the Jews accumulated the products of the East and the West, the silks of Persia and Damascus, the skins of Tafiète, and the Arabian jewelry? They burned the shops in the Aljamas at Valencia, Toledo, Burgos, Cordova, Seville, Barcelona; and the rents of the kings and of the churches at once fell off. King Henry III. founded a magnificent mortuary chapel for himself and his family, and endowed it with part of the rents paid by the Jews of that city; but no rents could be exacted. During the wars with the Saracens, the coffers of the Jews had been a ready resource to the kings, — they were now empty. The utter ruin of the only industry and commerce in the kingdom by an idle populace, and a king and nobles who disdained all occupation but war, was not only a grievous offence against humanity, against the Gospel, and against the laws of Spain, but it was profoundly impolitic, a prelude to that problem so fatally solved nearly a century later by the kings of Spain. The whole crime is not to be charged on the Archdeacon of Ecija, — the indolence and indifference of John I. must share the guilt and folly with the mad zeal of Martinez and the clergy.”¹

The clergy were emboldened and inspirited, by the success of these unchristian measures of conversion, to press their more legitimate means of influence, missions for the preaching of the Gospel. They would multiply

¹ Of this passage some part is translated, part compressed, from Amador de los Rios, pp. 83, 84.

the 200,000 who had by fiercer inducements submitted to baptism to save their lives. Among the most prominent and successful of these missionaries was Vincent Ferrer, afterwards a Saint ; a man of the most earnest piety and, it was thought, of irresistible eloquence. Ferrer traversed the country, followed by a train of bare-headed penitents bewailing their sins and scourging themselves as they went till the earth was red with their blood. Ferrer's miracles and his preaching are said to have changed 35,000 Jews (there were Saracens too without number) into devout Christians. But it is difficult even in him to discriminate between the more gentle and more barbarous means of conversion. Vincent Ferrer witnessed, no doubt stood aloof from, the horrible cruelties of the persecution in Valencia. It is related in his Life (or Legend) that the Jews, before the insurrection in July, 1391, were assembled for worship in a noble synagogue, afterwards the Monastery of St Christopher. A voice was heard three times, "Ye Jews, depart from my house." The Jews took no heed. On the ninth of the month, when they were again in prayer, the holy martyr spoke once more, rebuked their obstinacy, and threatened them with condign punishment. The perverse and blind race were not moved by this celestial monition. In the middle of the day a procession of boys, with crucifixes and white banners, appeared at the gates of the Jewry, crying out to the Jews to be converted to the faith of Christ and be baptized. The Jews, dreading the popular fury, closed their gates, some of the boys and some men remaining within ; the men raised a cry that the Jews were murdering the boys ; the rabble rose, burst the gates, slew 300, and sacked the whole quarter. At the sight of this carnage, the eyes of many Jews were opened (so,

with no word of pity, writes the author of the Legend);¹ they fled to the Cardinal Archbishop of Valencia, Don Jayme of Aragon, and, relating the marvel about St. Christopher (!), demanded baptism.² Search was made in the synagogue; an image of St. Christopher, two palms high (still an object of devout worship), was found. The saint took possession of the dwelling, and the dedication of the church was performed with many miracles.

To the wonderful and copious fruits of this day (so the legendist proceeds) contributed much the great zeal and fervent preaching of S. Vicente, who happened to be in Valencia. S. Vicente did not confine his labors to the city; in the towns on the sea-shore and in the kingdom more than 13,000 Jews submitted to baptism. Besides these, the biographer gives to the saint 20,000 in Castile, converted in thirteen months.³ 30,000 in Aragon, without reckoning those in other parts of the kingdom.⁴ Much of this, of course, especially the numbers, is pure legend. But it is not less remarkable that of the humanity of the saint (as if beyond his comprehension) the admiring author of his Life is silent. It is stated, on other and more trustworthy authority,⁵

¹ *Portentosa Vida de el Apostol de la Europa*, S. Vicente Ferrer, por Francesco Vidal (Barcelona, 1777), pp. 46, 66.

² "Entonces venianne ellos mismos a baptizar."

³ "E despues, de baptizados se iban algunos a Portugal, è otros reynos à ser Judios." Bernaldes, *Historia de los Reyes Catholicos*; MS. quoted by De Castro, p. 5.

⁴ *Amador de los Rios*, p. 89, note, with authorities.

⁵ Rabbi Joseph perpetuates the hatred of V. Ferrer among the unconverted Jews: "In these days, in the days of Eugenius the Pope, in the days of Felix (the Antipope), the destructions increased in Sphard, and Israel became very low. For there arose the priest, Friar Vincent, from the city of Valencia, of the sect of Baal Dominic. against the Jews, and he was unto them a Satan, and stirred up against them all the inhabitants of the country, and they arose to swallow them up alive, and slew many with the edge of the sword, and many they burned with fire, and many they turned

that S. V. Ferrer arrested by his single commanding voice the massacre at Valencia. To this act we would attribute, even more than to his eloquence, the crowds who received baptism from his hands. Nor must it be disguised that Spanish authorities describe his mission as an utter failure, till aided by the more persuasive massacres committed by the populace.¹

An attempt was made to bring the great question between Christianity and Judaism to a more solemn and decisive issue. The whole nation was to be publicly, and in the highest persons and by fair argument, convicted of its impious obstinacy. The antipope, Peter de Luna (Benedict XIII.), maintained the last retreat of his authority in his native country of Aragon. The Pope had in his court a converted Jew of great Talmudic learning and ability, Joseph Halorqui, who had assumed the name of Hieronymo de Santa Fé. In the pride of his erudition, and with the zeal of a proselyte, Hieronymo suggested to the Pope a public disputation

away by the power of the sword from the Lord, the God of Israel. And they burned the books of the Law of our God, and trampled upon them as upon the mire in the streets; and the mothers they dashed in pieces upon the children in the day of the Lord's wrath. . . . And some of them killed their sons and their daughters that they might not be defiled; for some of them changed their glory for one that does not profit from that day and afterwards. Those who were constrained to be baptized became numerous in the land of Sphard, and they put upon them a mark of distinction unto this day. . . . Also upon the Jews that were in Savoy [compare Schevet Judah, p. 103] did this grievous oppressor turn his line of desolation. And I have seen in the book Mischath Marechu how they hid themselves in the castles of Savoy in those evil days. And this Belial was in their sight a saint; and the Pope Calixtus wrote his memory among the saints, and appointed feast-days unto his name on the fifth of the month of April. May God recompense him according to his deeds!" i. p. 265. Of the success of V. Ferrer there can be no doubt, but how much is to be attributed to his Christian preaching? how much to his *un-Christian* auxiliaries?

¹ "No pudo Fra Vicente convertir sino muy poco dellos. E las gentes con dispecho metieron en Castilla a espada, y mataron muchos." Bernaldes, cited by De Castro, Religious Intolerance in Spain.

on the truth of the two religions. The disputation was held in the presence of the Pope at Tortosa. The Jewish record transports it to Rome (as if they had no notion of a Pope elsewhere), and encircles Benedict with the utmost pomp, his college of seventy cardinals and listening princes, far different from the lowly state of the exiled antipope. Fourteen of the most illustrious Rabbins appeared on behalf of the Jews. Sixteen questions were proposed, chiefly turning on the all-important one, whether the Messiah was come or not, and on the value and authority of the Talmud.¹ The abominations of this book Hieronymo denounced, and stood ready to prove and to expose. The Jews acknowledge that the Pope treated them with courtesy. Hieronymo de Santa Fé is said, by the Christian record, to have heaped confusion on the discomfited Rabbins.²

¹ The Christian account may be best read in Amador de los Rios; the Jewish in the Schevet Judah, as translated by Gentius, p. 225 *et seq.* Amador de los Rios gives the sixteen questions from a MS. in the Escorial.

² Out of this disputation before Pope Benedict arose the work which for some time maintained its rank as the great armory of offensive and defensive weapons employed by the clergy in their controversy with the Jews, the *Pugio Fidei* of Raymond Martin.

From the vast range of Rabbinical learning, it has been concluded that the author of this book must have been a converted Jew. It seems, however, that he was a monk expressly educated to maintain the Christian cause against the profoundly learned Rabbins. The Rabbinical Hebrew seems as familiar to Raymond Martin as his native tongue or the Latin of the schools. Basnage has criticized the *Pugio Fidei* with justice. He gives due praise to the prodigious erudition of the author. The badness of his arguments (to which in those days no doubt Christian and Jew was equally blind) he exposes with severity, and not without truth: the very narrow base on which he builds the most lofty theories, the assertions and concessions which he ascribes to his adversaries (the Rabbins universally believe the Trinity), the wild ignorance of history, that of the old as well as the later world, the boldness of anachronism. One of the proofs of Christ's miracles is their acknowledgment by Constantine (seemingly a personal witness), who on that account made his famous donation, submitted the empire and the whole world to the Pope, and set the example of kissing his foot.

All but two humbly submitted to his arguments. The Jewish account breaks off abruptly, and modestly asserts that their champions departed "not without glory." Pope Benedict proclaimed and aided the triumph of his advocate by the summary argument of authority. He issued a Bull, commanding the Talmud, the bulwark of his antagonists, to be burnt. The reading of the execrable book was prohibited; the Deans and Chapters were to collect all these impious treatises for one vast holocaust. A singular clause in this Bull prohibited Jews from making crosses, chalices, sacred vessels, and from vending books which contained the name of Jesus or that of the Blessed Virgin. The Jews seem to have had no objection to work in the way of trade on things which to them must have been absolutely idolatrous. The other clauses of this stern Bull aim at the complete isolation of the Jew, a relegation to a kind of social banishment, as infecting the Christian by any intercourse or communion. He was not to be physician, surgeon, shopkeeper, druggist, intendant, nor

I will venture to add one curious argument not noticed by Basnage. The Jew objects that the Messiah was not to be put to death, but rather slay the wicked by the breath of his life. "I answer: our Lord Jesus Christ, in his sufferings, Death, Burial, Resurrection, Ascension, if any one will attend closely, exactly resembles sometimes the sun, sometimes a rose. As the rose comforts the heads of some, so it pains (rheumatisat) the heads of others; as much as its odor delights men, so much the more it afflicts the beetle. The beetle so soon as it scents the rose, lies to all appearance dead. So our Lord Jesus, in His sufferings and death, is an odor of salvation to the Christian, to the Jew a scandal and the odor of death. As His death moves the Christian to love, so it moves the Jew to hatred and rancor." In the same way he plays with the similitude of Christ to the sun, who suffers sometimes the death of an eclipse. "But he dies one way to the wise, another to the foolish; as he appears lovable to those who have sound eyes, so he is hateful to those who have bad eyes; as he enlightens man, so he blinds bats and owls." There is much more in this strain. Yet, on the whole, the *Pugio Fidei* is a remarkable book, and has been the **repertory** from which even later controversialists have largely drawn.

marriage broker,¹ nor to hold any public office which would mingle him up with Christians. He might not buy of or sell to Christians certain viands, nor be present at any banquet, nor bathe in any common bath. He was not to act as steward or agent of Christians, nor teach any science, art, or trade in a Christian school.

The civil laws had become as severe as the ecclesiastical ; the Regent Queen Catherine had promulgated a famous ordinance secluding the Jews and the Moors in their separate quarters in every city ; each Ghetto or Jewry was to be surrounded by a high wall, with only one gate of entrance. It rigidly prescribed their dress, a long mantle, reaching to the feet, without fringe, feather, or border of gold. It limited the cost of the cloth they wore to a low price. The Jewess who indulged in forbidden finery might be stripped of the whole, to her shift. The Jews might not change their place of residence ; the magistrates might arrest any wanderers, and send them back to their homes. It is hardly conceivable that other clauses in this edict were intended to be carried into effect. They were neither to shave nor cut their hair. By the 20th clause they were neither to practise the veterinary art, nor to be carpenters, tailors, dressers of cloth, shoemakers, stocking-weavers, pelterers, nor butchers, — these, it is presumed, not to Christians, lest clothes or meat from the hands of the unbaptized should infect the bodies and souls of the faithful. No Christian woman might on any account, lawful or unlawful, enter the Jewish quarter. The woman of character, if married, was fined 100 maravedis ; if unmarried, she forfeited the dress which she wore. The loose woman was to be

¹ “ Provedor in casamentero.”

scourged, and turned out of the city, town, or hamlet.¹

The Council of Zamora enforced with augmented rigor the Bull of Benedict XIII.² It annulled all the privileges of the Jews; they were only to be tolerated at all because they were human beings. There was a special clause, that during Wednesday in the Holy Week (the day of darkness) they were to keep within their houses. On Good Friday they were to close their doors and windows, lest they should seem to enjoy and mock the sorrow of good Christians.

During the long and disastrous reign of John II., it might seem that the Jews were quietly, with their wonderful vitality, rising again to wealth and importance. The Pragmatic, as it was called, issued (6th April, 1443) by John II. from Arévalo, assumed that feudal sovereignty, or rather right of possession over the Jews of Spain, which had been the general prerogative of the Crown in other kingdoms of Europe. The Jews were taken under the royal protection, as his property, as belonging to his Chamber.³ A Bull of Pope Eugenius IV. had seemed to depart altogether from the milder Papal policy, and to aim at the total extirpation of the Jews. The king firmly, yet respectfully, asserts the prerogative of the Crown; he is bound to maintain the interests of the Church, his own, and those of his realm. The Jews are to be treated with humanity, according to the rights and the laws of Castile.⁴

¹ See this ordinance in substance in Amador de los Rios, p. 87.

² There is some confusion in the dates in Amador de los Rios. He speaks, p. 104, of the Bull of 1415 (?); of the Council of Zamora, 1413 (p. 107); of the Bull as published some years before.

³ "Cosa suya y de su Camera."

⁴ Amador de los Rios, p. 113.

This state of affairs lasted through considerable part of the fifteenth century. The clergy, often seconded by the nobles, watched every opportunity of increasing the number of their willing, more often enforced, converts. The populace were ever ready to obey the tocsin of their spiritual leaders, and to indulge, under their holy sanction, their desire of plunder or revenge.

The old stories of the sacrilege of the Jews, of their murders, especially of innocent children, whom they crucified in mockery, the stealing and insult of the consecrated Host, sprang up in Spain as elsewhere. Early in the century the Rabbins of one of the synagogues in Segovia were accused of some sacrilege. The Bishop, Don Juan de Tovdesllas, ordered them to be drawn on hurdles, hanged, and quartered. The synagogue was confiscated, and turned into a church dedicated to the Corpus Christi. The Jews, it is said, in revenge, bribed the *maître d'hôtel* of the Bishop to poison him. The criminals suffered the same fate as the authors of the sacrilege.¹ Nearly forty years after, a charge was brought against the Jews, probably less worthy of credit according to its atrocity. It was during the reign of Henry III., the Feeble. At the commencement of this reign (A. C. 1460) the nobles, who were in arms against the king, insisted, among the terms of their submission, that the king should dismiss from his service, and even from the kingdom, all Jews and Moors who defiled the religion and corrupted the morals of the people.² These were sinister times for an accusation against Jews. It was averred that, in the town of Sepulveda, on Good Friday (the Jews,

¹ Amador de los Rios, p. 115.

² Ibid. p. 120.

shut up in the dark by the Christian law, are always said to have chosen that day for their deeds of darkness), they, by the advice of their Rabbi, Solomon Picho, carried off a child into a retired place, insulted it, and crucified it. The Bishop, Don Juan Arias d'Avila, caused sixteen of the most *culpable* to be arrested; some were burned, some hanged.¹ The populace only wanted countenance and authority to glut their growing hatred. Insurrections, massacres, took place in many cities of Andalusia, Cordova, Jaen, and of Castile, especially in Segovia.

The Popes at this period varied in their admonitions to the Kings of Spain. Eugenius IV. had issued his violent Bull denouncing the Jews of Castile and Leon, and prohibiting all intercourse between Jew and Christian. The Christian was not to receive medicine from a Jew. The wise and humane Nicolas V. prohibited compulsory baptisms, and all insults and injuries to Jews.²

The union of Castile and Aragon, in the persons of Ferdinand and Isabella, was the crisis of their fate to the unconverted, to a great extent to the converted, Jews. Another curious document, the assessment of all the Aljamas of the kingdom of Castile at the death of Henry III. (A. C. 1470), illustrates the numbers, the wealth, and the condition of the Jews at that period. Though the edicts of kings, the statutes of the Cortes, the Bull of Pope Benedict, had prohibited the Jews from acting as collectors of the revenue or of the royal rents, as physicians, especially as judges, "even in

¹ Amador de los Rios, p. 121.

² "Quo etiam tempore dixit Hispanis, ne Judæos qui inter ipsos degebant ad baptismata sacra suscipienda vi adigerent, neve afficerent injuriis." Raynald. sub ann. 1487.

Jewish affairs, yet at the head of this repartition appears the name of the Rabbi Aben Nunez, Physician to the King our Lord, and his Chief Judge, distributor of the services, and half-services, which the Jews in the Aljamas are bound to pay to the royal exchequer." The total assessment was 451,000 maravedis; each head of a family paid 45 maravedis, the maravedi being now, it is said, worth only six deniers. The Jews, then, on this calculation may be reckoned at towards 12,000 families, about 60,000 souls.¹ This was no doubt a great falling-off from the prosperous days of Judaism; and also a singular and melancholy testimony that in the most flourishing cities the decrease was the greatest. We need hardly suppose them driven out of these cities by the superior commercial activity of the Christians. Andalusia, including the great capital cities Seville and Cordova, paid only 59,500; the great archbishopric of Toledo, 64,300; while Palencia paid 54,500; Placencia 57,300. Such seems to have been the number of declared Jews who passed under the dominion of Ferdinand and Isabella.²

Under these sovereigns Spain became one great

¹ Amador de los Rios, p. 131.

	Maravedis.
² The Aljama of the Bishopric of Burgos	30,800
“ Calahorra	30,100
“ Palencia	54,500
“ Osma	19,600
“ Siguenza	15,500
“ Segona	19,750
“ Avila	39,950
“ Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo	12,700
“ Zamora	9,600
“ Leon and Astorga	37,100
The Archbishopric of Toledo	64,300
Bishopric of Placencia	57,300
“ Andalusia	59,800
	451,000

Amador de los Rios supposes the odd 1000 to have been the expense of collection.

monarchy. But were these (allowing, as it seems to me we must, for the incompleteness of these returns for all the Hebrews of both the kingdoms) all the Jews which became subjects of Ferdinand and Isabella? It is utterly and absolutely inconsistent with the lowest estimate of the numbers a few years afterwards expelled from the kingdom. But, even multiplied by at least three, they were not all. Notwithstanding their apparent and recorded triumphs in the conversion of the Jews, the clergy had long mistrusted their own success. Not only in the conformists themselves did there appear a secret inclination to their former religious usages, and but a cold and constrained obedience to the laws of the Church, but from generation to generation the hereditary evil lurked in their veins. The New Christians, as they were called, formed a kind of distinct and intermediate class of believers. Many of them no doubt had aspired to and had filled the highest offices in the State, and even in the Church. Some had become eminent in Christian knowledge, and in all the accomplishments of the age, — statesmen, soldiers, poets, monks, friars, bishops. We have seen the distinction of Hieronymo de Santa Fé. Paul de Santa Maria had become Bishop of Burgos; Gonzalo Garcia was intrusted by Pope Benedict with the execution of the Bull of Valencia. Alphonso and Peter of Carthagená, John Alphonso of Baena, Friar Alphonso d'Espina, John the Old, and others, were illustrious names in their day. Some, no doubt, from the noble desire of imparting to others the hopes and consolations of the religion in which they had found peace and knowledge and happiness, — some, it may be feared, from the baser desire of inducing others to share the apostasy, — had been most active in the conversion of their brethren.

There were two (Paul of Burgos was of these) who, not content with enlightening, had become the most bitter and cruel persecutors of their more steadfast brethren. Many had intermarried, doubtless for their wealth, into the noblest families, families which boasted the richest and purest Gothic blood. It was the bitterest reproach in later days to prove this indelible contamination,¹ though there was scarcely a noble house in the land unimpeachably clear from this stain. But the mass of them, it was believed by the jealous clergy, and no doubt for this belief they had strong grounds, were still, at heart and in secret, Jews. They attended the services, they followed the processions, they listened to the teaching of the Church, but it was too evident that their hearts were far away, joining in the simpler service of the synagogue of their fathers, and in their secret chambers the usages of the Law were observed with the fond stealth of old attachment. To discover how widely Jewish practices still prevailed, nothing was necessary but to ascend a hill on their Sabbath, and look down on the town or village below; scarce half the chimneys would be seen to smoke; all that did not, were evidently those of the people who still feared to profane the holy day by lighting a fire.

The clergy summoned to their assistance that stern and irresistible ally, the Inquisition. This dread tribunal had already signalized its zeal by the extermination of the Albigenes, and the desolation of the beautiful province of Languedoc. Alphonso di Oyeda, prior of the Dominicans in Seville, urged the monarchs to

¹ The *Mala Sangre*, as it was afterwards termed, could not be purged away by centuries of transmission. See in Prescott the note concerning the *Tizon de España*, a rare volume, most carefully suppressed, which traced up most of the famous families to Jewish or Moorish ancestry. Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, i. pp. 355, 356.

bless their kingdom by the erection of a similar office, that the whole realm might be reduced to the unity of the faith. The religion of Ferdinand was his policy; Isabella's policy was religion.¹ Isabella was endowed with every virtue, except that of humanity to those of another creed. And even the want of that (no doubt deemed by her subjects, perhaps by herself, to be her crowning excellence) was mitigated by her natural womanly benignity. Ferdinand, therefore, hesitated from worldly wisdom; Isabella from gentleness of heart. But the fatal Bull was obtained from the Pope, Sixtus the Fourth, empowering the monarchs to nominate certain of the clergy, above forty years of age, to make strict inquisition into all persons suspected of heretical pravity.² In this evil hour a work was published by some misguided Jew, reflecting on the government of Ferdinand and Isabella, probably on the Christian religion. It was answered by Ferdinand of Talavera, the queen's confessor, who thus acquired new influence, unfavorable to the Jews, over the vacillating mind of

¹ Compare Prescott (Ferdinand and Isabella). In this brief sketch, which remains as originally written, I find pride and pleasure in having anticipated the more elaborate statements of my dear friend as to the reluctant struggles of Isabella.

² Mariana hails the establishment of the Inquisition in these words:—"Mejor suerte y mas venturosa para España fue el establecimiento que per esto tiempo si hizò en Castilla, de un nuevo y santo tribunal de juezes severos y graves, a proposito de inquerir y castigar la heretica prauidad y apostasia, diverso de los obispos, a cuyo cargo y autoridad incumbia anti-quamente este officio." xxiv. 17. I have no belief in the political rather than religious objects for which, according to some later writers, the Inquisition was founded, and introduced into Spain. In this case the politic Ferdinand would not have felt any reluctance for its establishment. Amador de los Rios, p. 174, adopts this theory on the subject. See the remarkable disclosures in the very recent Introduction to the Calendar of State Papers from Simancas, of the time of Henry II. (Rolls Publications, 1862), by G. A. Bergenroth,—I regret to say, far less favorable to Queen Isabella, — pp. 41 *et seq.*

the queen. In September, 1480, two Dominicans, Michael Morillo and John de St. Martin, were named Inquisitors. Even the Cortes beheld with reluctance — the very populace with terror — the establishment of this dreadful tribunal; and, as it were to enlist still worse passions in the cause, a third of the property of all condemned heretics was confiscated to the use of the Holy Office; another third was assigned for the expenses of the trial; the last third went to the Crown. The tribunal established its headquarters at Seville, and assumed at once a lofty tone; denouncing vengeance against all, even the highest nobles, — the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the Marquis of Cadiz,¹ Count d'Arcos, into whose domains many of the New Christians had fled, — if they should presume to shelter offenders from their justice. The dreadful work began. Victims crowded the prisons. The convent was not sufficiently spacious for their business, and the Inquisitors moved to the Castel de Triana, near Seville. Secret denunciations were encouraged, — not to denounce was a crime worthy of death. The Inquisitors published an edict of grace, inviting all who sincerely repented of their apostasy to manifest their repentance; in which case they might escape the confiscation of their property and receive absolution. If they allowed the time of grace to elapse, they incurred the severest penalties of the law. Many came in and surrendered, but a dreadful oath was extorted from them to inform against their more criminal brethren. In one year 280 were burned in Seville alone; 79 were condemned to perpetual imprisonment in their loathsome cells; 17,000

¹ I had fallen into an error, following Llorente, my chief authority in much of this, making two persons out of one. Rodrigo Ponce de Leon had both these titles. Note in Prescott.

suffered lighter punishments. A spot of ground was set apart near this beautiful city, not for the innocent amusement of the people, nor even for their more barbarous, yet manly, bull-fights, but as the Quemadero, the Place of Burning. It contained four statues, called the Four Prophets, to which the unhappy victims were bound. The diagnostics of this fatal disease of New Christianity were specified with nice minuteness. There were twenty-seven symptoms of the disorder. Among these (we have not space to recite the whole) were the expectation of the Messiah, — the hope of justification by the Law of Moses, — reverence for the Sabbath, shown by wearing better clothes or not lighting a fire, — by observing any usage of their forefathers relating to meats, — honoring the national fasts or festivals, — rejoicing on the Feast of Esther, or bewailing the fall of Jerusalem on the 9th of August, — singing psalms in Hebrew without the *Gloria Patri*, — using any of the rites, not merely of circumcision, but those which accompanied it, — those of marriage or of burial, — even of interring the dead in the burying-place of their forefathers.¹ Mariana himself, the Spanish his-

¹ Prescott adds: "If he sate at table with Jews, or ate the meat of animals slaughtered by their hands, or drank a certain beverage held in much estimation by them; if he washed a corpse in warm water, or, finally, if he gave Hebrew names to his children, — a most whimsical provision, since by a law of Henry II. he was prohibited, under severe penalties, from giving them Christian names, — he must have found it difficult to extricate himself from the horns of this dilemma." This is not quite accurate; the prohibition of Henry II. was to the *unconverted* Jew. The converts, of course, were expected to give Christian names to their children. The perplexity must have been, that so many Christian names being of Jewish origin, a Christian may very innocently have given an odious Hebrew name to his child, a name, for instance, of one of the Apostles. I think therefore that my friend has here confused the persecutions of the New Christians and those of the Jews. I do not believe that the early Inquisition took cognizance of Jews; no inquisition was necessary into their tenets, nor were they, strictly speaking, heretics. They were hardly under ecclesiastical

torian, while he justifies the measure by its success, ventures to express the general terror and amazement of the whole people that children were thus visited for the offences of their forefathers, — that, contrary to the practice of all tribunals, the criminal was not informed of the name of his accuser, nor confronted with the witnesses, — that death should be the punishment awarded for such offences, — and that informers should be encouraged to lurk in every city or village, and listen to every careless conversation: — “a state of things, as some thought, not less grievous than slavery, or even than death.” In some places they were not content with burning the living; their insatiable vengeance warred on the dead. Sepulchres were broken open, and the bodies of suspected Jews, which had wickedly intruded themselves into consecrated ground, but had long slumbered in peace, and their souls gone to their account, were torn up and exposed to shame and insult. Miserable malice, which had all the guilt of cruel vindictiveness, yet was baffled by its senseless victims!

The ministers of confiscation and execution spread through Spain; many of the New Christians fled to France, to Portugal, and to Africa. Some, condemned for contumacy, ventured to fly to Rome, and to appeal to the Pope against their judges. The Pope himself trembled at his own act. He wrote to the sovereigns, complaining that the Inquisitors exceeded their powers. It was but a momentary burst of justice and mercy.

jurisdiction. It was the secret Judaism which lurked in the heart of professed Christians, which was to be searched out with such cruel acuteness, and punished with such remorseless barbarity. 17,000 or 18,000 may appear a large number of New Christians; but more than a generation had passed since the great conversions: it was acknowledged to be an hereditary evil. Seville was, in fact, the great seat of these suspected New Christians. “Daño que en Sevilla, mas que en otra parte, prevalecio.” Mariana, xxiv. 17.

Under the pretext of securing their impartiality, the number of Inquisitors was increased; the whole body was placed under certain regulations; and at length the Holy Office was declared permanent, and the too celebrated Thomas de Torquemada placed at its head. Its powers were extended to Aragon; but the high-spirited nobles of that kingdom did not submit to its laws without a resolute contest, — for many of those who held the highest offices were descended from the New Christians. The Cortes appealed to the King and to the Pope, particularly against the article which confiscated the property of the criminals, — contrary, as they asserted, to the laws of Aragon. While their appeal was pending, the Inquisitors proceeded to condemn several New Christians. The pride of the nation took fire; an extensive conspiracy was organized; and the Inquisitor Arbues was assassinated in the cathedral of Saragossa.¹ But the effects of this daring act were fatal, instead of advantageous, to the New Christians. The horror of the crime was universal. The old Christians shrunk from their share in the conspiracy, and left their confederates to bear all the odium and the penalty of the atrocious deed. The Inquisitors proceeded to exact a frightful retribution. Two hundred victims perished. Many of the noblest families were degraded by beholding some one of their members bearing the *san-benito*, as confessed and pardoned heretics. Though their chief victims were selected from those who were suspected of secret Judaism, yet the slightest taint of Judaism in the blood (and among the Aragonese nobility — the nobility of all Spain —

¹ Compare the account of the murder of Arbues in Prescott, v. ii. p. 84. The whole scene, he justly observes, will readily remind the English reader of the assassination of Thomas à Becket.

tnis was by no means rare) was sufficient to excite suspicion, and, if possible, the vengeance of the Inquisitors.

The unconverted Jews, however they might commiserate these sufferings, still, no doubt, in their hours of sterner zeal, acknowledged the justice of the visitation which the God of their fathers had permitted against those who had thus stooped to dissemble the faith of their ancestors. Their pusillanimous dereliction of the God of Abraham had met with severe though just retribution, while those who, with more steadfast hearts, had defied their adversary to the utmost, now enjoyed the reward of their holy resolution in their comparative security. But their turn came. In 1492 appeared the fatal edict commanding all unbaptized Jews to quit the realm in four months; for Ferdinand and Isabella, having now subdued the kingdom of Granada, had determined that the air of Spain should no longer be breathed by any one who did not profess the Catholic faith. For this edict, which must make desolate the fairest provinces of the kingdom of its most industrious and thriving population, no act of recent conspiracy, no disloyal demeanor, no reluctance to contribute to the public burdens, was alleged. The whole race was condemned on charges, some a century old, all frivolous or wickedly false, — crucifixions of children at different periods, insults to the Host, and the frequent poisoning of their patients by Jewish physicians. One of these charges was that they perverted back to Judaism their brethren who had embraced Christianity.¹ The story of the crucifixion of a child at Guardia had found ready belief (Juan de Passamente had been added to the saints and martyrs of the Church); it was working

¹ Llorente, c. 8.

with unresisted effect on the popular belief.¹ The edict raked up every worn-out tradition of these atrocities: a crucifixion at Saragossa in 1250, in Segovia in 1406, one near Zamora, one at Sepulveda, an infernal conspiracy at Toledo to blow up a procession of the Host. The edict was issued only eighty-nine days after the conquest of Granada. The Jews made an ineffectual effort to avert their fate. Abarbanel, a man of the greatest learning, the boast of the present race of Jews, and of unblemished reputation, threw himself at the feet of the king and queen, and offered in the name of his nation an immense sum, 30,000 ducats, to recruit the finances of the kingdom, exhausted by the wars of Granada.² The queen, sad to say, made a bitter speech against the suppliant. The Inquisitors were alarmed. Against all feelings of humanity and justice the royal hearts were steeled, but the appeal to their interests might be more effectual. Thomas de Torquemada advanced into the royal presence, bearing a crucifix. "Behold," he said, "him whom Judas sold for thirty pieces of silver. Sell ye him now for a higher price, and render an account of your bargain before God."³

¹ Amador de los Rios, p. 158. The author, though sharing in modern enlightenment, has still some old Spanish prejudices. He would throw the guilt of this act rather on the people than on the sovereigns; to the latter it was a matter of necessity. I have no doubt that the whole nation must share in the condemnation; and the whole nation bore the inevitable penalty.

² Solomon ben Virga (in the Schevet Judah) inserts Abarbanel's description of the causes and of the horrid scenes which accompanied the expulsion: "The king, more fierce than Esau (ipso Esauo ferocior), thought that he could not show his gratitude to God for the conquest of Granada so fully as by compelling the Jews to baptism, or expelling them from the kingdom." Abarbanel's offer rests on his own authority. The queen supported Ferdinand in his stern determination. "Adstitit quoque a dextris Regina, *Judeis inimicissima*, quæ Regem acri oratione identidem hortabatur, quod feliciter cœpisset, fortiter exequeretur." p. 321.

³ Amador de los Rios questions this story as improbable, p. 181. Mr.

The sovereigns trembled before the stern Dominican, and the Jews had no alternative but baptism or exile. For three centuries their fathers had dwelt in this delightful country, which they had fertilized with their industry, enriched with their commerce, adorned with their learning. Yet there were few examples of weakness or apostasy; the whole race,—variously calculated at 166,000, 300,000, 650,000, or 800,000,¹—in a lofty spirit of self-devotion (we envy not that mind which cannot appreciate its real greatness), determined to abandon all rather than desert the religion of their fathers. They left the homes of their youth, the scenes of their early associations, the sacred graves of their ancestors, the more recent tombs of their own friends and relatives. They left the synagogues in which they had so long worshipped their God; the schools where those wise men had taught, who had thrown a lustre which shone, even through the darkness of the age, upon the Hebrew name.² They were allowed four months to prepare for this everlasting exile. The unbaptized Jew found in the kingdom

Prescott, like myself, received it as perfectly consistent with the character of the actors and of the times.

¹ As to the numbers, I am disposed, with Mr. Prescott, to take the lower, but not quite the lowest, as more nearly approximating to probability. The whole population of the kingdom of Castile at that time was 6,750,000. Yet Abarbanel states the number of exiles at 300,000 (not a very large proportion of that population), and Abarbanel was one of the exiles. “Uno die trecenta peditum millia sine armis ex omnibus regni locis confluxere, juvenes, senes, infantes atque mulieres ituri omnes quocunque viam fata monstrarent, in horum numero ipse quoque fui.” Schevel Judah, p. 322.

² I had again anticipated my friend: “This extraordinary act of self-devotion by a whole people for conscience’ sake may be thought by a contemporary of the nineteenth century to merit other epithets than those of perfidy, incredulity, and stiff-necked obstinacy, with which the worthy curate of Los Palacios, in the charitable feeling of the time, has seen fit to dogmatize it.” Prescott, ii. p. 228.

after that period was condemned to death. The persecutor could not even trust the hostile feelings of his bigoted subjects to execute his purpose ; a statute was thought necessary, prohibiting any Christian from harboring a Jew after that period. Many were sold for slaves ;¹ Christendom swarmed with them. The wealthier were permitted to carry away their movables, excepting gold and silver, for which they were to accept letters of change or any merchandise not prohibited. Their property they might sell ; but the market was soon glutted, and the cold-hearted purchasers waited till the last instant, to wring from their distress the hardest terms. A contemporary author states that he saw Jews give a house for an ass, and a vineyard for a small quantity of cloth or linen.² Yet many of them concealed their gold and jewels in their clothes and saddles ; some swallowed them, in hopes thus at least to elude the scrutiny of the officers. The Jews consider this calamity almost as dreadful as the taking and ruin of Jerusalem. For whither to fly ? and where to find a more hospitable shore ? Incidents, which make the blood run cold, are related of the miseries which they suffered. Some of those from Aragon found their way into Navarre ; others to the sea-shore, where they set sail for Italy, or the coast of Morocco ; others crossed the frontier into Portugal. " Many of the former were cast away, or sunk," says a Jewish writer, " like lead, into the ocean." On board the ship, which was conveying a great number to Africa, the plague broke out. The captain ascribed the infection to his circumcised passengers, and set them all on

¹ " Multi, ut vilia mancipiorum capita, per Christianorum terras, pretio venditi." Abarbanel, in Ben Virga ut supra.

² Bernaldes, as quoted by Llorente, and also by Mr. Prescott.

shore, on a desert coast, without provisions. They dispersed: one, a father, saw his beautiful wife perish before his eyes — fainted himself with exhaustion — and, waking, beheld his two children dead by his side.¹ A few made their way to a settlement of the Jews. Some reached the coast of Genoa, but they bore famine with them; they lay perishing on the shore, — the clergy approached with the crucifix in one hand and provisions in the other, — nature was too strong for faith — they yielded, and were baptized. A Genoese, an eye-witness, describes their landing and their sufferings. He commences with these expressive words: “At first sight their treatment might seem praiseworthy, as doing honor to our God; perhaps there was some little cruelty in it, since we considered them not as beasts, but as men created by God.”² It was wretched to witness their sufferings; they were wasted away with hunger, especially sucklings and infants; mothers half alive carried their children famishing with hunger in their arms, and died holding them. Many expired from cold, others with squalor and thirst. The tossing about on the sea and the unaccustomed miseries of the voyage had destroyed an incredible multitude. I speak not of the cruelty and rapacity with which they were treated by the captains of the ships. Some were thrown into the sea by the cupidity of the sailors; some lived to sell their children to pay for their passage. Many came into the city, but were not permitted to stay long, — by the ancient laws of Genoa not above

¹ Abarbanel, p. 323.

² “Res hæc primo aspectu laudabilis visa est, quia decus nostræ religionis respiceret, sed aliquantulum in se crudelitatis continere, si eos non belluas sed homines a Deo creatos consideravimus.” Mr. Prescott, who translated the whole passages (ii. p. 232), omitted this characteristic sentence. Seneraga de Reb. Gen. apud Muratori, xxiv. 521, 522.

three days. They were allowed, however, to refit their vessels, and to recruit themselves some days from their fatigues: except that they could move, and that with difficulty, you would have thought them dead. They were crowded on the Mole with the sea on all sides; so many died that the air was infected; ulcers broke out, and the plague which visited Genoa the next year was ascribed to that infection." The acts of the clergy and the compulsory baptism rest on Jewish tradition.¹ Into Rome the fugitives were admitted, but they were received with the utmost inhospitality by their own brethren, fearful that the increased numbers would bring evil upon the community; even the profligate heart of Alexander the Sixth was moved with indignation. — "This is something new," he exclaimed; "I had always heard that a Jew had ever compassion on a Jew." The Pope commanded the resident Jews to evacuate the country; they bought the revocation of the edict at a considerable price.² Those who reached Fez were not permitted to enter the town; the king, though by no means unfriendly, dreaded the famine they might cause among his own subjects. They were encamped on the sand, suffering all the miseries of hunger; living on the roots they dug up, or the grass of the field, "happy," says one Jewish authority, "if the grass had been plentiful:"³ yet, even in this state, they religiously avoided the violation of the Sabbath by plucking the grass with their hands; they grovelled on their knees, and cropt it with their teeth. Worse than all, they were exposed to the most wanton barbarities of the savage people. An

¹ Schevet Judah

Abarbanei ut supra

² Ibid. ut supra. in Schevet Judah. p. 324

Arab violated a maiden before her parent's face, — returned and stabbed her to the heart, lest he should have begotten a child infected with the Jewish faith. Another woman, unable to bear the sight of her pining child in his agony, struck him dead to the earth with a large stone. Many sold their children for bread. The king of the country afterwards declared all such children free. A pirate of Sallee allured a number of youths — one hundred and fifty — on board his ship, with the promise of provisions, — and, amid the shrieks of the parents on the shore, set sail, and sold his booty in some distant port. The captain had intended to murder them all; a merchant on board the ship remonstrated. "How can I otherwise avenge the blood of Christ, whom the Jews slew?" argued the avaricious captain, intent on his plunder. "Christ himself," was the reply, "allowed his blood to be shed to redeem mankind."² It was not thought wrong to cast them out on the wild shore. Another party were landed by a barbarous captain of a ship, entirely naked and utterly desolate on the African coast: the first, who ascended a hill to survey the country, were devoured by wild beasts, which came howling down upon the rest of the miserable crew. They plunged into the sea, and stood shivering in the water till the wild beasts retreated; they then crept back to the beach. For five days they remained in this miserable plight, and were rescued by the humane activity of the captain of another vessel, who sent his boat to their relief.

But these were the acts of savage barbarians or lawless pirates. In Portugal they trusted to the faith of kings. They offered to Joam II. a large sum, for permission to enter his kingdom. The more intolerant of

¹ Abarbanel, *ut supra*, 328, 331

his advisers urged him to refuse all terms; but the poverty of the king triumphed over his bigotry. They were admitted at the price of eight crusadoes a head — children at the breast alone excepted from the tax. The frontier was lined with toll-gatherers, and they were permitted to enter only at particular places. They were merely to pass through the country, and embark for Africa, — with the exception of artificers in brass and iron, who were to enter at half-price, and, if they chose, might remain. They brought the plague with them, and many lay perishing by the wayside. Eight months elapsed, and many still lingered in the country, — either too poor to obtain a passage, or terrified by the tales of horrid cruelty inflicted on their brethren by the Moors. All these were made slaves, — the youth were baptized by force, and drafted off to colonize the unwholesome island of St. Thomas. The new king, Emmanuel, commenced his reign with a hopeful act of mercy: he enfranchised the slaves; he seemed inclined to protect the resident Jews within his realm. But he wedded the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and brought home a dowry of cruelty and intolerance. The son-in-law must follow the example of his parents: he deserved to win their favor by surpassing them even in their own barbarity. He named a day for all Jews to quit the kingdom, and appointed certain ports for their embarkation. Before that time he issued another secret order to seize all children under fourteen years of age, to tear them from the arms, the bosoms of their parents, and disperse them through the kingdom, to be baptized and brought up as Christians. The secret transpired, and, lest they should conceal their children, it was instantly put in execution. Great God of Mercy, this was in the name of

Christianity ! Frantic mothers threw their children into the wells and rivers, — they destroyed them with their own hands. One mother threw herself at the feet of the king as he was riding to church. She had already lost six children ; she implored that her youngest might be spared to her. The courtiers repelled her with scorn and ill-usage. The king told them to let her go, “ the poor bitch deprived of her whelps ! ” But, though stifled in the heart of the monarch, the voice of Nature still spoke in that of the people, however bigoted. They assisted the Jews to conceal their children. By a new act of perfidy, Emmanuel suddenly revoked the order for their embarkation at two of the ports which he had named. Many were thrown back upon Lisbon, and the delay made them liable to the law. The more steadfast in their faith were shipped off as slaves, but the spirits of many were broken : on condition that they might receive back their children, and that government would not scrutinize their conduct too closely for twenty years, they submitted to baptism. Yet most of these were reserved, if possible, for a more dreadful fate. About ten years after, some of them were detected celebrating the Passover, or by one account eating bitter herbs before the Passover. For this offence some were imprisoned. The heavier charges inflamed the popular resentment against them. In this state of the public mind, it happened that a monk was displaying a crucifix to the eyes of the wondering people, through a narrow aperture in which a light streamed, — the light, he declared, of the manifest Deity. While the devout multitude were listening in blind devotion, one man alone was seen to smile ; he had, in fact, discovered a lamp behind the mysterious crucifix. In a rash moment he dropped

the incautious expression, that if God would manifest himself by water (the year had been unusually dry and sultry) rather than by fire, it would be for the public advantage. The scandalized multitude recognized in the infidel speaker a New Christian. They rushed upon him, dragged him by the hair into the market-place, and there murdered him. His brother stood wailing over the body; he instantly shared his fate. From every quarter the Dominicans rushed forth with crucifixes in their hands, crying out, "Revenge, revenge! Down with the heretics; root them out; exterminate them!" A Jewish authority asserts that they offered to every one who should murder a Jew, that his sufferings in purgatory should be limited to a hundred days. The houses of the converts were assailed, — men, women, and children involved in a promiscuous massacre, — even those who fled into the churches, embraced the sacred relics, or clung to the crucifixes, were dragged forth and burned. The king was absent: on his return he put on great indignation. The ringleaders of the riot were punished; and the New Christians, who escaped, became for the future more cautious.

My History may well close this melancholy scene with the description of it in somewhat later Jewish tradition, instinct as that description is with touches of biblical pathos: "In that year the exiles from Jerusalem were driven away from Sphard by command of the wicked ones, Ferdinand, King of Sphard, and his wife Isabella, and were thence dispersed into the four wings of the earth. And they went in ships, whither the wind allowed them to go, — unto Africa and Asia, and the land of Yavan and Turkey; and they dwell therein unto this day. And there came upon them

many sorrows and afflictions, and the souls of the people became weary on the way. For some of them the Turks killed, to take out the gold which they had swallowed to hide it; and some of them hunger and the plague consumed; and some of them were cast naked by the captain upon the isles of the sea; and some of them were sold for men-servants and maid-servants in Genoa and its villages; and some of them were drowned in the sea. See, O Lord, whom hast thou afflicted so much that a man should consume his fruit! For there were among them who were cast into the isles of the sea upon Provence, a Jew and his old father fainting from hunger, begging bread; and there was no one to break unto him in a strange country. And the man went and sold his little son for bread, to restore the soul of the old man. And it came to pass, when he returned unto his father, that he found him fallen down dead, and he rent his clothes. And he returned unto the baker to take his son, and the baker would not give him back. And he cried out with a sore and bitter cry for his son, and there was none to deliver. All this befell us in the year RABBIM (for the sons of the desolate are רבים many) Yet have we not forgotten thee, neither have we dealt falsely in thy covenant. And now, O God, be not far off; hasten to help us, O Lord! For thy sake we are killed all the day; we are counted as sheep for the slaughter. Make haste to help us, O God of our salvation! Plead our cause and deliver us.

“And also unto them that had changed their glory for an unprofitable one, in the days of the priest Fra Vincenzo Sadi. This Isabella was a Satan in those days. And she set searchers and spies over them, to see if they walked in the law of their Messiah or not.

And they burned by hundreds of them for no cause ; and all that they had they plundered daily. And then they began to flee, and to go unto Turkey, to serve God as at this day." R. Joshua fiercely adds : " And the Lord was zealous for his people, and gave unto those kings the recompense of the works of their hands. For their daughter died in Portugal while she was laboring with child ; and her eldest son died in Prague, and there was no male child left to inherit her dominion. And the Queen Isabella became weary of her life, and half of her flesh was consumed by the evil and lasting plague that is called cancer, and she died.

" In Portugal also the destructions increased, and the enemies decreed by the power of the sword that none should walk according to the Law of Moses the servant of the Lord. And the Jews took their sons and their daughters, and sent them unto the isles of the sea wherein no one dwelled. And many hallowed the Holy One of Israel ; but many fell down and worshipped the Image, and changed their glory for an unprofitable one."

R. Joshua proceeds to say that there arose upon the fugitives a priest as a Satan. The inhabitants killed them, and had no compassion upon man or woman. The king was absent from Lisbon. On his return, he ordered the priest to be burned, his accomplices to be put to death.

" And many Jews went out from Portugal at that time, and went unto the East country to serve the Lord our God as at the first ; and they have dwelled there unto this day. And many were left halting between two opinions ; they feared the Lord, yet swore by the image of the uncircumcised, and went daily unto their churches. And they have increased, and

become mighty in riches until this day. From that day and afterwards there was not a man left in all the kingdoms of Sphard who was called by the name of Israel.”¹

How deep a wound was inflicted on the national prosperity by this act of “the most Christian sovereign” cannot easily be calculated; but it may be reckoned among the most effective causes of the decline of Spanish greatness. It was not only the wealth, which, notwithstanding the most vigilant perquisition, they carried away, though that for those times no doubt was enormous. A Jew, probably an African refugee, after the taking of Malaga, ransomed 450 of his brethren at a cost of 27,000 doubloons. We have seen the vast sum offered to the king by Abarbanel to buy off the edict of expulsion. There are many records of the secret luxury and magnificence of the Spanish Jews in the darkest times. What was a much more severe loss, they carried away all the industry and the commerce of the land. The loss of the gold and silver (alone considered wealth in those days) which disappeared with them, would have been replaced before long by the influx of the precious metals from America. But the loss of industry was irreparable in a country where pride and indolence proscribed all such pursuits as base and sordid, and where the richest body, the Church, contributed nothing, either directly or by the improvement of the land, to the support of the State. With the Moors and with the Jews vanished all the rich cultivation of the soil, and all internal and external commerce.²

¹ R. Joseph, i. 322, 326. R. Joseph's own ancestors fled from Navarre to Avignon; some of his relations fled to Turkey. His father, when he was five years old, migrated to the neighborhood of Genoa; exiled from Genoa, he lived at Novi (p. 415).

² Amador de los Rios, p. 166.

“You call this,” the Sultan Bajazet is reported to have said of Ferdinand, “a politic king, who impoverishes his own kingdom to enrich mine!”¹

Nevertheless, it is certain that in the Peninsula Judaism still lurked in the depth of many hearts, inaccessible even to the searching scrutiny of the Inquisition. Secret Jews are said to have obtained the highest offices of the State, and even of the Church, to have worn the cowl of the monk, and even to have sat on the tribunal of the Inquisition. The celebrated Jewish physician Orobio stated that he had personal knowledge of many of his brethren who thus eluded the keen eye of the bloodhounds of the Holy Office. Cloisters, of monks and nuns, were full of Jews; there were canons, bishops, Inquisitors, not only of Jewish

¹ There is a correspondence between the Jews of Spain and the Jews of Constantinople, such palpable forgeries as to be in themselves of no value, but curious as showing the Spanish notion of the motives and character of the Jews. The Jews' letter runs thus: “Honorable Jews, health and grace be with you! Know ye that the King of Spain, by a public proclamation, wishes to make us Christians, and to rob us of all our property. He takes away our lives, destroys our synagogues, and inflicts upon us other vexations, which trouble us, and make us uncertain what to do. By the Law of Moses we pray and entreat you to summon an assembly, and to send us, as speedily as possible, the result of your deliberations.” The Jews of Constantinople replied: “Beloved brethren in Moses, we have received your letter, in which you describe the torments and miseries which you suffer, in which we fully participate. This is the advice of the great Satraps and of the Rabbins. For what you say concerning the King of Spain wishing to make you Christians, do so, since you cannot do otherwise. As to the order to plunder you of your goods, make your sons merchants, and plunder them of theirs. For what you say of taking away your lives, make your sons apothecaries and physicians, and take away theirs. They destroy, you say, your synagogues: make your sons clergymen, that they may profane their religion and their churches. If they afflict you with other vexations, strive to get State employments for your children, in order to revenge yourselves upon them. Do not depart from these instructions, and you will see, by experience, that, from down-trodden as you are, you will soon be held in consideration. Ussaf, Prince of the Jews of Constantinople.” Amador de los Rios, from MSS. in the Library of Madrid. The Spaniard will not absolutely give up the authenticity of these letters.

descent, but in heart Jews.¹ They were rich, many of them, and money could easily obtain certificates of pure Christianity. This profound and widespread hypocrisy may seem to some almost to justify the Inquisition; but it shows also how it was baffled in spite of all its zealous cruelty. Mr. Borrow relates a strange story of secret Jews in the Church of Spain in our own days; some of the most learned performing, with seeming solemnity and earnestness, the ceremonial of the Church, but in spirit still faithful to the Law of Moses.²

If these proofs were insufficient, the lurid light of Autos da Fé still betrayed the fact that Jews, undisguised Jews, lingered on the forbidden soil of Spain.

¹ "Quid dicam de Hispaniâ et Portugalliâ? Ubi ex Judæis apostatis fere omnes et principes et nobiles et populares originem ducunt, quod in eis regionibus adeo notum est, ut nemo dubitaverit; quamvis pro insigniis nobilitatis et dignitatibus *præsertim ecclesiasticis* obtinendis Judaismum abjurare oportet, et informationes exhibere quod ab Israeli oriundi non sunt: quod falsis testibus adhibitis, ut in regiâ, *auro etiam* favente facile consequuntur. Adeo omnia monachorum claustra atque monialium Judæorum plena, Canonici, *Inquisitores, Episcopi plurimi* ex Judæis procedunt. Non pauci in corde Judaizant, et propter ea bona temporalia Christianismum simulant; ex quibus aliqui resipiscunt, et, ut possunt, effugiunt." Limborch, in his answer, says: "Monachorum quorumcunque cænobia in Hispaniâ istiusmodi sceleratis hominibus esse repleta." Limborch, *Amica Collatio* (Gouda, 1687), pp. 102, 209, 276.

"And many were left halting between two opinions: they feared the Lord, yet swore by the image of the uncircumcised, and went daily into their churches, and they have increased and become mighty unto this day." Rabbi Joseph, p. 327.

² Mr. Borrow, *Bible in Spain*, p. 233 (see also the story on p. 300), gives this extraordinary conversation between himself and a Jew who passed for a Christian. "Have you reason," says Mr. Borrow, "to suppose that many of you are to be found among the priesthood?" Abarbanel: "Not to suppose, but to know it. There are many such as I amongst the priesthood, and not amongst the inferior priesthood either. Some of the most learned and famed of those of Spain have been of us, or of our blood at least; and many of them at this day think as I do. They perform all the Catholic ceremonies, and then sit down upon the floor and curse." Abarbanel mentions an archbishop who, having acknowledged his inclinations at heart to Judaism, died in the odor of sanctity.

At the burning of a young Jewish woman, Philip III. had the weakness to shudder. The Inquisitor declared that the king must atone for this crime by his blood. He was bled; the pale guilty blood burned by the executioner.¹

At all events, if Jews did not, as they certainly did, still defile the soil of Spain, their contaminating blood lingered in the veins of the greatest and noblest, — the dukes with the most magnificent titles and hereditary dignities. That blood, both in Spain and Portugal, was as ineffaceable as negro blood in the United States of America, — the pure red of princes, even of kings, was tainted. The shrewd Venetian ambassador, in the reign of Philip the Second and his successor, observing how deeply the priesthood, as well as the laity,² were polluted with Jewish blood, doubted whether their Christianity was more pure than their descent. And as late as towards the close of the last century, it is told of Pombal, that the King of Portugal, Joseph I., proposed to issue an edict that all who were descended from Jews should wear a yellow cap. Pombal appeared in the Council with three yellow caps. The king demanded the meaning of this strange accoutrement: "One is for your Majesty, one for the Grand Inquisitor, one for myself."

¹ Grégoire, *Régénération des Juifs*, quoted by M. Bédarride, note, p. 553.

² "E chi sa la poca coscienza, che la maggior parte così dei preti, così dei laici tiene nelle cose essenziale, e che molti di loro frescamente descendono da Mori e da Ebrei, dubitò grandemente, che il cuore e l'animo non corresponda alle apparenze. Alle Gerbe, innanzi che si perdesse il forte, molte passarono a i Turchi, lasciando i compagni e la fede. Alcuni nella Goletta, poco fa trattarono di darla agli infideli: e in Murcia, come scrissi, si scoperse una grandissima copia d' Ebrei." *Relazione di Paolo Tiepolo, 1563* (in the reign of Philip II.), vol. v. p. 18. See also *Relazione di Soranzo, 1565*, p. 32

Spain — even in her lowest decrepitude — indulged in what might seem the luxury of persecution. The Marquis de Villars, Ambassador of France from 1678 to 1682, describes as an eye-witness a scene almost incredible in its cruel and cowardly details. On the last day of June the theatre was erected in the public Place of Madrid for a general jail-delivery of all the Inquisition Courts in Spain, which had not taken place for forty-eight years. The trials lasted from nine in the morning to nine at night. The King was present, — that king, the poor idiot, Charles II. Above the King sat the Grand Inquisitor.¹ The most noble grandees of Spain — men with the most glorious names and titles — acted as familiars of the Inquisition, and led the miserable victims upon the stage of the theatre. Eighteen Jews, men and women, — two relapsed and one Mohammedan, — were condemned to the flames. Fifty other Jews and Jewesses were condemned to bear the *san-benito*, and to imprisonment for different terms. The King sat there the whole day, staring with his stupid eyes on the scene as if it had been a play, and saw the ignorant monks savagely beating the wretched victims to compel them to kneel at the altar. The following night those condemned to the flames were executed without the city. The monks, not content with harassing them by arguments, according to Villars's words, little likely to shake their faith in their

¹ I cannot refrain from citing from Llorente a passage relating to the great persecutor: "In the year 1498 died Thomas de Torquemada, who had presided over the Inquisition, and governed all its proceedings for sixteen years. In that time it is reckoned that under this Christian judge 8800 victims had perished at the stake; 6500 had been burned in effigy. Those who had suffered other penalties, infamy, perpetual imprisonment, confiscation, amounted to 90,000. And with this mass of human bloodshed and human misery upon his soul, Thomas de Torquemada was prepared to undergo, according to his own creed, the judgment of Jesus Christ."

religion, burned them with torches in order to force them to confess Christianity. Some persons, it may be hoped in mercy, dispatched them with their swords. The howling people heaped stones upon them. The Jews bore their sufferings with admirable constancy, "worthy," says Villars, "of a better cause. Some plunged into the fire. These executions," continues Villars, "by no means diminished the number of Jews in Spain; while these wretched Jews were burned for their faith, other Jews held high offices, especially in finance, and lived in credit and respect."¹

I close this dreary Book with this touching incident. To a late period the Jews scattered over the world retained the precious recollection of their glorious and pleasant days in Spain, and their fond hopes of return to that delicious climate. It was recorded in their prayers. Long afterwards they sought, for their Feast of Tabernacles, branches of the orange-trees under whose fragrant shade they had reposed in Spain and Portugal. Even in the seventeenth century German Jews travelled to Spain to obtain branches of these hallowed trees for their synagogues.²

¹ From the *Mémoires de Villars*, printed by Mr. Stirling for the Philo-biblican Society, pp. 187, 191.

² Buxtorf, *Synagoga Judaica*, c. *xxi.* Depping, p. 434.

BOOK XXVII.

JEWS OF ITALY.

Early Period — The Popes — The Family of Peter Leonis — Martin V.

ON the Jews of Italy my History has maintained almost total and significant silence. During the darker ages, if they attained not in Italy the same dangerous and distinctive opulence, neither were they exposed to the same cruel and sweeping calamities. The feudal system, so far as it was established in Italy (most fully in the Norman kingdom of Naples¹), degraded them, as in France, England, and Germany, into the property of the lords. They were assigned over by one feudal sovereign to another, granted as gifts, made objects of bargain, sale, and merciless exaction.² But the feudal system died out earlier and with more rapid dissolution in Italy than in the rest of Europe. The free cities assumed their independence, and in these the Jews seem generally to have lived in happy obscurity. The cities and the petty sovereigns were

¹ On the Norman conquest of Sicily, deeds of purchase and sale, or contracts, were equally valid in Arabic, Greek, or Hebrew, "in linguâ Arabicâ, Græcâ, et Hebraicâ, per manus notariorum Saracenorum, Græcorum, et Hebræorum, etsi solemnitatibus careant Christianorum." Const. Panormit. apud Gregorio, *Considerazioni sopra la Storia di Sicilia*, t. 1, Prove, i. 11.

Latins, Greeks, Jews, Saracens, were to be judged each by his own law. Diplom. 1168, *ibid.* iv. 21, Prove.

King Roger of Sicily brought Jewish silk-weavers to Sicily from the Morea. Ann. Cavenses; Muratori, vii. 924.

² See examples from Muratori, *Ant. Med. Æv.* cited above, p. 160.

too perpetually occupied with wars within themselves, and wars with their neighbors, to take up any systematic policy concerning these scattered strangers; and the Jews cared little, so they were left in peace, for Guelph or Ghibelline, Pope or Emperor.¹ Neither was religious zeal in the peninsula so easily inflamed, so frantic or so bloodthirsty, as beyond the Alps. Italy, if cold to the glorious enthusiasm, was exempt from the blind fanaticism of the earlier Crusades. The cry of "Hep! Hep!" was not raised, or, if raised, but feebly and rarely, in the Italian cities; their streets did not run with Jewish blood.

But the great cause of the comparative quiet and security of the Italian Jews was that they were not the sole, and therefore not the few, envied and odious possessors of wealth. They did not engross the commerce. In Naples and Sicily, Frederick the Second, though he published the terrible edicts of the Canon-law, as enacted by Innocent III., yet, with that premature political wisdom with which he fostered trade and industry in all their branches, skilfully turned the political incapacity of the Jews to their advantage and to the advantage of the State. He deliberately, it might seem, made over to them the whole trade in money. Usury, which he could not, in the teeth of the Papal edicts and the popular feeling, declare to be lawful to the Christian, was not forbidden by the Di-

¹ Cassel rather asserts that they were mostly Ghibellines. They appear, in the wars of the Angevins and Aragonese for Sicily and Naples, to have been against the Pope and the French.

Cassel quotes a letter of Pope Martin III. "A li perfidi Judei dilla Isula di Sicilia Martinu Papa terzu manda quilli saluti, siccomu a corrompitori di paci, e di Christiani ucidatori e spargitori de lu sangue di nostri figli." p. 143. The article has much more on Jews in Sicily. Compare also Amari, *Vespro Siciliano*.

vine law to the Jew : aliens from the Christian Church, they could not be bound by its laws, and under the royal license might carry on this baleful, as it was thought, but, as he knew, necessary traffic.¹ But in Italy generally the money transactions were not entirely in their hands ; they were not alone enriched by and hated for the practice of usury. From an early period the Lombards, the Florentines, the Caorsini, were their rivals in that business, so necessary, yet so detested, and which, beyond the Alps, marked out the Israelites, and them alone, as the victims of hate and rapacity. The Christians are the objects of Dante's withering scorn for their exaction and avarice. Even beyond the Alps the Italians became the rivals of the Jews and competitors for gain and its inevitable consequences. The direct taxes levied by the Popes on Latin Christendom, annates, first-fruits, Peter's pence, assessments on rich conventual foundations, the votive offerings of pious kings and nobles to the Holy See, the contributions for the Crusades, of which the Popes constituted themselves the treasurers ; the vast expense of all ecclesiastical suits, and of those offices of the Roman Court which had long been proverbial for their cost ; in short, all the sources of the remorseless rapacity, venality, and extortion with which Rome was taunted for centuries, — all these world-embracing financial operations required agents, and by degrees

1 " A nexu tamen præsentis Constitutionis nostræ Judæos tantum excipimus, in quibus non potest argui fœnus illicitum divinâ lege prohibitum, quos constat non esse sub legibus a beatissimis patribus institutis, quos etiam auctoritate nostræ licentiæ improbum fœnum volumus exercere." Const. Reg. Siculæ, apud Canciani, i. 307. (What did they pay for the license?) See also, in Gregorio III., Prove, p. xxxvi., Frederick's Regest concerning Jewish gardeners in Palermo. They were very skilful in the cultivation of fruit-trees; they were no doubt much employed by the enlightened Emperor in translations from the Arabic. See back, p. 208.

bankers, in foreign countries, for their collection and transmission. Italians, even churchmen, even cardinals, soon became adepts, active, sagacious adepts, in all these pecuniary transactions. We more often hear these Papal tax-gatherers taunted with Jewish avarice and usuriousness than with Jewish descent or creed. It is true that on the expulsion of the Jews from France by Philip Augustus many of the richest Jews took refuge in Northern Italy. There they are said — but the fact is by no means certain — to have invented letters of change and credit, which their extensive correspondence and honorable fidelity to each other rendered a safe means for these incipient dealings with the money-market of Europe. But even if the Jews had, it may be in a ruder way, forestalled this simple invention, the Lombards and Italians were not slow in availing themselves of, and securing an ample share, if not almost the whole, of these profits. Philip the Fair found his Italian bankers not less tempting objects of plunder (some of them he had himself employed to levy his grinding taxation) than the Jews. At all events, the Jews, if we may so speak, were held not to be the only or the worst Jews in Italy. If they enjoyed not the monopoly of money-making, they escaped the monopoly of detestation, and that which followed detestation — persecution, pillage, sometimes massacre.

If the Popes, faithful to the milder tradition of Gregory the Great, were on the whole more humane and Christian, it must be acknowledged that they had not the same temptations as the poorer and more embarrassed sovereigns of Europe. The Jews of Paris or of Languedoc, of London or of York, of the cities on the Rhine, offered a rich prey to the rapacity of the kings

or the great feudal nobles. These potentates felt, too, occasionally, or affected, commiseration for their people, heavily burdened with debts, these debts iniquitously and irreligiously, as it was universally believed, aggravated by usury. In Rome the Jews were, some few of them probably of a higher, others of a much lower class. The higher were obliged to content themselves with more moderate gains, and therefore more moderate wealth, moderate at least as contrasted with that of the higher clergy, the officials of the Papal Curia, and the religious foundations. The lower probably kept up the hereditary and traditionary offices of peddlers and dealers in small wares, which they held during the old Empire. Contempt and poverty would secure them against violent persecution. History and legislation, even the legislation of the Church, are totally or almost totally silent about the Italian, and especially the Roman, Jews during the ninth and tenth centuries. In those wild times of the law of the strongest, even Jews would not venture, or would be unable, to become perilously wealthy. In the eleventh century occurs one persecution. Some poor Jews were executed on account of an earthquake.¹ In the latter half of that century one family alone, but that a renegade family, the Peter Leonis,² having submitted to baptism, rose, during the

¹ Ademar, Hist. iii. 52.

² "Cujus avus, cum inæstimabilem pecuniam multiplici corrogasset usurâ, susceptam circumcisionem baptismatis undâ dampnavit Factus dignitate Romanus, nam genus et formam regina pecunia donat, alternis matrimoniis omnes sibi nobiles civitatis ascivit." According to Arnulf, the Antipope had a Jewish countenance, "qui et Judaicam facie representat imaginem, et perfidiam voto refert." Arnulf, Monum. Germ. vii. p. 711.

But the hatred of the Jews appears even more strongly. After accusing the Antipope of bestial incest, he adds as an aggravation,—"Jam nec Judæus quidem sed Judæo deterior." Arnulf speaks of the numerous progeny and infinite wealth of the Peter Leonis.

strife between the Popes and the Emperors, to great power, gave consuls, patricians to the city of Rome, and if not a Pope, an Antipope, who was crowned and for a time maintained his authority in the Vatican. It is from the invectives of the enemies of Anacletus II. that we obtain our fullest knowledge of the rise of this remarkable family. Its founder, according to these writers, a Jew, in the days of Pope Gregory VII., had scraped up enormous wealth by nefarious usury. This wealth made him a useful, in the days of his exigency no doubt a welcome, partisan of the Pope. Had the commanding mind of Hildebrand anything to do with Peter's conversion? At all events he became a Christian, and was admitted to the rank and dignity of a Roman. The haughtiest and noblest families of Rome did not disdain to ally themselves to the Jew by intermarriages with his sons and daughters. Peter Leonis, the second of the race, had a strong tower-palace near the Temple of Marcellus, not far from which is now the Ghetto, even then no doubt occupied by his Jewish kindred. If an inscription which was once in the Church of S. Alesio marks the grave of that Peter Leonis, he had attained the rank of consul. The son of the same Peter Leonis became cardinal, became Antipope under the title of Anacletus II. St. Bernard, the ardent partisan, the maker almost of Innocent II.,

Compare Chron. Maurin. Duscnesne, iv. 576.

If the epitaph quoted by Baronius, ann. 1111, refers to Leo, the founder of the family, the Jew himself had a noble mother:—

“Hic jacet in tumulto Leo, vir per cuncta fidelis
Sedis apostolicæ tempore quo vigit,
Romæ natus, opum dives, probus et *satis alto*,
Sanguine materno nobilitatus erat.
Prudens et sapiens, et cælo pene sub omni
Agnitus et celebris, semper in urbe manens,
Virgo ter senis fuerat cum sole diebus
Quando suum vitæ finierat spatium.”

does not scruple to taunt Anacletus with the indelible reproach of his Jewish descent. He is indignant that the offspring of a Jew should occupy the chair of St. Peter.¹ The Archbishop of Ravenna brands the schism of Anacletus as the heresy of Jewish unbelief.²

It is in their homage to the successful rival of their renegade descendant that the Jews in other parts of Europe, those especially of Rome, in a more marked manner on the accession of Alexander II., emerge into notice. To Innocent no doubt they would be eager to show their allegiance, as disclaiming all sympathy with him who was mocked by his enemies as a Jewish pontiff, and would be more odious to them as sprung from an apostate. On the entrance of Alexander II. into Rome they appear as a guild or corporation. (This may seem to imply an ancient and recognized establishment.) They have their place in the solemn processions, with their standard, among judges, clergy, and other guilds. They carry, as it appears according to custom, the Book of the Law, the Old Testament, as their badge. The grateful Pope not only accepts their homage as faithful subjects; he issues an edict, prohibiting all interference with their synagogues, all insult to their religious rites. In the twelfth century Benjamin of Tudela found the Jewish congregation at Rome (they amounted only to two hundred) held in respect, and exempt from tribute. As in other countries, the Pope's (Alexander III.'s³) steward and

¹ "Ut constat Judaicam sobolem sedem Petri in Christo occupasse injuriâ." Epist. 134.

² "Judaicæ perfidiæ hæresis." Apud Mansi, xxi. 434.

³ Asher's edition, p. 38 *et seq.* Alexander III. was Pope from 1159 to 1181, but during a great part of his pontificate was not at Rome. Zunz dates Benjamin's visit between 1159 and 1167. Benjamin's strange stories of the sights of Rome are very curious. He mentions St. Peter's on the site of the large palace of Julius Cæsar. "The extent of ground covered

minister of his private property was a Jew, R. Jechiel, a handsome, prudent, and wise man. Benjamin found Jews in other cities: 300 in Capua, 500 in Naples, 600 in Salerno (the principal medical university in Christendom), 20 principal men in Amalfi, 200 in Benevento, 200 in Melfi, 40 in Ascoli, 200 in Trani, none in Bari, 300 in Taranto, 500 in Otranto.¹

The Acts of Innocent III. and of the Lateran Council were addressed rather to the Jews of the Catholic world than to those of Rome, the prohibition to hold offices of dignity and trust (they were to forfeit all the emolument of such charges to the poor); the fatal statute commanding them to wear a distinctive mark on their dress. The protective law of Honorius III. looked to the Jews of Spain. Gregory IX., though in general he maintained the more tolerant

by ruined and inhabited parts of Rome amounts to four-and-twenty miles. You there find eighty halls of the eighty eminent kings who are called Imperator, from King Tarquin to King Pepin, the father of Charles who first conquered Spain and wrested it from the Mohammedans. In the outskirts of Rome is the palace of Titus, who was rejected by three hundred senators in consequence of his having wasted three years in the conquest of Jerushalaim, which task, according to their rule, ought to have been accomplished in two years!" He mentions also the hall of the palace of King Vespasianus, a very large and strong building (qy. the Coliseum?), as the marvellous Hall of King Galba; also S. Giovanni in Porta Latina, in which place of worship are two copper pillars, constructed by King Schlomo (o. b. m.), whose name, Schlomo ben David, is engraved upon each. The Jews in Rome told him that every year, about the time of the 9th of Ab, these pillars sweat so much that the water runs down from them. There is a cave, too, in which Titus hid the vessels of the Temple, and another containing the sepulchres of those holy men, the ten martyrs of the kingdom.

¹ R. Jacob ben Jehudah, who travelled in Provence 140 years later (Minchath Kenaoth, Letter 53, p. 115), reports that no Jews were to be found in his time from Provence to Rome; and even the small number found at Genoa, Pisa, and Lucca by our author, had disappeared. The latter city was also visited by Aben Ezra. In the eastern and central parts, however, of Northern Italy, Jewish congregations were to be met with at Venice, Ancona, Rieti, Pesaro, Bologna, Fano, Forli, Ferrara, Fermo, Fabriano, Ascoli, Perugia. R. Mashe Zinz (1400) mentions the Jewish traders at Lucca. Zunz, note on Benjamin of Tudela, p. 16.

policy, yet enforced some restrictions. He prohibited the Jews from having Christian slaves, and forbade Christians to enter into religious disputations with the Jews.

During the pontificate of Alexander IV.¹ there was a fierce persecution of the Jews in the kingdom of Naples. Jewish tradition affirms that among the Jews of Trani, Bari, and Naples, there were men of science, orators, and poets, superior to all in the world except in France. Was this the result of the enlightened rule of the Emperor Frederick II. (we have seen his patronage of learned Jews) and that of King Manfred? The tradition gives the cause of the popular outburst against the Jews. In Trani a monk, worsted in a quarrel with a Jew, revenged himself by hiding a crucifix in a dung-heap near the Jew's house. He pretended to have received in a dream a revelation of this profane insult to Christianity. The people were in a fury; the magistrate, suspecting the monk, but unable to arrest the rage of the populace, advised the Jews to turn Christians. Some yielded; some fled to Naples. There they fared worse: the story had spread; the rabble was up. Some abandoned their faith; others concealed themselves, and when the storm was over fled to distant countries. Alexander IV. interfered, but without much effect, in favor of the Jews. The king afterwards detected the fraud of the monk, but was afraid to put him to death: he was banished to one of the islands.²

We have heard the solemn voice of Innocent IV. raised in favor of the Jews. The ambitious Nicolas III.³ scrupled not to arrest the fierce zeal of the Franciscans,

¹ 1245-1261.

² Schevet Judah, p. 141.

³ On the character of Nicolas III. comp. *Latin Christianity*, iv. 452, &c.

on whom he otherwise leaned as the most useful allies of the Papal power. The Franciscans demanded the forcible conversion of the Jews. The just edict of Nicolas III. appeals to the Christian example of the Popes, his predecessors, protects the Jews in their rights, in their property, and in their religion; their festivals were to be respected, their cemeteries undisturbed; they were to be subject to no insult or molestation.

The Jews, however, during the ensuing pontificates made, it would seem, extraordinary reprisals for these actual or threatened forcible conversions. Clement IV. published a Bull,¹ complaining that there were Christians who embraced Judaism. Possibly these were the enforced converts, who fell back in more quiet times to their old faith; but the Bull broadly acknowledges Christian converts of both sexes to Judaism.² The Pope commanded the Inquisition to search out and punish the apostates, and the Jews who had abetted such apostasy. Nicolas IV. renewed this Bull in 1288.

During more than a century the Jews of Italy almost disappear; that century was mostly occupied by the eventful pontificate of Boniface VIII.,³ the Babylonian Captivity of the Popes at Avignon, and the great schism. During the absence of the Popes from Rome their edicts and acts had more to do with the Jews of Provence and Languedoc than with those of Rome.

¹ Bullarium sub ann. 1278. There is a copy of this Bull, on parchment, which once belonged to the Jews, in the Trésor des Chartes at Paris. Deping, p. 465.

² "Judæos autem qui Christianos utriusque sexus ad eorum ritum execrabilem induxerint, aut inveneritis de cætero inducentes, poenâ debitâ puniatis; contradictores per censuram ecclesiasticam appellatione postpositâ compescendo; invocato ad hoc, si opus fuerit, auxilio brachii sæcularis." Apud Raynald. sub ann. 1288.

³ Sub ann. 1299.

At the close of the schism, in the Council of Constance, on the election of Martin V.,¹ the Jews of Constance appeared in the procession, as those of Rome were wont to do, with burning torches, and chanting Hebrew psalms, to do homage to the new Pontiff. They offered to him the Book of the Law. The Pope received it, and returned it with these words, "Ye have a law, but ye understand it not: old things are gone by; all things are new."²

Martin V. issued a Bull from Mantua, which commenced with words of unusual liberality. "Since the Jews are made in the image of God, since a remnant of them shall be saved, since, further, their trading is profitable to Christians, and, lastly, since they solicit our countenance and our compassion, thus will we, in the same sense as Calixtus, Eugenius, Alexander, Clement, Cœlestine, Innocent, Honorius, Gregory, Urban, Nicolas, and other former Popes of blessed memory." He proceeds to protect their synagogues, their rites, their privileges, usages, and constitutions, as far as they do not violate public morals, or insult the Catholic faith. No Christian shall compel a Jew, even of the most tender age, to baptism; no one shall disturb them in their festivals; they must pay on their part respect to the Christian worship of God. Pope Martin repealed all the hostile statutes of the Spanish Antipope, Peter of Luna: it was a temptation to annul the acts of an Antipope. Martin V. also restrained the zeal of the monks, who endeavored to compel the Jews to bap-

¹ On the character of Martin V., Latin Christianity, vi. 73.

² There is another version of this story. The Pope refused to accept the book; the Emperor took it and said: "Your laws are just and good; none of us rejects them; but ye observe them not as ye ought." The Pope added: "May God remove the veil from your eyes, that ye may behold the everlasting light." He blessed them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. *L'Enfant*, Conc. de Constance, ii. 167.

tism, by prohibiting the traffic of Christians with them. He annulled the order of the General of the Dominicans to compel them to hear sermons; he gave full license for trade with Jews. These were wise measures; how far counselled by the poverty or parsimony of Pope Martin, — how far his imputed avarice, which, at the close of his life, left him master of a great treasure, prompted them, — neither the traditions of the grateful Jews nor the taunts of Martin's enemies, as far as I have observed, furnish any evidence.

We have seen the violent Bull of Eugenius IV. ; the wise and humane edict of Nicolas V. relating to the Jews of Spain; the reception of the wretched fugitives from Spain, at Genoa, and at Rome. I shall hereafter show the conduct of the later Popes to the children of Israel.¹

¹ See the preceding Book.

BOOK XXVIII.

Jews in Turkey — In Italy — In Germany before the Reformation — Invention of Printing — Reformation — Luther — Holland — Negotiation with Cromwell — False Messiahs — Sabbathai Sevi — Frank, &c. — Spinoza.

PROSCRIBED in so many kingdoms of Europe, exiled from Spain, the Jews again found shelter under the protection of the Crescent. In the North of Africa, the communities which had long existed were considerably increased. Jews of each sect, Karaïtes as well as Talmudists, are found in every part of that region. In many countries they derive, as might naturally be supposed, a tinge from the manners of the people with whom they dwell; and, among these hordes of fierce pirates and savage Moors, their character and habits are impregnated with the ferocity of the land. In Egypt their race has never been exterminated; they once suffered a persecution under Hakim (A. C. 1020), which might remind them of the terrors of former days, but they seem afterwards to have dwelt in peace: Maimonides was the physician of Saladin. But the Ottoman Empire, particularly its European dominions, was the great final retreat of those who fled from Spain. 50,000 are estimated to have been admitted into that country, where the haughty Turk condescended to look down on them with far less contempt than on the trampled Greeks. The Greeks were Yeshir, slaves, they held their lives on sufferance; the Jews, Monsaphir, or visitors. They

settled in Constantinople and in the commercial towns of the Levant, particularly Salonichi.¹ Here the Rabbinical dominion was reëstablished in all its authority; schools were opened; the Semicha, or ordination, was reënacted; and R. Berab entertained some hopes of reëstablishing the Patriarchate of Tiberias. The Osmanlis beheld with stately indifference this busy people, on one hand organizing their dispersed communities, strengthening their spiritual government, and laboring in the pursuit of that vain knowledge which, being beyond the circle of the Koran, is abomination and folly to the true believer, even establishing that mysterious engine, the printing-press; on the other, appropriating to themselves, with diligent industry and successful enterprise, the whole trade of the Levant.

Their success in this important branch of commerce reacted upon the wealth and prosperity of their correspondents, their brethren in Italy. At a somewhat later period the famous Savonarola founded a Monte della Pietà in Florence with the avowed purpose of rescuing the poor from the exactions of the Israelites, whom he denounced with his own peculiar vehemence. The good Friar might well undertake this work of charity, if the Jews obtained thirty-two and a half per cent. on their loans, with compound interest.² But the

¹ Rabbi Joseph describes a terrible fire at Salonichi, which broke out in the house of a Jew grocer, Abraham Catalan, and destroyed eight thousand houses, and two hundred lives were lost: "Woe unto the eyes which have seen eighteen of our prayer-houses, and our glory, and the books of our Law, and the believers of our Law, become a burning and a fuel of fire." The misery which followed this fire caused a great plague, "until those who buried became weary, and the mourners and bewailers ceased. And the Jews retained no strength at that time, and Israel became very low." The grocer whose house took fire was imprisoned by the Turks, and died in prison. R. Joseph, ii. 403.

² Villari (*Vita di Savonarola*, i. 278) says that this enormous amount of interest is stated in the decree which founded the Monte della Pietà. The precariousness of the security should be taken into account.

Friar was not content without an edict, hunting the Jews out of the land.¹

As early as 1400 the jealous republic of Venice had permitted a bank to be opened in their city by two Jews. In almost every town in Italy they pursued their steady course of traffic. They were established in Verona, Genoa, Pisa, Parma, Mantua,² Pavia, Padua, Sienna, Bassano, Faenza, Florence, Cremona, Aquila, Ancona, Leghorn,³ besides their head-quarters at Rome.⁴ Their chief trade, however, was money-lending; in which, at least with the lower classes, they seem to have held a successful contest against their old rivals, the Lombard bankers.⁵ An amiable enthusiast,

¹ "La pestifera voragine e pessimo veneno della usura, già supportata in Firenze 60 anni, da quella pessima e di Dio inimica setta Ebraica." The Jews were allowed a year to depart. Ibid. p. 279.

² Henry II. of France permitted the Jew merchants of Mantua to come into the cities of the kingdom. "And they went into the king's gate, and bowed themselves before him to the ground; and he accepted their persons and made a release to them according to the hand of our God upon him: and they went from him in peace, for he was a faithful man." R. Joseph, ii. 454. Probably from this time, if not before, the Jews crept unobserved into France. R. Joshua also relates that the Regent Duchess of Mantua took away the Jews' burial-ground in that city, for which God visited her with the death of the Duke, her eldest son (467).

³ At a somewhat later period (under the Medici) it became a proverb in Leghorn, that a man might as well strike the Grand Duke as a Jew.

⁴ Many Jews were slaughtered at Rome in the great siege by the Constable Bourbon (R. Joshua, p. 72). On the coronation of Charles V. at Rome, the Jews had been threatened with pillage. "And had it not been for the mercies of the Lord, which never fail, the Jews would have been soon given up to pillage on that day. For the men of the Emperor gaped with their mouths, hissed, and gnashed with their teeth against them, but the Lord delivered them" (p. 114). There are many curious details, as to the Jews in all the cities of Italy, in Ersch und Grüber. pp. 155, 163.

⁵ In Rabbi Joshua's History (for, like Tacitus, he affected to write Annals and Histories) there are a few incidents relating to the Jews of Italy. He himself resided usually near Genoa, or at Rome. One is perplexing enough. "The Jews also Lautrec grievously oppressed when he was at Milan, and commanded them to put green helmets on their heads as high as those of the *Muscovites* [?], in order to deride the people of the living God. Howbeit the Eternal suffered him not, but thrust him out that day from the

Bernardino di Feltre, moved to see the whole people groaning under their extortions, endeavored to preach a crusade, not against their religion, but against their usury. His language towards the Jews was full of wisdom and humanity ;¹ but the effect was, in many places, to raise the populace against them. Nor indeed did the preacher altogether abstain from language which could not but inflame the popular mind : "The Canon-law prohibits all intercourse with Jews, specially their employment as physicians ; the presence of Christians at feasts is expressly interdicted. Yet did the Jew Leo celebrate the wedding of his son with a feast which lasted eight days, and how many crowded to his banquets, to his balls ! In the present day everybody who is suffering from illness openly calls in a Jewish doctor."² This was in Piacenza ; the infuriated rabble

territory of Milan" (p. 22). The Jews had been expelled by the Fregosi, no doubt from commercial jealousy, from Genoa. "But in those days the Jews returned to dwell at Genoa, for the Adorni were men of kindness towards the Jews, and they brought my brother-in-law, the Rabbi Joseph, the son of David, thither, contrary to the laws of that perverted city, and he abode there many days, and was physician unto them." This was during the plague. R. Joseph was ill of this plague for forty days, but recovered (p. 39).

There is a curious passage in the Continuation of the Chronicle of the Abbas Uspergensis, which says that, at the storming of Rome by the Constable Bourbon, the Jews, who were numerous in the city, not only bought their own security, but made vast sums by purchasing the plunder at the cheapest prices : "*Judæi, quorum magnus numerus illic, ne sint omnia sancta Romæ, persolutis pretiis sese redemerunt, ex prædâ omnis generis vili emptâ, ingens lucrum facientes*" (p. 357). The Jews assert that they suffered in the general plunder and massacre. Both accounts are probably true. Compare Ersch und Grüber, p. 152, note.

¹ "*Si de Hebræis loquendum est, dicam, quod in aliis civitatibus dico: neminem, quantum cuique sua anima cara est, posse nocere Hebræis, in personâ sive in facultatibus, sive in quacunque aliâ re: nam etiam Judæis justitia, Christiana pietas, et dilectio exhibenda est cum et illi naturæ humanæ sint.*" Acta SS. p. 910.

² Acta SS. Sept. 30; Annal. Placentini, apud Muratori, xx. 945.

Much of this, with the citations, is from Cassel, Ersch und Grüber, pp. 150, &c.

wreaked their rapacity or their vengeance; gibbets were loaded with Jews; some were torn in pieces, their bodies cast to the dogs or wild animals. Bernardino di Feltre sought better means for rescuing his beloved poor from the hands of the usurious Israelites. He attempted to enforce the doctrines of his sermons by active measures of benevolence, the establishment everywhere of banks on a more moderate rate of interest for the accommodation of the poor, called Mounts of Piety, — *Monti della Pietà*. He met with great success in many towns; in Mantua, Monselice, Montefiore, Rimini, and Brescia: in Padua he forced the Jews to close their banks, from whence they had drawn an enormous profit. But the people were either so deeply implicated with their usurious masters, so much the slaves of habit, or so much repressed by the honest shame of poverty, as to prefer secret though more disadvantageous dealings with the Jews, to the publicity required in these new banks. The scheme languished, and in many places speedily expired.

The conduct of the Popes, as of old, varied, as bigotry, policy, or humanity predominated in the character of the Pontiff. In 1442, Eugenius the Fourth had deprived the Jews of one of their most valuable privileges, and endeavored to interrupt their amicable relations with the Christians; they were prohibited from eating and drinking together: Jews were excluded from almost every profession, were forced to wear their badge, to pay tithes; and Christians were forbidden to bequeath legacies to Jews. The succeeding Popes had been more wise or more humane. In Naples, the celebrated Abarbanel became the confidential adviser of Ferdinand the Bastard, and of Alphonso the Second; the Jews experienced a reverse,

and were expelled from that city by Charles the Fifth. Some of the Popes, wiser than the Most Catholic Kings, began to discover that by casting forth the Jews, Christendom cast forth Jewish wealth from her kingdoms. They began to perceive and to be jealous of the Turks, whose stately indifference had permitted the Jews to settle and to trade in their dominions, and had thus secured a much larger share of the money-market of Europe.¹ They were unwilling to lose such profitable subjects. Leo X. in an edict rebuked the popular preachers who inveighed against the tables of the Jewish money-changers. Paul III. openly espoused the cause of the Jews expelled from Portugal, and the New Christians against whom the Inquisition continued to work with all its stern and implacable vigilance. The Pope forbade in his own dominions all such cruel investigations. He granted an amnesty for all former offences.² His aim was to encourage the prosperity of his rising port, Ancona. In this city the Pope permitted Turks, Jews, heretics, to trade with perfect freedom without any inquiry into their creed. They paid the same taxes as Christians; they were not compelled to wear their ignominious badge. It was especially permitted that Jews and New Christians from Portugal and Algarve should fully enjoy this privilege. Ancona rapidly grew in opulence, and in commerce,

¹ "Ne ad eas nationes quæ Christum Salvatorem nostrum se conferant" Cassel, p. 152. "Et quia tanta multitudo istorum est apud Turchas et in partibus Africæ et sicut Judæi vivunt, et quod pejus est; contra aliquos fuit a Papæ consistorio temporibus meis propositum et fuit determinatum quod viverent sicut Judæi." Ibid., from a letter of Coutinho, Bishop of Algarve.

² "Impetravano del Papa una perdonanza generale di tutti li crimini che haveano commessi contra la santa e cattolica fede fine ai di che si pubblicasse la bulla della Inquisitione nel regno di Portugalla." MS. authority quoted by Cassel.

the parent of opulence. There were two Jewish communities, an Italian and a Levantine synagogue. Julius III. not merely confirmed the wise edict of his predecessor, but, on the establishment of the Inquisition at Rome on account of the perilous progress of the Reformed opinions, he specially exempted the Jews of Ancona from this jurisdiction. The Cardinals and other delegates of the Papal power were instructed to pay the utmost respect to the religious observances of the Jews. They were forbidden, under pain of the Papal displeasure, to inquire into the religious observances or religion of the Jews, or into their former confession of Christianity, to dispute with them, to drag them into their courts, to burden or molest them in any way.

Nevertheless, under Julius III. the Jews were endangered by a rash proselyte. A Franciscan friar, Corneglio of Montalcino, embraced Judaism, circumcised himself, and "set his face as a flint" to preach against Christianity in the streets of Rome. He was seized and burned. Julius issued a mandate, considering the circumstances, of no great severity. The Talmud, to which the guilt of the conversion of the friar was attributed, was ordered everywhere to be burned: at Rome, at Bologna, and at Venice. Throughout Italy the Jews, dreading some more awful vengeance, sat in terror, — they fasted and put on sackcloth, — but the merciful Pope was contented with punishing their books; no violence was committed on the Jews.¹

But the reawakening zeal of the Popes, startled from its serene and mild slumbers by Protestantism,

¹ Rabbi Joseph, ii. 523: "And he was long-suffering with them, because he delighteth in mercy."

soon returned to its ancient bigotry and ignorance, — ignorance the parent and offspring of bigotry. They hastened to discard their wiser policy, to reject the first dawnings of political economy, which in calmer times had forced themselves into their councils.

The stern and haughty Pope, Paul the Fourth, renewed the hostile edicts; he prohibited the Jews from holding real property;¹ that which they held was to be sold, and within six months: therefore property estimated at 500,000 crowns was sold for a fifth of that sum. The Pope endeavored to embarrass their traffic, by regulations which prohibited them from disposing of their pledges under eighteen months; deprived them of the trade in corn and in every other necessary of life, but left them the privilege of dealing in old clothes.² Paul IV. first shut them up in their Ghetto, a confined quarter of the city, out of which they were prohibited from appearing after sunset; he reduced them to one synagogue, — the rest were to be destroyed.³ They were to wear a distinctive dress; they were not to work on the Christian Sabbath, to keep their accounts in Italian or Latin, not to have any conversation with Christians, not to practise among them as physicians. Pius the Fourth relaxed the severity of his predecessor. He enlarged the Ghetto, and removed the restrictions on their commerce; he permitted them to hold real property up to a certain value, 1500 ducats; to have direct conversation with

¹ Bullarium, ann. 1555.

² "Nullam mercaturam frumenti vel horrei aut aliarum rerum usui humano necessarium." Art. 10.

³ According to Bartolucci (iii.), there were nineteen synagogues in Campania, eight in Umbria, thirty-six in the March, thirteen in Romaguola, eleven at Bologna, two at Benevento, six at Avignon, nine at Rome, thirteen in other parts of the Roman States. They paid 1380 scudi annually to the Hospital of the Catechumens at Rome.

Christians ; to wear a black instead of a yellow hat ; the owners of the houses in the Ghetto were prohibited from exacting exorbitant rents ; the Jew became almost a citizen and a man. Pius the Fifth expelled them from every city in the Papal territory, except Rome and Ancona ; he endured them in those cities with the avowed design of preserving their commerce with the East ; in other respects he returned to the harsh policy of Paul IV. Gregory the Thirteenth pursued the same course ; a Bull was published, and suspended at the gate of the Jews' quarter, prohibiting the reading of the Talmud, blasphemies against Christ, or ridicule against the ceremonies of the Church. All Jews, above twelve years old, were bound to appear at the regular sermons delivered for their conversion ; where it seems, notwithstanding the authority of the Pope and the eloquence of the Cardinals, that their behavior was not very edifying. At length the bold and statesmanlike Sixtus the Fifth annulled at once all the persecuting or vexatious regulations of his predecessors, opened the gates of every city in the ecclesiastical dominions to these enterprising traders, secured and enlarged their privileges, proclaimed toleration of their religion, subjected them to the ordinary tribunals, and enforced a general and equal taxation.¹

The great events of this period — the invention and rapid progress of printing, and the Reformation — could not but have some effect on the condition of the Jews. This people were by no means slow to avail themselves of the advantages offered to learning, by the general use of printing. From their presses at Venice, in Turkey, and in other quarters, splendid specimens of typography were sent forth,² and the respect of the

¹ Sixtus V. limited the interest on loans to 18 per cent.

² R. Joseph speaks of Rabbi Tobias Phuall as one of the first who used

learned world was insensibly increased by the facilities thus afforded for the knowledge of the Scriptures in the original language, and the bold opening of all the mysteries of Rabbinical wisdom to those who had sufficient inquisitiveness and industry to enter on that wide and unknown field of study. A strong effort was made by struggling bigotry to suppress all these works, which a pusillanimous faith knew to be hostile, and therefore considered dangerous to the Christian religion. Pfeffercorn, a convert from Judaism, earnestly persuaded the Emperor Maximilian to order the entire destruction of all books printed by the Jews. The celebrated Capnio, or Reuchlin (such are the names by which he is best known), interfered; he abandoned certain books, which contained offensive blasphemies against the Redeemer (the Nizzachon and the Toldoth Jesu), to the zeal of his antagonist, — but pleaded, and not without success, the cause of the sounder and more useful parts of Jewish learning.

The Reformation affected the people of Israel rather in its remote than in its immediate consequences. It found the Jews spread in great numbers in Germany and Poland. They were still liable to the arbitrary caprice of the petty sovereigns or free cities of the Empire. But great changes had already come over the Jews in Germany. The days were long gone by when, according to the fine expression, the Imperial Eagle brooded over the Jews to protect and to prey upon them; when, according to the *Sachsen-Spiegel*,¹

the press for Hebrew works: "His mind also did not rest until he had propagated the good doctrine which is the perfect Law among Israel; and he instituted the printing-office at Sabionetta, his dwelling-place, which was under the government of the Lord Vespasian Gonzaga Colonna, (exalted be his glory!) from whence the Law goeth out unto all Israel." ii. 475.

¹ *Sachsen-Spiegel*, quoted by Cassel.

the Emperor Titus, or his father, Vespasian, had made over all, or a third of the Jews forever to his successors the Roman Emperors ; when the haughty Hohenstauffen, Frederick I., could grant as a favor to the Duke of Austria all the Jews and usurers in his domain without any molestation or interference from the Imperial Courts ;¹ when in a more merciful spirit, in the proclamations of the Truce of God, with the clergy, women, nuns, husbandmen, merchants, travellers, fishermen, Jews came under the general protection.² By Frederick II., whose stern Imperial despotism contrasted with his wise policy as King of Sicily,³ the Jews had been first declared serfs of the Imperial Chamber. Later emperors, Rodolph of Hapsburg, Louis of Bavaria, Charles IV., Wenceslaus, Sigismund, had asserted the same broad and indefeasible supremacy, or rather proprietorship in all the Jews of the Empire.⁴ Certain taxes had been levied upon the Jews, with more or less regularity, according to the poverty or the power of the Emperor, as protection-money (they were at all times, not alone during the Truce of God, under the peace of the Emperor). The amount of this, usually paid on St. Martin's Day, was somewhat arbitrary ; there was also the head-penny, paid on the coronation of the Emperor ; and, it seems, a golden penny specially belonging to the Imperial Treasury which he could not alienate.⁵ But the power of the Emperor had long been on the wane. Half of the Jew-tax had been ceded, or wrung from him by the

¹ See the Grant, in Pertz, *Leges*, ii. p. 101.

² See the proclamations of the *Trenga Dei*, *ibid.* p. 207.

³ See back, p. 333.

⁴ Compare Cassel, in *Ersch und Grüber*, p. 85 *et seq.*

⁵ The account of these various taxes and offerings in Cassel is not quite so clear as might be desired.

Electors and sovereign princes, who still, however, acknowledged the right of the Emperor to do as he would with the Jews, to kill them or burn them, of course to tax them according to his good pleasure. The Golden Bull reserved the Imperial rights, but, to a certain extent, made over their protection, and in consequence the power of oppressing them, to the sovereign princes.¹

The Jews were still, at least in theory, under Imperial protection, if not as serfs, as a kind of vassals. But the power of the Emperor had sunk still more. In the great strife between the princes of Germany and the free cities towards the close of the fourteenth century, both parties at one time came to a kind of truce, and magnanimously agreed to suspend their hostilities in order to persecute and plunder the Jews. At Nuremberg (in the year 1389) it was resolved, by common consent, that neither princes nor cities should pay their debts or interest to the Jews; that all contracts and pledges should be demanded back. The only commerce between Christian and Jew should be of sale and purchase. The Emperor, or rather King of the Romans, the feeble Wenceslaus, only stipulated for his share, a large share, of the spoil. The king's chief councillors, Duke Frederick of Bavaria, the Bishops of Bamberg, Würzburg, Augsburg, the Margrave of Nuremberg, the Counts of Oeting and Wertheim, bought the sovereign's assent to their robbery, by a percentage on their gains. The cities paid 40,000 florins, the Bishop of Würzburg and the Duke of Bavaria, each 15,000. The king ratified the compact, commanded the Jews (he their protector) to surrender their pledges, and proclaimed that whatever prince,

¹ See the declaration of Albert Achill (A. C. 1462), Cassel, p. 86.

count, knight, or squire would not aid the Throne against the Jews should be placed under the ban of the Empire.¹ Yet in his own dominions, in Prague, Wenceslaus was afterwards accused of favoring the Jews.² Rupert, the Palsgrave, the Anti-king of the Romans, followed a wiser and more humane policy. On his coronation day he took the Jews of Oppenheim and Nuremberg under his special protection, and induced persecuting Nuremberg to do the same. What they were to pay to the city appears not; but every Jew and Jewess of full age was to pay yearly a gulden to the royal treasury.³ They were the property of the king, but they made payments to the cities as well as to the king. On these terms also the Jews of Cologne, Mayence, Frankfort, Worms, Spiers, Landau, Schelstadt, Ratisbon, Colmar, Haguenau, Mühlhausen, Kaisersberg, and Eherhausen obtained letters of enfranchisement. In Frankfort they had a special right of appeal from the Imperial tribunal to that of the city.

I have no space to enlarge on the local oppressions and persecutions, which may be detected at every period during this intermediate century in almost every province and city in Germany, sometimes told with frightful but significant brevity: ⁴ their frequent ejection, and worse than ejection, by the Landgrave of Thuringia; popular commotions in Nuremberg, Frankfort, Worms, almost everywhere; massacres in Gotha and Erfurt; their expulsion from the Mark of Brandenburg. Excluded from one city or state, they found

¹ See the authorities for this in a recently published book, Hoeffler, *Ruprecht von der Pfalz*, pp. 74-77, with citations.

² *Ibid.* pp. 86, 88, 91.

³ *Ibid.* p. 377. Rupert had raised money on the Jew-tax, perhaps for his inroad into Bohemia. See also p. 356.

⁴ *Judæi occisi*," "combusti," perpetually occurs in the chronicles.

refuge in another till the storm blew over. It is clear, however, that wherever they had an opportunity, though usually more addicted to money-lending and the sale of gold trinkets and jewelry, they opened larger branches of traffic. In Poland they seem early to have entered into the great corn-trade of that kingdom.

On the history of the Jews in Prague alone I would willingly have dwelt; that community which boasts itself the oldest, at times has been the most prosperous, but which has suffered the most frightful disasters, — that community, with all its hoary traditions, and its wild, crowded, weed-and-hemlock-overgrown cemetery, the graves and the epitaphs of which might seem to reach up to the remotest antiquity, and in which a Jewish “Old Mortality” might spell out records of times when Bohemia was still heathen. Rabbi Joseph boldly declares that the Jews “had dwelled in Prague from the day that they were led captive.” Strange traditions tell of their removal, prophesied by the heathen Queen Libussa, of their solemn reception a century after by Duke Hostiwit. Jewish learning has lately illustrated their history, and turned passages into romance out of a history more wonderful and romantic than romance. The *Sippurim* of Dr. Wolff Pascheles has well been called the *Acts of the Jewish Martyrs*.¹ In the Hussite wars, and later, in the days of Luther, the Jews of Prague were suspected by the Reformers of fidelity to the Catholic Emperors; they were strangely accused of aiding the Turks, the common enemies of the Emperor and the Reformers. But the tradition

¹ Compare *Sippurim*, by Wolff Pascheles, Prague, 1838–1856; and an able notice of this curious book which contains two or three very powerful and characteristic tales, in *Fraser's Magazine*, Dec. 1862.

of their sympathy with the Imperialists is preserved by Rabbi Joseph. "Then Bohemia rebelled against her king and her God, because of the wrath of the Lutherans: and in these days they drove out the Jews from the provinces of Bohemia and of Prague the capital; and they removed from thence in wagons, and went into Poland and abode there. And many died on the road, and many were slain by the edge of the sword."¹ They returned, at least some of them, under Emperor Ferdinand, "who spake kindly to them;" and invited them back. It is believed that they showed their gratitude by their fidelity, and by useful service during the Thirty Years' War.

During the Reformation period, about A. C. 1542, terrible conflagrations broke out in many cities of Germany which were laid to the account of the Jews. "In that year," writes Rabbi Joseph, "there were burned in Germany many cities both large and small, and their smoke went up toward heaven; and it was not known who had kindled the fire, and they wrongfully accused the Jews and the shepherds [peasants?], saying, 'Ye have done this wicked thing;' and they chastised them and afflicted their souls, so that the Jews confessed what never came into their hearts; and they burned them with fire." As if to prove their guiltlessness, "God took away their reproach" (writes the Rabbi); "Linz was burned after they went out: it was a great city, the perfection of beauty, the joy of the whole earth; and only twenty houses were left in the midst thereof; and it was a lasting heap for many days."

The tone in which Luther spoke of the Jews varied, as on many other points not immediately connected

¹ Rabbi Joseph, ii. p. 337.

with his main object, according to the period of his life, and the light in which he viewed the race. As sordid usurers he detested them, and at first he seems to have approved of violent means of conversion; but at other times he spoke of them with humane consideration rather than anger, and reprobated all means of attempting their conversion, except those of gentleness and Christian love.¹

¹ Dr. Scheidler, in his article *Juden Emancipation*, in *Ersch und Grüber*, p. 271, reverses this view. According to the dates of his citations, Luther began by being more mild and just, and ended in being more fiercely cruel and fanatical against the Jews. In his *Exposition of the Twenty-second Psalm* (A. C. 1519) are these words on the conversion of the Jews:—

“Daher ist das Wüthen einiger Christen (wenn die andern noch Christen können genannt werden) verdammlich, welche meinen sie thun Gott daran einen Dienst, wenn sie die Juden auf das gehässigste verfolgen, alles Böse über sie denken, und bei ihrem beweinenwürdigsten Unglück ihrer noch mit dem äussersten Hochmuth und Verachtung spotten; denn sie vielmehr sollten, nach dem Exempel dieses Psalms (Ps. xiv. 10, und Paulus Rom. ix. 1, 2), von Herzen über sie traurig seyn, sie bedauern, und ohne Unterlass für sie beten. Dergleichen *Gottloser Christen* theilen sowohl zum Christlichen Namen als Volke durch diese ihre Tyrannie nicht geringern Abbruch, und sind an der Gottlosigkeit der Juden schuldig; sintemal sie dieselben durch dieses Exempel der Grausamkeit gleichsam mit Gewalt vom Christenthum zurück treiben, da sie vielmehr sollten mit aller Freundlichkeit, Geduld, Gebeth, Sorgfalt, herbeiziehen. Und diese ihre Wuth vertheidigen noch einige sehr abgeschmackte Theologi, und reden ihnen das Wort; indem sie aus grossem Hochmuth daher plaudern, die Juden wären der Christen *Knechte* und dem *Kaiser* unterworfen. Ich bitte euch darum, sagt mir, wer wird zu unserer Religion übertreten, wenn es auch der allersanftmüthigste und geduldigste Mensch wäre, wenn er siehet, dass er so grausam und feindselig, und nicht allein nicht Christlich, sondern mehr als viehisch von uns tractirt wird. . . . Die meisten Passions-Prediger thun nichts anders als dass sie der Juden Muthwillen, so sie an Christo verübet, sehr schwer und gross machen, und die Herzen der Gläubigen wider sie erbittern; so dass das Evangelium einzig und allein damit umgehet, dass es uns in diesem Stücke die Liebe Gottes und Christo einzig und allein aufs höchste anpreise.”

Is it possible that later in life Luther (alas, for the power of polemic strife to harden the heart!) should do more than declare the conversion of the Jews impossible? “Doubt not, beloved in Christ, that after the Devil you have no more bitter, venomous, violent enemy, than the real Jew, the Jew in earnest in his belief.” Luther inveighs against their usury with all the fierceness of the darkest of the dark ages. Is it credible that he should give

It was partly by affording new and more dangerous enemies to the power of the Church that the Reformation ameliorated the condition of the Jews; they were forgotten or overlooked in the momentous conflict: but to a much greater extent, by the wise maxims of toleration, which, though not the immediate, were not less the legitimate fruits of this great revolution in the European world.¹ The bitterness of religious

this counsel to those who asked the question, What was to be done by Christians with that accursed and reprobate people? "I. Burn their synagogues and schools; what will not burn, bury with earth, that neither stone nor rubbish remain. II. In like manner break into and destroy their houses. III. Take away all their prayer-books and Talmuds, in which are nothing but godlessness, lies, cursing, and swearing. IV. Forbid their Rabbis to teach, on pain of life and limb. V. Forbid them to travel: 'as they are neither lords nor officials [Amtsleute], nor traders, they should stay at home'! VI. Interdict all usury: 'we are not their subjects, but they ours.' VII. In the hands of all young Jews and Jewesses should be placed flails, axes, mattocks, spades, distaffs, spinning-wheels, and let them get their livelihood in the sweat of their brow, as should all the children of Adam."

There are above 400 pages, mostly of bitter vituperation (Luther's Werke, p. 2471), but with vigorous argument against the Jews, curious but most painful to read (2290-2632). Walch's Edition, t. xx. p. 2478.

¹ Rabbi Joshua's account of the Reformation is so curious as to be worthy of insertion: "And it came to pass, when the Pope Julius [the Second] began to build the great high place which is in Rome [St. Peter's], that he sent the Franciscan Friars into all the districts of the uncircumcised. And he gave them power to loose and to bind, and to deliver souls from perdition. And they departed and cried with a loud voice, 'Take off the earrings of your wives and daughters [the words in Exodus xxxii. 2] and bring them for the building of the high place; and it shall come to pass when ye shall come, that ye shall save the souls of your generation from perdition.' And it came to pass, after the death of Julius, that the Pope Leo sent again, and they went, as before, into the cities of Ashkenaz [Germany], and they were lifted up. And it came to pass whenever the Germans would speak, saying, 'How could ye say this thing? and how can the pope do it?' they answered them proudly, saying, 'Ye shall be cursed if ye do not believe, for there is no faith in you; and ye shall be an abhorrence to all flesh.' And there was one Martin [Luther], a monk, a skilful and wise man, and he also said unto them, 'Why are ye not ashamed when ye let your voice be heard on high speaking such dreams?' And the priests could not give an answer; and they behaved with madness after their manner, and they anathematized him in the year 1518, and the wrath of Martin was much

hatred was gradually assuaged; active animosity settled down into quiet aversion; the popular feeling became contempt of the sordid meanness of the Jewish character, justified no doubt by the filthy habits, the base frauds, and the miserable chicanery of many of the lower orders who alone came in contact with the mass of the people, rather than revengeful antipathy towards the descendants of those who crucified the Redeemer, and who, by their obstinate unbelief, inherited the guilt of their forefathers.

During the Thirty Years' War the Jews, it has been said, assisted with great valor in the defence of Prague, and obtained the protection and favor of the grateful Emperor. Before this, the Reformation had been the remote cause of another important benefit, — the opening the free cities of Holland, where a great number of Portuguese Jews settled, and vied in regularity, enterprise, and wealth with the commercial citizens of that flourishing republic.¹ The Jews of Amsterdam and other cities bore a high rank for intelligence and punctuality in business.

From Holland they long looked for some favorable opportunity which might open the exchange, the marts,

kindled. And Martin opened his mouth and preached with a loud voice against the pope, and against the dreams and the abominations of the popes, but still he delighted in THAT MAN [Jesus], and many gathered themselves unto him. And he made them statutes and ordinances, and spake revolt against the wise men of the Church; and he would explain from his own heart their law *and the words of Paul*; and they went not after the precepts of the popes; and their laws are two different laws until this day." i. p. 430.

¹ In 1590, three Portuguese Jews were hospitably received in Holland. Many soon followed. The first synagogue was founded in 1598. The States publicly avowed their determination to open a place of refuge for those who were expelled by the tyrannical governments of Europe. About twenty years after, German Jews settled in Holland, but their first community was not formed in Amsterdam till 1630. Ersch und Grüber, p. 120.

and the havens of England to their adventurous traffic. But the stern law of Edward I. was still in force, and though, no doubt, often eluded, the religious feeling of the country, as well as the interests of the trading part of the community, would have risen in arms at a proposition for its repeal.¹ Yet it can hardly be doubted that Jews must have walked the streets of London, and, though proscribed by the law, must, by tacit, perhaps unconscious, connivance, have taken some share in the expanding commerce of England during the reign of the Tudors.² If it were not a creation of Shakspeare, it would be difficult to believe his Shylock a pure creation, or to suppose that the poet drew entirely from his own mind the Jewish character and feelings, the mutual heart-deep hatred of Jew and Christian.³ It was not, however, till the Protectorate

¹ I know not on what authority Amador de los Rios asserts that England was among the first countries which received the Spanish Jews on their expulsion from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella. He names London, York, and Dover as three cities where they settled, p. 419. He says (p. 440) that they built synagogues in London as well as in most of the Hanseatic towns, and drove a flourishing trade.

² "I pass over a period in our own history, in which it is supposed there were no Jews in England, — the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles I. My researches might show that they were not then unknown in this country. Had there been no Jews in England, would that luminary of the law, Sir Edward Coke, have needed to inveigh against the Jews as 'Infidels and Turks'? — delivering them all alike to the Devil; stigmatized and infamous persons, 'perpetui inimici,' says Littleton, 'and not admissible as witnesses.'" Disraeli, *Genius of Judaism*, 240.

³ This is more remarkable if, as Charles Lamb has done, with his fine originality of criticism and felicitous language, we contrast Shylock with Marlowe's Jew of Malta: "Marlowe's Jew does not approach so near to Shakspeare as his Edward II. does to Richard II. Shylock, in the midst of his savage purpose, is a man; his motives, feelings, resentments, have something human in them: 'If you wrong us, shall we not revenge?' Barabbas is a mere monster brought in with a large painted nose to please the rabble. He kills in sport, poisons whole nunneries, invents infernal machines. This is just such an exhibition as a century or two earlier might have been played before the Londoners by the *Royal command*, when a general

of Cromwell that the Jews made an open attempt to obtain a legal reëstablishment in the realm. The strength of ancient prejudice, coöperating with the aversion of a large part of the nation towards the government, gave rise to the most absurd rumors of their secret proposals to the Protector. It was bruited abroad, and widely believed, that they had offered £500,000 on condition of obtaining St. Paul's Church for their synagogue, and the Bodleian Library to begin business with. Harry Martin and Hugh Peters were designated as the profane or fanatic advisers of this strange bargain.¹ Another equally ridiculous story was propagated of certain Asiatic Jews, who sent a deputation to inquire whether Cromwell was not the Messiah, and went to Huntingdon with the ostensible design of buying the Hebrew books belonging to the University of Cambridge, but with the real object of searching the Protector's pedigree to find whether he could claim Jewish descent. The plain fact was this: a physician of great learning and estimation among the Jews, Manasseh ben Israel,² presented a petition

pillage and massacre of the Hebrews had been previously resolved on in the Cabinet." Lamb's Specimens, p. 31.

It is very curious that the Jews have the same story, only with everything reversed. Shylock, the Jew, is the liberal, unsuspecting merchant. Antonio, the Christian, insists on the forfeited pound of flesh. But the noble Portia is even more cruelly used; she is employed in that worst and basest calling to which women can be self-degraded, the procuress who is to inveigle the gentle Jessica. The whimsical part is, that the Jews place the story at Rome, in the time of Pope Sixtus V. (Elizabeth's contemporary); the Pope plays a great part in it. Shakspeare's authorities for his version ascend high in the Middle Ages. It is almost more whimsical that the story, in its Jewish form, found its way into Gregorio Leti's *Life of Sixtus V.* See Sippurim, No. iv. p. 202, &c.

¹ This rumor is mentioned in Manasseh ben Israel's *Defence of the Jews*, p. 7.

² See Manasseh Ben Israel, *Sein Leben und Wirken*, von Dr. M. Kayserling (Berlin, 1861) — a careful, and seemingly accurate, account of the life of this remarkable man

to the Protector for the readmission of his countrymen into the realm. The address was drawn with eloquence and skill ; — it commenced by recognizing the hand of God in the appointment of Cromwell to the Protectorate ; it dexterously insinuated the instability of all governments unfavorable to the Jews, and it asserted the general joy with which the ambassadors of the Republic had been received in their synagogues in Holland and elsewhere.¹ Manasseh ben Israel issued a second address to the Commonwealth of England. He complimented the general humanity of the nation, stated his sole object to be the establishment of a synagogue in the kingdom ; he adroitly endeavored to interest the religious enthusiasm of England on his side, by declaring his conviction that the restoration of Israel, and of course the Last Day, was at hand. He did not neglect the temporal advantages of the worldly, the profits to be derived from their traffic ; and concluded with expressing his sincere attachment to a Commonwealth abounding in so many men of piety and learning. Whether moved by one or all these reasons, Cromwell summoned an assembly of two lawyers, seven citizens of London, and fourteen divines, to debate the question, first, whether it was lawful to admit the Jews ; secondly, if lawful, on what terms it was expedient to admit them. The lawyers decided at once on the legality ; the citizens were divided ; but the contest among the divines was so long and so inconclusive, that Oliver, having so spoken that one present asserted, “ I have never heard a man speak so well,” at length grew weary, and the question was adjourned to a more favorable opportunity.² It is a curious fact of the times,

¹ See the *Vindiciæ Judaicæ*, in the *Phoenix*, vol. ii. pp. 391 *et seq.*

² “ When the Jews desired leave to have a synagogue in London, they

that so far were some of the Republican writers from hostility to the Jews, that Harrington, in his "*Oceana*," gravely proposes disburdening the kingdom of the weight of Irish affairs, by selling the island to the Jews. The necessities of Charles II. and his courtiers quietly accomplished that change on which Cromwell had not dared openly to venture.¹ The convenient Jews stole insensibly into the kingdom, where they have ever since maintained their footing, and no doubt contributed their fair proportion to the national wealth.

I have not thought it expedient to interrupt the course of my History with the account of every adven-

offered him, when Protector, £60,000. Cromwell appointed a day for giving them an answer. He then sent for some of the most powerful among the clergy and some of the chief merchants of the city to be present at their meeting. It was in the long gallery at Whitehall. Sir Paul Rycant, who was then a young man, pressed in among the crowd, and said he never heard a man speak so well in his life as Cromwell did on this occasion. When they were all met, he ordered the Jews to speak for themselves. After that he turned to the clergy, who inveighed much against the Jews as a cruel and accursed people. Cromwell, in his answer to the clergy, called them 'Men of God,' and desired to be informed by them whether it was not their opinion that the Jews were to be called, in the fulness of time, into the Church. He then desired to know whether it was not every Christian man's duty to forward that good end all he could. Then he flourished a good deal on religion prevailing in this nation, the only place in the world where religion was taught in its full purity. 'Was it not,' he said, 'then, our duty in particular to encourage them to settle where they could be taught the truth, and not to exclude them from the light, and leave them among false teachers, Papists and idolaters?' This silenced the clergy. He then turned to the merchants, who spoke of their falseness and meanness, and that they would get their trade from them. 'And can ye really be afraid,' said he, 'that this mean and despised people should be able to prevail in trade and credit over the merchants of England, the noblest and most esteemed merchants of the whole world?' Thus he went on till he had silenced them too, and so was at liberty to grant what he desired to the Jews." Spence's *Anecdotes*, p. 215.

Burnet gives rather a different view of Cromwell's policy. He wished to avail himself of their rapid and accurate intelligence on foreign affairs. Burnet's *Own Times*, i. 122, Oxford Edition.

¹ "Under Charles II. Lord Keeper North found no difficulty in swearing a Jew on his Pentateuch." Disraeli. p. 241.

turer who, from time to time, assumed the name of the Messiah. It is probable that the constant appearance of these successive impostors tended, nevertheless, to keep alive the ardent belief of the nation in this great and consolatory article of their creed. The disappointment in each particular case might break the spirit and confound the faith of the immediate followers of the pretender, but it kept the whole nation incessantly on the watch. The Messiah was ever present to the thoughts and to the visions of the Jews: their prosperity seemed the harbinger of his coming; their darkest calamities gathered around them only to display, with the force of stronger contrast, the mercy of their God and the glory of their Redeemer. In vain the Rabbinical interdict repressed the dangerous curiosity which, still baffled, would still penetrate the secrets of futurity. "Cursed is he who calculates the time of the Messiah's coming," was constantly repeated in the synagogue, but as constantly disregarded. That chord in the national feeling was never struck but it seemed to vibrate through the whole community. A long list of false Messiahs might be produced, — in France, in Fez, in Persia,¹ in Moravia; but their career was so short, and their adventures so inseparably moulded up with fictions, that I have passed them by.² Some few, however, I will endeavor to rescue from oblivion. During the

¹ Benjamin of Tudela relates at length the insurrection and death of David Elroy, a Persian. Asher's Edition, pp. 122, 127.

² See the curious treatise of John à Lent, *De Pseudo-Messias*, in Ugolini, *Thesaurus*. Moses Cretensis, A. C. 434 (see p. 32). Dunaan in Nigra, a city of Arabia Felix, A. C. 520. Some Jews hailed Julian, some Mohammed, as the Messiah (see Baronius, A. C. 1009; Math. Paris.); a Syrian, A. C. 721; one in France, 1137; in Persia, 1138; in Spain, 1157; in Fez, 1167 (*vide* Maimonides, *Epist. ad Judæos in Massilia agentes*); another beyond the Euphrates, who went to bed a leper and rose a man of great beauty, in Morocco, David Almasser, a great Cabalist, 1174.

reign of Charles V. a man named David appeared in the Court of the King of Portugal; he announced that he had come from India, sent by his brother, the King of the Jews, to propose an alliance in order to recover the Holy Land from the Sultan Solyman. Many of the forced Christians believed in him. He passed through Spain, where he made many proselytes; into France, to Avignon, into Italy. He inscribed banners with the holy name of God. In many cities, Bologna, Ferrara, Mantua, many believed that he was commissioned to lead them back to the Holy Land. He had even an interview with the Pope. But some of his more sagacious brethren detected the imposture; and he fell for a time into contempt. The false David was followed by a false Solomon. There was a Portuguese New Christian, who apostatized openly to Judaism, and set up, as the prophet of the movement, Solomon Molcho. It does not indeed appear that either David or Solomon Molcho assumed the title of Messiah. The Jews relate that Solomon was utterly ignorant while he was a Christian; immediately at his circumcision the Lord gave him wisdom; he became rapidly endowed with profound knowledge; he became master of the Cabala; he possessed inspiring eloquence. He preached Judaism before kings; even the Pope, Clement VII., admitted him to an audience, and gave him a privilege to dwell wherever he would. Solomon Molcho seems to have been permitted to pour out his apocalyptic rhapsodies (pages of them may be read) without restraint. Bishops, the Bishop of Ancona, — princes, the Duke of Urbino, — from credulity, curiosity, or compassion, protected him against his enemies. Two of his prophecies, inundations of the Tiber in Rome, earthquakes in Lisbon, could hardly fail of accomplishment.

But he came to a woful end. He attempted to convert the Emperor at Ratisbon. Charles was hard-hearted; the Prophet and the Prince, David and Solomon, were thrown into prison. After the peace with Solyman the Turk, they were conveyed to Mantua. Solomon was condemned to be burned as an apostate Christian. He was offered his life and a maintenance if he would recant his recantation and again become a Christian. He answered, "like a saint and an angel of God," with steadfast refusal. He was cast into the fire; "and the Lord" (so closes the Jewish relation) "smelled the sweet savor, and took to Him the spotless soul."¹ Yet there were Jews who believed that the fire had no power over him, and that he departed — God only knew whither.

But there was one who appeared in more enlightened days, in the middle of the seventeenth century, who demands a more extended notice. This man formed a considerable sect, which — notwithstanding that the conduct of its founder might, one would suppose, have disabused the most blind and fanatic enthusiasm — long existed, and still continues to exist.

In the year 1655, a certain Samuel Brett published a Narrative of a great Meeting of Jewish Rabbins in the Plain of Ageda, about thirty miles from Buda, in Hungary, to discuss their long-baffled hopes of the Messiah, and to consider the prophetic passages applied by Christian writers to their Redeemer. The author declared himself an eye-witness of the pomp of this extraordinary general assembly, where 300 Rabbins

¹ R. Joseph seems in great perplexity about him: "And would to God I could write in a book with certainty and security, whether the words were true or not!" Whether he was impostor, fanatic, or madman, may be reasonably doubted. His visions favor the last conclusion. Rabbi Joseph, 149, 192.

pitched their tents, and gravely debated, for seven days, this solemn question. But the authority of Samuel Brett is far from unexceptionable. The Jews, particularly Manasseh ben Israel, disclaim the whole transaction as a groundless fiction. Many circumstances of the Narrative — the setting Pharisees and Sadducees in array against each other, and the manifest design of the whole to throw odium on the Church of Rome — concur in inducing me entirely to reject the story.¹

But a few years after the date of this real or fictitious event, in 1666, the whole Jewish world, coextensive almost with the globe itself, was raised to the highest degree of excitement by the intelligence of the appearance and the rapid progress of a pretender who had suddenly risen up in Smyrna, and assumed the name and the authority of the Messiah. Sabbathai Sevi was the younger son of Mordechai Sevi, who first followed the mean trade of a poulterer at Smyrna, and afterwards became broker to some English merchants. He was born A. C. 1625. Sabbathai was sent to school, where he made such rapid progress in the Cabala, that in his eighteenth year he was appointed a Hakim or Rabbi; he even then had many followers among the youth, and indeed among the elders of the place, with whom he practised rigid fasts, and bathed perpetually in the sea. At twenty years old he married a woman of great beauty and rank among his people, but declined all conjugal connection with her. The father cited him for this neglect of his duty: he was forced to give a bill of divorce. A second time he married; and a second time, on the same plea, the marriage was dissolved. Sabbathai announced that “the voice from

¹ Brett's Narrative is printed in the *Phoenix*, a collection of scarce tracts. Some of Brett's errors may have arisen from ignorance rather than from mendacity.

heaven" assured him that neither of these women was the meet and appointed partner of his life. His partisans asserted that he was actuated by a holy desire of triumphing over human passion: his enemies gave a different turn to the affair. Still his fame increased. He sometimes fasted from Sabbath to Sabbath, and bathed till his life was endangered; yet his beauty, which was exquisite, seemed daily to increase. His whole body was said to breathe a delicious odor, which the physician of the family, suspecting to be perfume, declared, on examination, to be a natural exhalation from the skin. He now began to preach and to announce himself openly as the Son of David, and had the boldness to utter, in proof of his divine mission, the Ineffable Name, Jehovah. The offended Rabbins, horror-struck at this double crime, declared him worthy of death, and denounced him before the Turkish tribunal. Sabbathai took refuge in Salonichi. There the Rabbins again rose against him. He fled to Egypt; thence to Jerusalem. As he passed by Gaza, he made an important proselyte, named Nathan Benjamin, who, admitted trembling to his presence, declared, by the great Almighty and dreadful God, that he had seen the Lord in his cherub-borne chariot, as Ezekiel of old, with the ten Sephiroth murmuring around him like the waves of the sea: a voice came forth, — "Your Redeemer is come; his name is Sabbathai Sevi; *he shall go forth as a mighty one, inflamed with wrath as a warrior; he shall cry, he shall roar, he shall prevail against his enemies.*"¹ In Jerusalem, Sabbathai preached, and proclaimed himself the Messiah, with such success, that the Rabbins trembled before him; and the Elias of the new sect, Nathan of Gaza, had the audacity to issue an

¹ Isaiah xlii. 13.

address to the brethren of Israel, in which he declared that before long the Messiah would reveal himself, and seize the crown from the head of the Sultan, who would follow him like a slave. After residing thirteen years in Jerusalem, Sabbathai made a second expedition to Egypt, where he married again ; by the account of his enemies, a woman of light character, — by that of his partisans, a maiden designated as his bride by the most surprising miracles. She was the daughter of a Polish Jew, made captive by some marauding Muscovites. At eighteen years of age she was suddenly seized from her bed by the ghost of her dead father, set down in a burying-place of the Jews, where she was found, told her story, and declared that she was the appointed bride of the Messiah. She was sent to her brother in Amsterdam ; thence to Egypt. After passing three years more in Jerusalem, Sabbathai went openly into the synagogue, and proclaimed himself the Messiah. A violent commotion took place ; the Rabbins launched their interdict against him : he fled to his native place, Smyrna. There the ban pursued him ; but the people received him with rapture. One Anakia, a Jew of high rank, denounced him on the Exchange as an impostor. The unbeliever returned to his home, fell from his chair, and died : this singular accident was at once recognized as from the hand of God. The Rabbins feared to pursue their interdict ; Sabbathai assumed a royal pomp ; a banner was borne before him with the words, “ The right hand of the Lord is uplifted.” He divided among his partisans the kingdoms of the earth ; he named his two brothers Kings of Judah and Israel ; he himself took the title of King of the Kings of the Earth. One man, of high rank, nearly lost his life for opposing the prevailing delusion. The Head of the

Rabbins was degraded; the Vice-President openly espoused the party.

The fame of Sabbathai spread throughout the world. In Poland, in Germany, in Hamburg, and Amsterdam, the course of business was interrupted on the Exchange, by the gravest Jews breaking off to discuss this wonderful event. From Amsterdam inquiries were sent to their commercial agents in the Levant; they received the brief and emphatic answer, “ ’T is he, and no other.” In the mean time rich presents were poured in to the Court of Sabbathai, and embassies were sent from the different communities of the Jews, — some of these were detained three or four weeks before they could obtain an audience. His picture was surmounted by a crown of gold; the Twenty-first Psalm was sung before him, and a public prayer offered in the synagogue, in which he was acknowledged as the Messiah. In all parts, as if to accomplish the memorable words of Joel, prophets and prophetesses appeared: men and women, youths and maidens, in Samaria, Adrianople, Salonichi, Constantinople, and in other places, fell to the earth, or went raving about in prophetic raptures, exclaiming, it was said, in Hebrew, of which before they knew not a word, “Sabbathai Sevi is the true Messiah of the race of David: to him the crown and the kingdom are given.” Even the daughters of his bitterest opponent, R. Pechina, were seized, as Sabbathai had predicted, with the same frenzy, and burst out in rapturous acknowledgment of the Messiah in the Hebrew language, which they had never learned. One wealthy Israelite, of Constantinople, more cautious than the rest, apprehending that this frenzy would bring some dreadful persecution against the Jews, went to the

Grand Vizier, and requested a certificate that he had never been a believer in the Messiah. This reached the ears of the partisans of Sabbathai; they accused their crafty opponent of treasonable designs against the Turks, brought forward false witnesses, and the over-cautious unbeliever was sentenced to the galleys. Among the Persian Jews the excitement was so great that the husbandmen refused to labor in the fields. The governor, a man, it would seem, of unusual mildness, remonstrated with them for thus abandoning their work, instead of endeavoring to pay their tribute. "Sir," they answered with one voice, "we shall pay no more tribute, — our Deliverer is come." The governor bound them in an obligation, to which they readily acceded, to pay 200 tomans if the Messiah did not appear within three months. But Sabbathai had now advanced too far to recede: his partisans were clamorous for his passing over to Constantinople, to confront the Grand Seignior. He arrived, escorted by a vast number of his friends, and was received with the loudest acclamations by the Jews of Constantinople. The Sultan was absent, — he demanded an audience of the Grand Vizier. The Vizier delayed till he had received instructions from his master. The Sultan sent orders that Sabbathai should be seized and kept in safe custody. The Grand Vizier dispatched an Aga and some Janizaries to the dwelling of Sabbathai, but the superstitious Aga was so over-awed by the appearance of Sabbathai, "bright," he said, "as an angel," that he returned trembling and confounded to his master. Another Aga was sent, and returned in the same manner. Sabbathai, however, surrendered himself of his own accord: he was committed to the Castle of Sestos, as a sort of honor-

able prison, where his partisans had free access to him. From thence he issued a manifesto, suspending the fast religiously kept on the 9th of August, on account of the destruction of Jerusalem, and ordered the day to be celebrated, with the utmost festivity, as the birthday of the Messiah Sabbathai Sevi. In Sestos he admitted a deputation from Poland into his presence, whom he astonished with his profound knowledge and ready application of the Cabala. But there was in Constantinople one stubborn unbeliever, named Nehemiah, who for three days resisted all the arguments of the Messiah, and at the end, openly proclaimed him an impostor. The partisans of Sabbathai rose in the utmost fury; and, when Sabbathai threatened his opponent with death, rushed forward to put his mandate in execution. The Rabbi burst out of the chamber, and fled, pursued by the adherents of Sabbathai; escape was hopeless, when he suddenly seized a turban from the head of a Turk, placed it on his own, and cried aloud, "I am a Mussulman." The Turks instantly took him under their protection, and he was sent to Adrianople to the Sultan, who summoned Sabbathai to his presence. Sabbathai stood before the Grand Seigneur; he was ignorant of Turkish, and a Jewish renegade was appointed as interpreter. But the man before whom the awe-struck Agas had trembled, now before the majesty of the Sultan, in his turn, totally lost his presence of mind; when the Sultan demanded whether he was the Messiah, he stood in trembling silence, and made no answer. He had some reason for his apprehensions, for the Sultan made him the following truly Turkish proposal: — "That he, the Sultan, should shoot three poisoned arrows at the Messiah: if he proved invulnerable, the Turk would himself own his

title. If he refused to submit to this ordeal, he had his choice, to be put to death, or to embrace Moham-medanism." The interpreter urged him to accept the latter alternative: Sabbathai did not hesitate long; he seized a turban from a page, and uttered the irrevocable words, "I am a Mussulman." The Grand Seignior, instead of dismissing him with contempt, ordered him a pelisse of honor, named him Aga Mohammed Effendi, and gave him the title of Capidgi Basha. Consternation at this strange intelligence spread among the followers of Sabbathai; prophets and prophetesses were silent, but Sabbathai was daunted only by the death-denouncing countenance of the Sultan. He issued an address to his brethren in Israel:—"I, Mohammed Capidgi Basha, make it known unto you that God hath changed me from an Israelite to an Ismaelite. He spake, and it was done: he ordered, and it was fulfilled. Given in the ninth day of my renewal according to His holy will." He most ingeniously extracted prophetic intimations of his change both from tradition and Scripture. In the book called *Pirke Elieser* it was written, "that the Messiah must remain some time among the unbelievers." From the Scripture the example of Moses was alleged, who "dwelt among the Ethiopians"; and the text of Isaiah, "he was numbered among the transgressors." For some time he maintained his double character with great success, honored by the Moslem-ites as a true believer, by the Jews as their Messiah. Many of the latter followed his example, and embraced Islamism. St. Croix had frequently heard him preach in the synagogue, and with so much success, that scarcely a day passed but Jews seized the turbans from the heads of the Turks, and declared themselves Mus-

sulmans. His Polish wife died ; he again married the daughter of a learned man, who was excommunicated, on account of the unlawful connection, by the Rabbins. She also embraced Islamism. At length the Rabbins, dreading the total extinction of Judaism, succeeded in gaining the ear of the Sultan. The Messiah was seized, and confined in a castle near Belgrade, where he died of a colic, in the year 1676, in the fifty-first year of his age.¹

It might have been expected that his sect, if it survived his apostasy, at least would have expired with his death ; but there is no calculating the obstinacy of human credulity : his followers gave out that he was transported to heaven, like Enoch and Elijah ; and, notwithstanding the constant and active opposition of the Jewish priesthood, the sect spread in all quarters. His forerunner, Nathan of Gaza, had abandoned his cause on his embracing Islamism, and prophesied against him in Italy and Corfu. But it is the most extraordinary fact of all, that Nehemiah, his most vehement opponent, recanted his enforced Islamism, and after all embraced Sabbathæism. A prophet of Smyrna proclaimed that the Messiah would reappear in 111½ years. But the doctrine of Michael Cardoso, which spread rapidly from Fez to Tripoli, and even to Egypt, was the most extravagant ;—the Son of David, he said, would not appear till all Israel were either holy or wicked : as the latter was far the easier process, he recommended all true Israelites to accelerate the coming of the Messiah, by apostatizing to Mohammedanism ;—numbers, with pious zeal, complied with this advice. Sabbathæism still exists as a sect of Judaism ;

¹ I have gathered from various Jewish and Christian accounts of Sabbathai Sevi. See Jost, t. viii. There is a Life of Sabbathai in the Sippurim, ii. 55.

though, probably, among most of its believers, rather supported by that corporate spirit which holds the followers of a political or religious faction together, than by any distinct and definite articles of belief.

But in the middle of the last century, an extraordinary adventurer, named Frank, organized a sect out of the wrecks of the Sabbathaic party. Before the appearance of Frank, an earlier sect, that of the Hassidin,¹ the New Saints, the Pietists, had spread from Podolia, its birthplace, into Wallachia, Moldavia, Hungary, Gallicia. Its founder was named Israel Baal-Schem, the Lord of the Home, or Israel the Wonder-Worker. The sect had its special worship, its books of faith, its doctors, called Tsadikin (the Just). It claimed the Zohar as its organ, but the Zohar with its mysticism alone, and that mysticism reduced to its simplest form. Its sole worship was prayer, prayer sublimed to silent contemplation, rapture, ecstasy. The whole thought was centred on God, but on God alone. It is strange how limited, after all, are the forms of religious extravagance: whatever the faith, Indian, Heathen, Jewish, Christian, Mohammedan, this detachment from earth, this concentration on the Invisible, is the aim and the boast. But Nature will have her course; the exhausted mind loses its command over the body. The Hassidin not only threw aside all the cumbrous ceremonial of the Talmudists, they threw aside likewise the restraints of morality, even of decency. With the founders and leaders of this vast sect, there was the wild mixture

¹ Compare, on these Hassidin, Jost, and a long note at the end of Frank, *La Kabbale*, which contains extracts from the Autobiography of Solomon Maimon, — a curious and rare book. Solomon Maimon joined the sect for a short time, obtained full insight into their tenets and practices, and, after a strange ramble through all conceivable creeds, settled down as a follower of Kant.

of enthusiasm and imposture, with which this mysticism has sometimes commenced, into which it has almost always degenerated. Israel the Wonder-Worker assumed unbounded spiritual power; he could absolve from all sins; he maintained his power by working miracles; his prayer could cure all diseases. He was endowed with all knowledge, with the gift of prophecy. A witness, at one time a convert to this creed, discovered before long that this extraordinary knowledge was derived from a vast army of spies, great acuteness in reading the countenances of men, and skill in inducing them to reveal the secrets of their thoughts. The sect, spread through a large part of the Judaism of Eastern Europe, resisted alike its proscription by the Talmudic Rabbins and the attempt of the Government to enslave and to convert the race; it is said still to exist, for these religious lunacies are immortal, unless absorbed by some kindred fanaticism. Frank and his followers, a very few years later, assumed the name of Zoharites. The founder astonished the whole of Germany, by living in a style of Oriental magnificence, encircled by a retinue of obsequious adherents. No one knew, or knows to this day, the source of the enormous wealth with which the state of the man was maintained during his life, and his sumptuous funeral conducted after his death. The early life of Jacob Frank did not forebode this splendor. He was born in Poland; in his youth he had been a distiller of brandy, and wandered into the Crimea, thence into Turkey, where he acquired great fame as a Cabalist. He returned to Podolia in his thirty-eighth year, and gathered together the wrecks of the followers of Sabbathai Sevi. He was persecuted by the Talmudists, revenged himself by throwing himself under the pro-

tection of the Bishop of Kaminiek, publicly burned the Talmud, announced himself a believer in the Zohar, and promulgated a new creed.

Yet for a time he attempted to maintain his lofty intermediate eclecticism. But those were not the days, nor was Poland the country, in which men could safely halt between two opinions. The Bishop, his protector, died. The Rabbins, his deadly enemies, denounced him at Warsaw to the Government and to the Papal Nuncio, as an apostate Jew, and a heretic Christian. His creed was certainly neither pure Judaism nor orthodox Christianity. The Zoharites began to see the fires of persecution already prepared for them, and themselves at the stake. They set forth for Turkey. As the first pilgrims entered Moldavia, the stern Kadi was as intolerant of men neither Jews, nor Christians, nor Mussulmans, as the Christians. They were left to be plundered by the populace. Those who remained behind openly embraced the Catholic faith, yet retained their secret Judaism. Many were detected, and sent forth, with their beards half-shaved, to the scorn and insult of the people. Some were condemned to hard labor. Yet many succeeded in concealing their doubtful opinions, intermarried, founded families, and attained rank and honor in Warsaw. Frank himself was imprisoned in the fortress of Czentschow. When this fortress was taken by the Russians he was set free. He travelled as ostensibly a Catholic Christian, but levying vast sums of money from his countrymen through Poland, Bohemia, Moravia. The new creed leant towards Christianity rather than Islamism. It rejected the Talmud, but insisted on a hidden sense in the Scriptures. It admitted the Trinity and the Incarnation of the Deity, but preserved an artful ambi-

guity as to the person in whom the Deity was incarnate, whether Jesus Christ or Sabbathai Sevi. As, however, the gread head of this sect, Jacob Frank, afterwards openly embraced Christianity, and attended mass, he scarcely belongs to Jewish History. Suffice it to say that this adventurer lived in Vienna, in Brunn, and in Offenbach, with a retinue of several hundred beautiful Jewish youth of both sexes ; carts containing treasure were reported to be perpetually brought in to him, chiefly from Poland, — he went out daily in great state to perform his devotions in the open field, — he rode in a chariot drawn by noble horses ; ten or twelve Hulans in red and green uniform, glittering with gold, rode by his side, with pikes in their hands, and crests on their caps, eagles, or stags, or the sun and moon. Water was always carefully poured over the place where he had paid his devotions. He proceeded in the same pomp to church, where his behavior was peculiar, but grave and solemn. His followers believed him immortal, but in 1791 he died ; his burial was as splendid as his mode of living, — 800 persons followed him to the grave. But with his body the secret of his wealth was interred ; his family sank into a state of want, and almost beggary. In vain they appealed to the credulity, to the charity of their brethren ; they fell into insignificance, and were obliged to submit to the ordinary labors of mortal life.¹

But while these men, half enthusiasts, perhaps more than half impostors, agitated the Jewish mind in the more rude and barbarous parts of Europe, and formed sects hateful alike to Jew, Christian, and Islamite, —

¹ Peter Beer, in his *Geschichte der Juden*, is the great authority for the life and opinions of Jacob Frank. See also Jost, viii. 231. See, too, a note at the end of Franck, *La Kabbale*.

sects which soon either died out or dwindled away into insignificance and oblivion, — the despised race of Israel produced a man in every respect the direct opposite to these crazy or designing fanatics or impostors. He formed no creed, organized no sect, had during his lifetime no single avowed follower, yet long after his death he has risen to extraordinary fame and influence.

Towards the latter half of the seventeenth century lived, in an obscure village in the neighborhood of the Hague, a Jew by birth, the influence of whose writings for good or for evil has been extensive, beyond that of most men, on the thoughts and opinions of modern Europe. The Politico-theological Treatise of Benedict (Baruch) Spinoza is the undoubted parent of what is called the Rationalist system, and from his arid and coldly logical Pantheism has grown up the more exuberant and imaginative Pantheism of modern Germany. It may be truly said that to Judaism mankind owes the doctrine of the Unity, the distinct and active Personality and Providence of God ; from a Jew came forth the conception most antagonistic to the conception of the Godhead revealed through Moses, and accepted, as its primary truth, by Christianity. Such modes of thought as Spinoza's, however concealed, not from timidity, but because they were the inward, almost unconscious, workings of his own mind, would naturally lead to indifference for, and what would seem contemptuous neglect of, the rigid and minute ceremonies of his people, and for the authority of his people's acknowledged teachers : and this neglect would vaguely and indistinctly transpire, and from its vagueness and indistinctness appear the more odious and repulsive to the popular feeling. Spinoza was denounced and ex

pelled from the community as a dangerous apostate.¹ The excommunication fell light upon his calm, solitary, self-concentrated, and self-sufficing mind. Though Spinoza always treats Christianity with respect, and throughout his famous Treatise cites the Evangelic writers as of equal authority with those of the Old Testament, he can certainly at no period of his life have been called a Christian. The fundamental axioms of his philosophy are utterly irreconcilable, not only with the peculiar and vital doctrines of Christianity, but even with the moral system of Socinus and his school. Spinoza ceased to be a Jew in language as well as in thought and in conviction. Though deeply read in the works of his Jewish forefathers, he wrote in the learned Latin of the day; for he wrote, if in his time for himself and a few congenial readers, for mankind, not for his own people.

This remarkable man had all the virtue, the abstemiousness, the self-denial, the frugality, and, as far as we know, the purity of the most rigid ascetic. He was entirely above the proverbial reproach of his race, avarice. He had no wants beyond the simplest sustenance. He engaged in no trade, followed no calling; mathematical and scientific instruments (which it seems that he constructed, perhaps for sale), and books, were his only expense. He was as superior to ambition. An enlightened German prince offered to found and endow a professorship for him, on one not illiberal condition, that he should not assail the established religion.

¹ "The form of excommunication, dated 1656, may be read (it is the old, terrible form, with all its awful *curses*) in the Supplement to Spinoza's works (p. 290). No one might communicate with him orally or by writing, no one show him any favor, no one be under the same roof with him, or within four ells' distance, no one read any writing executed or written by him."

Spinoza gratefully declined the dazzling offer. The instruction of youth would interfere with his entire and exclusive devotion to his philosophical studies; though he professed great respect for religion, he would not trammel the freedom of his speculations by any restriction.

This was the admirable part of his character; his intrepid assertion of the absolute freedom of human thought, his perfect independence, and consecration of his whole life to the laborious and conscientious investigation of truth, and this with no zealous ardor for proselytism, no fanatic hatred of religion, such as broke out later in Europe. He was content to dwell almost alone (though he would willingly admit the intercourse of congenial minds), in the hermitage of his own thoughts, and we must remember that though his kindred, the Jews, could proceed no further than a harmless excommunication (his life was once attempted), half a century had hardly elapsed, since religious, mingled with political fury, had reddened the streets of the Hague with the blood of the De Witts, and Grotius had suffered a long and ignominious imprisonment.

If ever any man was pure intellect, it was Spinoza. He had neither passions nor affections, of imagination not a gleam; to him, imagination was the source of all fallacy and delusion. He had no domestic ties, — none, as far as we know, of the appetencies of our nature. He had friendships, but friendships which grew out of mental sympathies alone, a common interest in mathematical and scientific researches, inquiries into moral and metaphysical truth. Such was his relation, shown by his correspondence, with very acute and distinguished men, Oldenburg, Blyenberg, Leibnitz.

But it may be fairly said that the strength of Spinoza was his weakness. His virtue isolated him, not only

from the common vices and follies of mankind, but from all real knowledge of human nature, from that great part of the vast domain of philosophy, the mental constitution of the human race. With his unrivalled *power of abstraction, of reducing everything to metaphysical entities, almost all truths to mathematical truths, his delight was in everything to approach as nearly as possible to the forms of geometry,—to make, as it were, an algebra of metaphysical science.¹ Of the religious instincts, of the universal, if not inborn, notion of God as a Providential Agent; of the religious wants, hopes, and fears, he had no comprehension, for he had no experience. The philosophy of Spinoza, his metaphysical system, in its close logical coherence, lies beyond the scope, and could not find room in the space of this work.² I would consider him as a born Jew, yet, if I may so say, the prot antagonistic adversary of Judaism, more especially of Rabbinical Judaism; and as an obscure Jew, in process of time, taking in his toils, and claiming as his followers, some of the leading intellects of modern Europe.

Spinoza began, like other philosophers of his race, with an aversion for, almost an absolute hostility towards, the anthropomorphism of the Hebrew Scriptures. From this, Philo had taken refuge in Allegory, Maimonides in what bordered on Rationalism; it had been held by most thoughtful men, at least among Christians, to be

¹ He uses this strange illustration, singularly characteristic of his mathematical metaphysics: "*Hæc non miror, quia credo quod Triangulus, si loquendi facultatem haberet, eodem modo diceret, Deum eminenter triangulum esse, et Circulus divinam naturam eminente ratione circularem esse, et hac ratione quilibet sua attributa Deo adscriberet, similemque se Deo redderet reliquumque ei deforme videretur.*" Epist. xlvii. p. 658.

² I would refer, for the only just, candid, and distinct view of the whole, to the Introduction to the French translation of his works by M. Emile Saisset.

an anthropomorphism only of language. But Spinoza carried this principle, as it were, into the Moral Being, at least into our conceptions of the Moral Being of God. Those conceptions of the active love, goodness, righteousness of God, were not merely inadequate, and far below their transcendent and inconceivable excellence, but were utterly without meaning. It was as unphilosophical, as entirely a figure of speech, to speak of the justice, mercy, patience, forbearance, loving-kindness of God, as of his right hand, his footstool, or his countenance; not merely was God without corporeity, but his moral nature was without kindred, affinity, or resemblance to the same qualities in man. These attributes were reflected back by man from his nature upon God, whom he, as it were, created in his own image. Thus, in his remorseless logic, Spinoza cut off all religious motives and incentives to virtue, rooted up the foundations of morality in our conceptions of God, and in the relations of God and man. And this did a man, himself of unimpeachable virtue, who, if his icy words ever kindle to any warmth, it is in commendation of purity, of kindness, of humanity, of universal charity; who even, in one of his letters, makes the distinct admission that the wisdom of God is the ground work of truth and falsehood, good and evil; that that wisdom was preëminently manifested in Jesus Christ and his Apostles; and that in the practice of such virtues consists true and enduring beatitude. In this contradiction the old Jew, or the unformed Christian, might seem to linger indelibly, if almost unconsciously, in the mind of Spinoza.¹ In his latest work, his Post-

¹ "Denique ut de tertio etiam capite mentem meam clarius aperiarn, dico ad salutem non esse omnino necessaria, Christum secundum carnem noscere [he utterly denied the Incarnation], sed de æterno illo filio Dei, hoc est Dei

humous Ethics, he adheres to his reverence for virtue, will not altogether yield up the immortality of the soul, and admits a certain retribution after life; "virtuous souls, as partaking of the Divine wisdom, will endure forever;" to the vicious he seems to assign something like a natural extinction. But how he reconciled this with his great system, appears to baffle the sagacity of those who judge him most fairly and most charitably. Throughout the Theologico-political Treatise, he writes as a Theist; his leading political object is anti-Judaism, to show that all nations are, and ever were, equally with the Jews, under the providential care of God. The name of Atheist he indignantly rejects¹ (and, indeed, however their consequences may seem the same to a theologian, the words Atheist and Pantheist are in

æternâ sapientiâ, quæ sese in omnibus rebus et maximè in mente humanâ et omnium maximè in Christo Jesu manifestavit, longe aliter sentiendum. Nam nemo absque hac ad statum beatitudinis potest pervenire, utpote quæ sola docet quod verum et falsum, bonum et malum sit. Et quia, uti dixi, hæc sapientia per Jesum Christum, maximè manifestata fuit, ideo ipsius discipuli eandem, quatenus ab ipso ipsis fuit revelata, prædicaverunt, seseque spiritu illo Christi supra reliquos gloriari posse ostenderunt." Epist. xxi. ad Oldenburg, Opera, i. p. 510.

These Epistles are the most curious, perhaps most trustworthy, depositories of Spinoza's opinions. They were published in his lifetime. They answer the objections raised by his friends, men of great acuteness, to the views maintained in the Tractatus Theologico-Politicus. They are the vain struggles of the strong man to break the bonds in which he has inextricably involved himself.

The Resurrection of Christ he explained away in a spiritual sense. See the remarkable passage in the Letter xxiii. p. 414, to Oldenburg. Oldenburg, in his reply, strongly presses him with the usual arguments. He rejoins, "Christi passionem, mortem, et sepulturam tecum literaliter accipio; ejus autem resurrectionem allegoricè." p. 419.

¹ "Primo ait parum interesse scire cujus gentis ego sum, nec quod vitæ institutum sequor. Quod sanè si novisset, non tam facile sibi persuasisset, me Atheismum docere. Solent enim Athei nummos et divitias ultra modum quærere, quæ ego semper certè contempsi; quod omnes qui me norunt, sciunt." Epist. xcix. p. 629. Compare also the newly discovered Treatise De Deo et Homine. Supplem. ad B. de Spinoza Opera, Amsterdam, 1862.

absolute opposition). He repudiates, too, Materialism ; he does not identify God with gross and brute matter.¹ But God, according to Spinoza, being the whole universe, the one primal Substance, all emanating from Him as attributes of his Being, or existing but as modes or affections of his Being ; God, being the immanent, not the passing,² Cause of all things, was immutable — everywhere and in all respects alike immutable.

I cannot soar to the speculative, but rather dwell on the practical part of his system, as contrasted with that of his original faith, and with that of Christianity, — the rejection of that active Theism, which is the first axiom of both these religions — indeed, it may be said, of all religion. This immutability of God, and the consequent immutability of all that God was, or that was God, bound up all things in an inevitable necessity. Of course all supernaturalism was discarded ; miracles were believed only from the ignorance of man or his superstition ; it is difficult to find room even for the remotest influence of Providential government. The free will of man was but an illusion of his pride ; indeed any free will of God seemed equally inconceivable.³ The individual man could not be other than he was. For it is difficult to understand how any man,

¹ "Attamen quod quidam putant, Tractatum Theologico-Policum eo niti quod Deus et Natura, per quam massam quandam, sive materiem corpoream, intelligunt unum et idem sunt, totâ errant viâ." p. 509.

² "Transeuntem." Neither of our words *transient* or *transitory* quite expresses the thought of Spinoza.

³ Read in Mons. E. Saisset's Introduction to the French Translation the excellent chapter "Du Libre Arbitre," p. 146 *et seq.* : "D'où vient donc que la masse entière du genre humain proclame le libre arbitre ? C'est que la masse entière du genre humain vit sous l'empire de l'imagination et des sens, dans un profond oubli de la raison. Le vulgaire n'est-il pas convaincu que l'âme meut le corps à son gré ? Or, peut-on concevoir qu'une pensée donne du mouvement à une étendue ? . . . Et tout ce que je puis dire à ceux qui croient qu'ils peuvent parler, se taire, en un mot, agir, en vertu d'une libre décision de l'âme, c'est qu'ils rêvent les yeux ouverts."

predestined, as it might seem, by the irresistible impulse of his nature, could be anything but what he became. Nero could be only Nero; the matricide was the consequence of his unalterable nature. Paul could be but Paul; he had no merit, as he could not choose but be an apostle and a martyr.

During his own time (till the posthumous publication of his *Ethics*, his system cannot be said to have been complete), and in the following period, Spinoza was more denounced, dreaded, and hated, than read. The world contented itself with the contemptuous sarcasm, that his system was only the philosophic dream of an obscure Jew. Though he wrote in Latin, — the language of European learning, — and had long been disclaimed by, and had disclaimed his race, I doubt not that with the natural apprehension and aversion to his tenets mingled much of the disdain and detestation which still in the general mind adhered to his descent. The most sceptical of sceptics, Bayle (as is the wont of sceptics, who seem glad to throw over some one more obnoxious to the religious prepossessions of the age than themselves), in an elaborate *Life of Spinoza*, acute, desultory, but copious and amusing, denounced him as a bold and declared Atheist. His virtuous life Bayle acknowledges, on the testimony of the peasants among whom Spinoza lived, and refrains from taunts upon his Jewish origin. From this Article of Bayle was probably derived most of the knowledge of Spinoza which prevailed till towards the close of the last century. His name was the by-word for Atheism and impiety. By degrees, however, Spinoza could not but find a place in histories of philosophy; and historians were not content to rest on the authority or on the citations of Bayle. His works were translated into

German; and with the rise of what is called "the German school of criticism," as also with that of German philosophy, his name and his influence became more and more manifest and avowed. Lessing spoke of him with respect, almost with reverence. Goëthe (whose abstract speculations found vent chiefly in his poetry, and that poetry, even in its most abstruse views, and its wildest dreams, though fathoming the depths of human thought, singularly distinct and luminous) declared, it is said, that the three master-spirits which had formed his mind were Shakspeare, Linnæus (in Goethe must be remembered the discoverer of the metamorphoses of plants), and Spinoza. He who knows the influence of Goethe upon the mind and thought of Germany, and through Germany on that of Europe, will hardly think that the name of Spinoza ought not to find room in the History of the Jewish race. It is still more extraordinary that the religious mystic Novalis found, or fancied that he found, in Spinozism a philosophical system which supplied the wants and harmonized with the aspirations of his pious mind.¹ In France there has been a curious controversy. No Frenchman must be acknowledged as the teacher of so unpopular a writer as Spinoza. The memory of Descartes must be relieved from this imputation, and M. Cousin, with his wonted patriotism, has undertaken this desperate task, — desperate, for Spinoza himself declares that he was a follower of Descartes, — that he began with the study of the works, deduced much of his reasoning from the axioms, of Descartes, and avowedly adopted his method. But France, in the translation of his works and in the Introduction of M. Emile Saisset, has, with a distinct and

¹ On Novalis compare M. de Saisset's Introduction.

eminently judicious disclaimer of Spinozism, done justice, not more than justice, to the character and to the writings of the remarkable Jew. In Germany most of the philosophers, Schleiermacher, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel (Fichte especially), paid him the homage, either of transplanting his system into their own, or of transmuting it into another form.

BOOK XXIX.

MODERN JUDAISM.

Change in the relative State of the Jews to the Rest of Mankind — Jews in Poland — in Germany — Frederick the Great — Naturalization Bill in England — Toleration Edict of Joseph II. — Jews of France — Petition to Louis XVI. — Revolution — Bonaparte — More recent Acts for the Amelioration of the Civil State of the Jews — General Estimate of the Number of Jews in Africa, Asia, Europe, America — Conclusion.

I HAVE followed the sect of Sabbathai and his disciples to the close of the eighteenth century; I have placed in strong but appropriate contrast the singular phenomena of the life and philosophy of Spinoza. I must now retrace my steps, and terminate this History by a rapid sketch of the more important events which influenced the condition of the Jews in the different countries of the world, during that period, down to our own days. The lapse of centuries, and the slow improvement in almost the whole state of society, had made a material alteration in the relative position of the Jews towards the rest of mankind. They were still, many of them, wealthy; but their wealth no longer bore so invidious and dangerous a proportion to that of the community at large as to tempt unprincipled kings, or a burdened people, to fill their exchequer, or revenge themselves for a long arrear of usurious exaction, by the spoliation of this unprotected race. A milder spirit of Christian forbearance with some, of religious indifference with others, allayed the fierce spirit of animosity, which now, instead of bursting forth at

every opportunity, was slowly and with difficulty excited and forced to a violent explosion. Still, in the midst of society, the Jews dwelt apart, excluded by ancient laws from most of the civil offices, by general prejudice and by their own tacit consent from the common intercourse of life ; they were endured because mankind had become habituated to their presence, rather than tolerated on liberal principles, still less courted by any overtures for mutual amity. The Jew was contented with this cessation of hostilities : he had obtained a truce ; he sought not for a treaty of alliance. Where commercial restrictions were removed, he either did not feel, or disdained, civil disqualifications. So long as he remained, unmolested, the independent government of his own little world, he left to the Gentiles to administer the politics of the kingdoms of the earth. If he might be permitted to live as a peaceful merchant, he aspired not to become statesman, magistrate, or soldier. So that the equal law protected him in the acquisition and possession of personal property, he had no great desire to invest his wealth in land, or to exchange the unsettled and enterprising habits of trade for the more slow returns and laborious profits of agriculture. He demanded no more than to be secured from the active enmity of mankind ; his pride set him above their contempt. Like the haughty Roman, banished from the world, the Israelite threw back the sentence of banishment, and still retreated to the lofty conviction that his race was not excluded, as an unworthy, but kept apart, as a sacred people ; humiliated indeed, but still hallowed, and reserved for the sure though tardy fulfilment of the Divine promises. The lofty feeling of having endured and triumphed over centuries of intolerable wrong, mingled among the Jews with the

splendid recollections of the past and the hopes of the future, which were sedulously inculcated by their Rabbinical instructors ; and thus their exclusion from the communities of the world, from the honors and privileges of social life, was felt, by those who were high-minded enough to feel at all, rather as a distinction than a disgrace. This at once compelled and voluntary unsocialness was still the universal national characteristic of the Jews : yet in process of time they became in some degree assimilated to the nations among whom they lived ; their relative state of civilization materially depended on the manners of the surrounding people, and there was nearly as great a difference between the depressed and ignorant Jew of Persia, the fierce fanatic of Barbary or Constantinople, and his opulent and enlightened brethren of Hamburg or Amsterdam, as between the Mussulman and Christian population of the different countries. The dominion of the Rabbins was universally recognized, except among the Karaïtes, whose orderly and simple congregations were frequent in the East, in the Crimea, in Poland, even in Africa. Rabbinism was still the stronghold and the source of the general stubborn fanaticism : yet even this stern priestcraft, which ruled with its ancient despotism in more barbarous Poland, either lost its weight, or was constrained to accommodate itself to the spirit of the age, in the West of Europe.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Poland, Galicia, and the adjacent provinces, had long been the headquarters of the Jews.¹ Into these regions they had spread at an early period, silently and obscurely,

¹ Cassel, in *Ersch und Grüber*, pp. 130–138, enters into many minute details on the settlement in Poland and Galicia, and Red Russia. In Kiew they were in great numbers in the year 1113. A persecution followed the death of Swatopulk.

from Hungary, Moravia, Bohemia. Some had taken refuge from the atrocities perpetrated by the early Crusaders as they passed through those realms; some from the persecutions by the Flagellants, and those which arose out of the Black Plague. It is usual to date their flourishing state and protection by the paternal government from the reign of Casimir the Great in the fourteenth century.¹ Casimir, however, only confirmed a law of Duke Boleslaw, the regent of the realm during the minority of his nephew.² This was the first enlightened edict which secured to the Jews with unusual precision their privileges, their rights, and their duties, as subjects. Boleslaw, and still more Casimir avowed the policy that by encouraging the Jews they encouraged the commerce of the kingdom. They had the premature wisdom to appreciate the value of trade and industry to the wealth and happiness of their country. To the influence of a beautiful Jewish mistress, Esther, was attributed, probably to a certain extent not without justice, this humane policy of Casimir the Great.³ Esther was permitted to bring up her daughter by the king in her own faith; the sons had liberal appanages. Many circumstances concurred in advancing the comparative security, with the security, the

¹ Casimir reigned from 1337 to 1370.

² See Depping, p. 237, who translates the original charter of 1264, first published in *Archiv für Geschichte*, Vienna, 1826. In case of a mulet, they paid, as in the South of France, so much pepper instead of so much money. Boleslaw adopts the maxim of some of the Popes, that the modern Jews are not guilty of the blood of Christ.

³ Casimir's law, however, is dated 1343; Esther was not his mistress till 1350. All his subjects were not so tender or so courteous to the Jews, "*quorum factor olidus usque in hanc diem perseverat.*" Dlugloss, *Hist. Polon.* quoted by Cassel. Cassel will not subscribe to the passage in the *Corpus Polon. Hist.* ii. 602: "*Hujus Hester operâ gens Judaica magnas prærogativas in Polonia a rege adepta est, cum novas tum quam ipsis Boleslaus . . . concesserat.*" p. 132.

numbers, wealth, and influence of the Jews in this part of Europe. In the Slavonian kingdoms the feudal system never prevailed to the same extent as in Germany and the West. Though under the royal protection, the Jews were not the liegemen, the vassals of the royal chamber, the property of the king. The Slavonian clergy never, even when the Papal power was recognized, attained the same authority; the nobility were in constant strife with the hierarchy; the Canon-law had far less power. In vain did the clergy make, as under the reign of Sigismund I.,¹ a desperate struggle to draw the rigid line of demarcation between the Jew and the Christian, to prohibit social and commercial intercourse, to demand their exclusion from offices of State and public service, even to enforce the peculiar and distinctive dress upon the Jew. The Jews living on the estates, and under the protection of the independent nobles who would brook no interference with their authority, defied the edicts of synods and even of kings. Not that the kings were adverse to them; the greatest and the best, as John Sobieski, looked on them with favor, and maintained them in their rights and in their industry. Nor indeed were the Slavonian Jews always secure against the calumnies, against the popular tumults, the plunders, and the massacres perpetrated so much more frequently, so much more cruelly, in Western Europe. Posen and Cracow, the chief seats of the most powerful Roman Catholic hierarchy, may claim distinctive infamy for these persecutions. The building of a synagogue in Posen was the signal for a rumor about an insult to the

¹ 1506-1526: "*Indignum et juri divino contrarium censentes, ejus generis homines aliquibus honoribus et officiis inter Christianos fungi debere.*" *Apud Cassel*, p. 133.

Host, an outbreak of the populace, and pillage and murder of the Jews. In Cracow, in 1407, a priest, Budeek, craftily spread a report of a murdered child. The authorities of the city would have protected the Jews; but the great bell tolled (it is said, through some mistake), the mob rose, the Jews' houses were fired, and a terrible conflagration wasted the city. The Crusaders against the Jews sometimes followed the fatal examples of the Crusaders to the Holy Land. In 1464 the Jews were plundered in Cracow, and thirty men killed. In 1500, the gates of the Jewish quarter, notwithstanding the king's protection, who had removed the Jews to a safer place, were forced by another band of Crusaders, and a great slaughter perpetrated. Even as late as 1737 in Posen, as in 1753 in Kiew, the child-murder fable rose anew against the Jews. An appeal was made to the Pope, Benedict XIV. His successor, Clement XIII., did not shrink from the investigation. By his orders the Nuncio wrote to Count Bruhl, commanding that nothing should be done on hearsay evidence — nothing without clear and substantial proof.¹ Wonderful as it may seem, such things have taken place in our own times, in the nineteenth century. It needed Russian Imperial Ukases to interpose. In the province of Witepek, in 1805, a child was found drowned in the Dwina; the Jews were accused of the murder. In 1811, a child eight weeks old disappeared out of its cradle; the Jews were arraigned as having stolen it for their evil purposes. The process lasted till 1827. An Imperial Ukase appeared in 1817, prohibiting such charges, yet they continued to be made

¹ "C'est pour ça, que dans le cas des pareilles accusations l'on ne doit pas appuyer le jugement sur les dits fondements, mais aux preuves légales, qui peuvent regarder l'affaire et rendre certain le crime qu'on leur impute." Quoted by Cassel, p. 134.

and heard till 1835,—the date of the great Imperial Edict concerning the Jews. Nevertheless, the Jews in Poland gradually grew up into a middle order between the nobles and the serfs; the only middle order, between the nobles, however gallant yet the haughtiest in Europe and most contemptuous of trade or industry, and the serfs perhaps the most degraded, wretched, and unimproved in their condition and in their minds. Almost every branch of traffic was in the hands of the Jews. They were the corn-merchants, shopkeepers, innkeepers. In some towns they formed the greatest part of the population; in some villages, almost the whole.¹ If heavily, it does not appear that they were exorbitantly taxed, either by the nobles or the government.²

The Jews suffered with the rest of the inhabitants of that unhappy country, when Poland and its neighboring provinces, already in the middle of the seventeenth century,³ became the battle-ground, hereafter to be the prey of its ambitious neighbors. In an invasion by the Grand Duke of Muscovy, in 1655, of twelve thousand Jews in Wilna, when that city was laid waste with fire and sword, eight thousand submitted to bap-

¹ Schlosser ascribes their settlement to the deliberate policy of Casimir the Great:—

“Kasimir nämlich wollte Gewerbe, Handel, Regsamkeit schaffen, nicht langsam entstehen sehen: er wollte Geld und Deutsche ins Land ziehen; die damals gedrückten Juden folgten seinem Rufe am ersten, und er begünstigte ihre Einwanderung. Die zahlreich in Galizien einwandernden. Juden bemächtigten sich bald aller Gewerbe und Geschäfte, welche einträglich gemacht werden können ohne mühsam zu seyn und körperliche Arbeit zu fordern, und drängten sich auf diese Weise als Bürgerstand in die Mitte einer Nation von Herrn und leibeigener Bauern. Diese Juden vermehrten sich, wie in Ägypten, und überliessen gern Ehre und Rang im Staat anderen, wenn ihnen nur das Geld bleibe.” Schlosser, Weltgeschichte, iv. p. 162.

² Cassel, in Ersch und Grüber, p. 134.

³ 1674 to 1697

tism, four thousand, more heroically obstinate, were burned alive.¹

If Poland was hospitable, Russia Proper, from ancient times, was sternly inhospitable to the race of Israel. Paulus Jovius, in his "Embassies," relates that they are hated by the Russians. The mischievous race could not be permitted to dwell within their frontiers; the Jews are accused of having perfidiously furnished the Turks with iron artillery. There was a deeper and more enduring cause of this enmity. Towards the end of the fifteenth century (in 1490), in Novogorod, a Jew named Zacharias, with the aid of some of his brethren (it is added, through the mysterious and attractive Cabala, with the dark sentences of which he bewildered their minds), induced several Priests and many Boyars to renounce Christianity; to believe that Moses alone had a divine mission; that the whole Gospel was a fable; that the Christ was not yet come. One of the converts, a priest, Alexis, took the name of Abraham; his wife that of Sarah.² They became Jews in all but the rite of circumcision, which, to avoid detection, they had the prudence or the cunning to dispense with. The sect spread rapidly among Ecclesiastics and Boyars. It was embraced among the rest by Zozimus, Archimandrite of the Monastery of St. Simon. They still performed the Christian ceremonies, and kept the fasts of the Church with the utmost rigor. The two leading heretics, Denis and Alexis, became

¹ "Le Grand Duc de Moscovie est entré dans la Pologne d'un autre côté que le roi de Suède: il a assiégé Vilna, qui est la capitale de la Lithuanie, qu'il a pris par force, où il a tout fait mettre à feu et à sang. De douze mille Juifs qui y ont été trouvés, il y en a eu huit mille qui ont composé et qui ont reçu le baptême, et quatre autres mille, avec la loi de Moïse gravée dans leur cœur, ont été brûlés, n'ayant pas voulu se convertir." *Lettres de Guy Patin*. ii. 208, dated 21 Sept., 1655.

² Compare Cassel, p. 135.

archpriests, one of the Cathedral of the Assumption, one of the Church of St. Michael the Archangel. The sovereign, Iwan III., listened, without suspicion of heresy, to the Cabalistic teaching of these men. The Princess Helena became a convert. Even more wonderful, the Archimandrite Zozimus was promoted to the Metropolitan throne of All the Russias. "The son of Satan sat on the throne of the Holy Saints who had Christianized the realm." At length the dire spiritual conspiracy was discovered by Gennadius, Archbishop of Novogorod. The Czar could not but summon a council of Bishops, Archimandrites, Abbots, and Priests. Before this council the depositions were laid, implicating a great number of ecclesiastics and laymen at Novogorod, Moscow, and other cities. Zozimus only and Kouritzin, the Secretary of State, were not involved in the charge. Zozimus was obliged to listen while the others were arraigned by the zealous Archbishop as guilty of cursing Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin, of spitting on the crucifix, of calling the sacred images idols, and biting them with their teeth while they seemed to kiss them with their lips; of casting them into foul places; of denying Paradise and the Resurrection of the Dead. Some were for putting the accused, even priests of the highest rank, to the torture, and condemning them to death. The mild Iwan interfered; the council by his direction was content with launching an anathema against the terrible heresy, and banishing its adherents. The zealous Archbishop, Gennadius, sent some of the most notorious to Novogorod (the council was held at Moscow). These were set on horses, with their faces to the tails, their garments turned inside out, and with horned caps, like the paintings of the Devil, and crowns of straw, with

a writing thereon, "Behold the Host of Satan!" They were thus paraded through the streets; the rabble spat upon them, and jeered them, "Lo, the Enemies of Jesus Christ!" The mildness of this punishment among the rude Muscovites might put to shame the bloody hecatombs and flaming Autos-da-Fé of more civilized kingdoms. Zozimus, the Metropolitan, still wore the mask of consummate hypocrisy. In public he was a pious Christian; it is said that he practised the Christian virtues. In secret he mocked at the kingdom of God, at Christ, and the Resurrection; "at Him who never was and never will be." In the palace of the Metropolitan, in the palace of the Secretary of State, meetings were held, it was said, sumptuous banquets, in which the Cabala, with its profound questions, its subtle allegories, its astrology, were the common conversation. A general Pyrrhonism spread abroad; monks and laymen were heard in public discussing the mysteries of the Holy Trinity. Zozimus abused his power by degrading orthodox and advancing Judaizing priests. He affected the fullest Christian toleration: "Bear no malice to any one, not even to heretics: the pastors of the Church should always and only preach peace."

At length some discovery was made. It is not known how far these secret proceedings were divulged to the sovereign. But the wise Iwan would avoid the scandal of the degradation of a Metropolitan, — a Metropolitan promoted by himself. Zozimus was quietly dismissed and sent back to his monastery. He was afterwards (we may perhaps mistrust the charges of his enemies), on account of drunkenness, removed from that of St. Simon to that of the Trinity. But Kou-ritzin, the Secretary of State, long enjoyed the favor

of his master. This Crypto-Judaism lurked long in the bosom of the Russian Church; when it was entirely extinguished, if extinguished, remains unknown.¹

Russia in the following centuries still adhered to her hostility to the Jews; but her ambition was too strong for her intolerance. As province after province was added to her vast empire, and as of almost all these provinces a large part of the population, at least the wealthiest and most industrious, were Jews, expulsion was impossible; Russia did not conquer to rule over a desert. Her policy became of necessity more wise and humane. The partition of Poland, or rather the two partitions, with the enormous share which fell into her iron grasp, gave her nearly half a million of Jewish subjects. Though, like other Poles, they were unwilling subjects (many Jews fought bravely in the army of Kosciusko), yet their numbers, their wealth, their importance, enforced only moderate oppression.

Of the millions of Jews upon the face of the earth, loosely and vaguely estimated at five, seven, or eight millions, two millions² are subjects of the Russian empire. I return to the subject.

Poland was the seat of the Rabbinical Papacy. The Talmud ruled supreme in the public mind; the synagogues obeyed with implicit deference the mandates of their spiritual superiors, and the whole system of education was rigidly conducted, so as to perpetuate the authority of tradition. Lublin and Cracow were the great seats of Jewish learning. How far in more recent times these barriers have been broken down by the more free and liberal spirit of Western Judaism,

¹ All this is from Karamsin's *Hist. of Russia* (French translation), t. vi. pp. 242-250.

² Cassel, Ersch und Grüber, gives for the year 1838:—In Russia, 1,507,995 souls; in Poland, 453,646, of which 36,390 are in Warsaw.

it would be hard to determine. We have seen in the last Book some insurrections, — insurrections which ended in almost general submission, and so added to the strength of the ruling authority.

In the West of Europe, during all this period, those great changes were slowly preparing, which, before the close of the century, were to disorganize the whole framework of society. The new opinions not merely altered the political condition of the Jews, as well as that of almost all orders of men, but they penetrated into the very sanctuary of Judaism, and threatened to shake the dominion of the Rabbins, as they had that of the Christian priesthood, to its base. It is singular, however, that the first of these daring innovators, who declared war alike against ancient prejudices and the most sacred principles, excluded the Jews from the wide pale of their philanthropy. The old bitter and contemptuous antipathy against the Jews lurks in the writings of many of the philosophic school, especially those of Gibbon and Voltaire. It was partly the leaven of hereditary aversion, partly, perhaps, the fastidiousness of Parisian taste, which dreaded all contamination from a filthy and sordid, as well as a superstitious race ; but, most of all, it arose from the intimate relation of the Mosaic with the Christian religion. The Jews were hated as the religious ancestors of the Christians ; and, in Paley's phrase, it became the accustomed mode of warfare "to wound Christianity through the sides of Judaism." Strange fate of the Jews, after having suffered centuries of persecution for their opposition to Christianity, now to be held up to public scorn and detestation for their alliance with it !¹

¹ Montesquieu, if he may be justly reckoned with this school, is a bright example of the opposite spirit. Read the striking letter, supposed to be ad-

The legislation of Frederick the Great almost, as it were, throws us back into the Middle Ages. In 1750 appeared an edict for the general regulation of the Jews in the Prussian dominions. It limited the number of Jews in the kingdom, divided them into those who held an ordinary or an extraordinary protection from the Crown. The ordinary protection descended to one child, the extraordinary was limited to the life of the bearer. Foreign Jews were prohibited from settling in Prussia; exceptions were obtained only at an exorbitant price. Widows who married foreign Jews must leave the kingdom. The protected Jews were liable to enormous and special burdens. They paid, besides the common taxes of the kingdom, for their patent of protection, for every election of an elder in their communities, and every marriage. By a strange enactment, in which the king and the merchant were somewhat unroyally combined, every Jew on the marriage of a son was obliged to purchase porcelain, to the amount of 300 rix-dollars, from the king's manufactory, for foreign exportation. Thus heavily burdened, the Jews were excluded from all civil functions, and from many of the most profitable branches of trade — from agriculture, from breweries and distilleries, from manufactures, from innkeeping, from victualling, from physic and surgery.

Nor in more enlightened countries was the public mind prepared for any innovations in the relative condition of the Jews. In England, from the time of Charles II., they had lived in peace in their two communities of Portuguese and German origin. At first,

dressed on the occasion of the burning of a young Jewess in an *Auto-da-Fé* at Lisbon, to the Inquisitors, showing that the persecution of the Christians in Japan was only an antitype of theirs. *Espirit des Loix*, xx. 14.

indeed, the favor which was said to be shown to them by Cromwell was looked on with jealousy by the Royalists after the Restoration. A remonstrance was addressed to the King.¹ It dwelt on the mischiefs perpetrated by the Jews from the time of William the Conqueror to that of Edward I.; their privileges obtained by bribery, their usuries, and malpractices; their expulsion from the realm at the petition and amid the general joy of the nation. They had returned, resumed their fraudulent practices, and in their prosperity presumed to offer to buy the Cathedral of St. Paul's for a synagogue. The remonstrants prayed for a commission to seize their property for the people's use, and to banish them forever from the kingdom. They were in some danger in those loose days. Some of their wealthiest were threatened with the seizure of their whole property, as illegally trading, even as residents in the land, by some of the profligate courtiers (Mr. Rycant and others), who, no doubt from their Christian zeal, declared both their estates and lives to be forfeit. The Earl of Berkshire betrayed the secret of that zeal; he pretended to have received a verbal order from the King to prosecute them and seize their estates, *unless they made agreement with him*. To do the King (Charles II.) justice, he received their petition graciously, utterly denied the verbal order, and gave them permission to enjoy the same favor as before, so long as they should live peaceably and in obedience to the laws.²

¹ Mrs. Everett Greene, Calendar of State Papers, 1666, p. 366. There is a petition from two converted Jews to share in the charity of Henry III. settled on the Rolls House. The Master of the Rolls of that time had charged the estate with 202*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.* for the charity. p. 171.

² See the notice of the Petition of Emanuel Martinez Dormido (doubtless a Portuguese Jew) and others in behalf of the Jews trading in and about London, in Mrs. Everett Greene's Calendar of State Papers Aug. 22, 1664, p. 672.

The Jews had obtained relief under James II. from an alien-duty, which restricted their traffic; the indulgence was revoked under William III. The Lord Treasurer Godolphin was tempted with an offer of the Jews to purchase the town of Brentford (was it the situation or the dirt of Brentford which attracted the Jews?) at the price of £500,000, — it might be a million. Godolphin dreaded the fanaticism of the clergy and the jealousy of the merchants, and declined the offer.¹

Under Queen Anne a regulation was made to facilitate conversions among the Jews; the Chancellor was empowered to enforce from the father of a convert to Christianity a fair and sufficient maintenance. The baptism of a rich and influential person of the sect, named Moses Marcus, excited a considerable sensation at the time. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the cause of the Jews was brought forward under the unpopular auspices of Toland the Free-thinker. In 1753 a more important measure was attempted. A Bill was introduced into Parliament for the naturalization of all Jews who had resided three years in the kingdom, without being absent more than three months at a time. It excluded them from civil offices, but in

¹ "The Jews offered my Lord Godolphin to pay 500,000*l*. (and they would have made it a million), if the government would allow them to purchase the town of Brentford, with leave of settling there entirely, with full privilege of trade, &c. The agent from the Jews said that the affair was already concerted with the chief of their brethren abroad, that it would bring the riches of their merchants hither, and of course an addition of more than twenty millions of money to circulate in the nation. Lord Molesworth was in the room with Lord Godolphin when this proposal was made, and, as soon as the agent was gone, pressed him to close with it. Lord Godolphin was not of his opinion. He foresaw that it would provoke two of the most powerful bodies in the nation, the clergy and the merchants. He gave other reasons, too, against it, and, in fine, it was dropped." Spence's Anecdotes, 215.

other respects bestowed all the privileges of British subjects. The Bill passed both Houses, and received the royal assent. But the old jealousies only slumbered, — they were not extinguished. The nation, as if horror-struck at finding those whom it had been accustomed to consider as outlaws thus suddenly introduced into its bosom, burst into an irresistible clamor of indignation. The Mayor and citizens of London (for mercantile jealousy mingled with religious prejudices) took the lead in denouncing this inroad on the Constitution and insult on Christianity.¹ The bishops were everywhere insulted for not having opposed the Bill. The Bishop of Norwich on his Confirmation circuit was hooted in almost every town. At Ipswich the youths who were to be confirmed called out for circumcision. A paper was affixed on the door of one of the churches, that his Lordship would the next day, Saturday, their Sabbath, confirm the Jews, on Sunday the Christians.

The pulpits thundered: a respectable clergyman, Tucker, who had written a defence of the measure, was maltreated by the populace. The ministry and the Houses of Parliament found it necessary to repeal the obnoxious statute.²

The number of the Jews in England was then reckoned at 12,000.

In Italy, till the French Revolution, the Jews enjoyed their quiet freedom. In Rome they were confined to their Ghetto, and still constrained to listen to periodical sermons. In the maritime towns they continued

¹ Among the arguments for the Naturalization Bill in England was the manifest extent to which the Jews had contributed to the wealth and prosperity of the great trading cities of Europe — Amsterdam, Leghorn, Venice.

² Coxe's *Lives of the Pelhams*. In this work there is a good account of the debate, with an abstract of the speech of Mr. Pelham (ii. 290).

to prosper. An attempt by the king himself to secure their reëstablishment in the kingdom of Naples is remarkable for the politic boldness on the part of the king, and its failure through the unmitigated hostility of the clergy and the populace. On the separation of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies from the Spanish monarchy, the king, Charles, seemed determined to repudiate the Spanish policy. With a view probably to the restoration of the commerce of the realm, a royal edict was issued, inviting the Jews to settle for sixty years in the Two Sicilies. The edict, by the rights and privileges which it conferred, might seem studiously to reverse all the policy of the Middle Ages. They might trade in all parts by sea and land, exempt from tolls, and on the same footing as other corporations. They might practise every handicraft, hold lands, except such as had feudal jurisdiction. They might import the necessaries of life without custom-dues ; they might practise medicine even upon Christians, under Christian superintendence ; they had their special judicature, and were exempt from all other civil magistracy ; they might print books in all languages ; they might have Turkish slaves and Christian domestics, men of twenty-five years old, women of thirty-five ; they might bear arms ; they might have their special meat-markets and granaries. The excommunicating power of the Rabbins was acknowledged ; they might choose the heads of their communities in Naples, Messina, Palermo. Christians were strictly forbidden to insult or injure them, or to make proselytes of their children. The Jews crowded at the royal summons to Naples, — perhaps not without ostentation of their newly-acquired privileges, and of their wealth. But they ought to have known better the public mind at Naples. The

hatred, which was here universal, broke out into fury. The clergy thundered against them from the pulpits; the Pope, and the king's confessor, held almost a saint, denounced them in the sternest sermons. A Capucin Friar threatened the king himself: "for this impious deed he would die childless." There were brooding murmurs of a massacre. The Jews dared not open shops; they withdrew, except a few of the lowest. The premature scheme of toleration utterly failed.¹

In Germany the public mind was surprised at the unusual phenomenon of a Jew suddenly starting forward in the career of letters, and assuming a high and acknowledged rank in the rapidly awakening literature of that country, as a metaphysical and philosophical writer. This was the celebrated Moses Mendelssohn, who, by genius and unwearied application, broke through the most formidable obstacles, poverty, dependence, and the spirit of his sect. The Jews were proud of his distinction, but trembled at his desertion of their ancient opinions; the Christians confidently looked forward to the accession of so enlightened a mind to the Church; the philosophers expected him to join in their fierce crusade against religion. Mendelssohn maintained his own calm and independent course. He remained outwardly a member of the synagogue, while he threw aside disdainfully the trammels of Rabbiniism; to a letter of Lavater, urging him to embrace Christianity, he returned a firm and temperate vindication of his adherence to his former faith; his mild and amiable spirit had little in common with the unprincipled apostles of unbelief. It would be difficult to define the religious opinions of Mendelssohn, whose mind, in some

¹ Muratori, *Ann. d'Italia* (sub ann. 1740); *Mémoire Historique et Politique*

respects singularly lucid, in others partook of the vague and dreamy mysticism of his German countrymen; but if he had any fixed view, it probably was to infuse into a kind of philosophic, or, as it would now be called, rationalizing, Judaism the spirit of pure Christian love. But whatever the opinions of Mendelssohn, whether Jew or Christian, or with an undefined and blended creed, his translations of the Pentateuch and of the Psalms into German forbid all doubt as to the sincerity of his belief; his success in letters exercised an important influence both on the minds of his own brethren, and on the estimation in which the Jews were held, at least in Germany. Many of the Jewish youth, emancipated by his example from the control of Rabbinism,¹ probably rushed headlong down the precipice of unbelief; while, on the other hand, a kindlier feeling gradually arose towards the brethren of a man whose writings delighted and instructed much of the rising youth of Germany.

It is impossible to over-estimate the influence of Mendelssohn in Europeanizing, if I may so say, and civilizing his German brethren, in throwing down the barriers behind which the Jews were self-exiled, or exiled by the scorn and hatred of mankind, and introducing them imperceptibly within the pale of society. No one, except perhaps a hard orthodox Rabbi, could refuse to admire, to love Mendelssohn, and that admiration and that love spread unconsciously over his race.

In the year 1780, the imperial *avant-courier* of the

¹ For the double effect of the progress of more liberal opinions, and the overthrow of the Rabbinical rule without any counterbalancing method of instruction, or books of authority, read a remarkable passage in Jost, ix. 107, 110.

Jost's account of his own youth, and the lamentable state of the Jewish schools, in his Autobiography (Sippurim, iii. p. 141), is instructive.

Revolution, Joseph the Second, ascended the throne. Among the first measures of this restless and universal reformer, was a measure for the amelioration of the condition of the Jews. In Vienna, they had been barely tolerated since their expulsion by Leopold the First. This monarch had a Jewish mistress, named Esther, who was shot crossing the bridge from Leopoldstadt to the capital. The crime was, most improbably, charged on the Jews, and the afflicted monarch revenged her death by the expulsion of her brethren from the city. But this exile was not lasting. Under Maria Theresa, the Jews were permitted to reside in Vienna, and enjoyed some sort of protection. They might exercise certain trades,¹ as money-changers, jewellers, manufacturers; they had full freedom of worship in their synagogues, but might not leave their houses during the hours of Divine service on Sundays and holidays. In the other provinces of the Empire they had lived unmolested, unless perhaps by some vexatious local regulations, or by popular commotions in the different cities. Joseph published his edict of toleration A. C. 1782, by which he opened to the Jews the schools and the universities of the Empire, and gave them the privilege of taking degrees as doctors in philosophy, medicine, and civil law. It enforced upon them the wise preliminary measure of establishing primary schools for their youth. It threw open the whole circle of trade to their speculations, permitted them to establish manufactories of all sorts, excepting gunpowder, and to attend fairs in towns where they were not domiciliated. In all the cities of the Empire it made them liable to a toleration-tax, and certain other contributions; but it gave them equal rights, and subjected them to the same

¹ Jost, ix. 66.

laws, with the Christians. Some years after, they were made liable to military conscription ; but, according to the established Austrian code, not being nobles, they could not rise above the rank of non-commissioned officers.

The publication of Dohm, 1781, upon the rights of the Jews as citizens, with many valuable suggestions on the elevation of their position and character, and especially their education, excited public attention. It reserved certain powers to the Rabbinical priesthood, particularly that of excommunication. Mendelssohn raised his voice loudly and fiercely against this last vestige of spiritual domination.

Frederick William the Second repealed to a great extent the barbarous edicts of Frederick the Great. The Jews were permitted to redeem for a certain sum the compulsory purchase of porcelain at the royal manufactory.

The French Revolution was advancing, that terrible epoch in which all that was wise and sound, as well as all that was antiquated and iniquitous in the old institutions of Europe, was shattered to the earth, — but from which All-merciful Providence has educed much, and will no doubt, as from the tornado, the earthquake, and the volcanic eruption, educe much further eventual good. The Revolution found Jews in France: after their final expulsion, a few Portuguese fugitives had been permitted to take up their abode in Bordeaux and Bayonne. These passed at first under the name of New Christians. Letters-patent of Louis XIII. recognize their civil existence. By degrees they were emboldened to marry without the intervention of the clergy, and to elude baptism. The clergy were too busily employed in the persecution of the dangerous Protestants to waste their intolerance on a few con-

temptible Jews. But the Jews were gradually accumulating wealth; and wealth, taxable wealth, was profitable, not dangerous, to the State. New letters-patent (in 1623) recognized them as Jews. They had already built a synagogue; the Parliament of Bordeaux did not hesitate to reject the royal edict. The Jews paid 110,000 francs for their privilege. It was understood that the registration was to be renewed at the commencement of each reign. The Jews of Bayonne, which included those of St. Jean de Luz, Biarritz, and other towns, at first wore the same disguise, and by degrees obtained the same privilege, as did also the Jews of Marseilles; letters-patent in their favor were registered in the Parliament of Aix (1688). There were a certain number in the old Papal dominions in Avignon. The conquest of the city of Metz, and afterwards of Alsace, included some considerable communities under the dominion of France. There, especially in the Comtat de Venaisin, they had been exposed to the zeal of the clergy, who decoyed, or even stole, their children in order to baptize them. Many of them, however, attained to wealth, and indulged in great luxury. Within houses modest, humble, even rude in their outward appearance, lurked Oriental splendor; costly furniture, silken hangings, sumptuous plate, and all the show and reality of wealth. The Jews of this latter province presented a remarkable petition, in 1780, to the king in council. It displayed the almost intolerable grievances¹ under which their communities had especially suffered from the time of their remote establishment. The Parliament of Metz had burned many Jews on the old charge of murdering

¹ See, on these grievances, and the acts of Louis XIV., Bédarride, pp. 377 *et seq.*, as also on the condition of the Jews of Lorraine.

an infant at Glatigny on Easter-day, A. C. 1670. On the annexation of Alsace, Louis XIV. extended, for his own advantage, the privileges of free commerce, enjoyed by those of Bordeaux, Bayonne, Marseilles, to the Jews of Metz. They paid a head-tax of forty francs a family, afterwards compounded for by 2000 francs annually. This revenue had been granted, as in days of old, as a gift to the Duke of Brancas. The Jews complained of the burden of the seigniorial rights. Besides the royal patent of protection, for which they paid, the lords of the soil exacted a capitation-tax for the right of residence within their domains, from which not even the aged or infirm, nor children, nor the Rabbins and officers of the synagogue, were exempt. These privileges were not hereditary; they expired with the person of the bearer, and for each child a special patent was to be purchased. They complained likewise of the restrictions on their commerce, and of the activity of the clergy, who seduced their children at a very tender age to submit to baptism. They proposed, with great justice, that no abjuration of Judaism should be permitted under twelve years of age. In later days an appeal to the equity of Louis the Sixteenth was not in vain, — the capitation-tax was abolished in 1784; and in 1788, a commission was appointed, with the wise and good Malesherbes ¹ at its head, to devise means for remodelling on principles of justice all laws relating to the Jews. The celebrated Abbé Grégoire gained the

¹ Malesherbes first abolished the toll which the Jews paid, like animals, at the gates of the cities, especially in Alsace and the neighboring provinces. Denisart has given the tariff paid at Château-neuf-sur-Loire:—

For a Jew	12 deniers
For a Jewess with child	9 “
For an ordinary Jewess	6 “
For a dead Jew	5 sous
For a dead Jewess	30 deniers

(Quoted by Bédarride, p. 555.)

prize for a dissertation, which was received with great applause, on the means of working the regeneration of the Jews. But the revolutionary tribunals were more rapid in their movements than the slow justice of the sovereign. In 1790, the Jews, who had watched their opportunity, sent in petitions from various quarters, claiming equal rights as citizens. The measure was not passed without considerable discussion; but Mira-beau and Rabaut St. Etienne declared themselves their advocates, and the Jews were recognized¹ as free citizens of the great republic.¹

A parallel has often been instituted between Cromwell and Bonaparte; it is a curious coincidence that both should have been engaged in designs for the advantage of the Jews. In the year 1806, while Bonaparte was distributing to his followers the kingdoms of Europe, and consolidating the superiority of France over the whole Continent, the world heard with amazement, almost bordering on ridicule, that he had summoned a grand Sanhedrin of the Jews to assemble at Paris. We are more inclined to look for motives of policy in the acts of Napoleon, than of vanity or philanthropy; nor does it seem unlikely that in this singular transaction he contemplated remotely, if not immediately, both commercial and military objects. He might hope to turn to his own advantage, by a cheap sacrifice to the national vanity, the wide extended and rapid correspondence of the Jews throughout the world, which notoriously outstripped his own couriers; and the secret ramifications of their trade, which not only commanded the supply of the precious metals, but much of the internal traffic of Europe, and probably made great inroads on his Continental system. At all

¹ 27 Sept. 1791, and 30 Nov. Hist. Parlementaire, ii. 457.

events, in every quarter of Europe, the Jews would be invaluable auxiliaries of a commissariat ; and as the reconstruction of the kingdom of Poland might at any time enter into his political system, their aid might not be unworthy of consideration. It must, however, be acknowledged, that the twelve questions submitted first to the deputation of the Jews, and confirmed by the Sanhedrin, seem to refer to the Jews strictly as subjects and citizens of the empire. They were, briefly, as follows : — I. Is polygamy allowed among the Jews ? II. Is divorce recognized by the Jewish law ? III. Can Jews intermarry with Christians ? IV. Will the French people be esteemed by the Jews as strangers or as brethren ? V. In what relation, according to the Jewish law, would the Jews stand towards the French ? VI. Do Jews born in France consider it their native country ? Are they bound to obey the laws and customs of the land ? VII. Who elect the Rabbins ? VIII. What are the legal powers of the Rabbins ? IX. Are the election and authority of the Rabbins grounded on law or custom ? X. Is there any kind of business in which the Jews may not be engaged ? XI. Is usury to their brethren forbidden by the law ? XII. Is it permitted or forbidden to practise usury with strangers ? The answers of the deputies were clear and precise.¹ They were introduced by some general maxims, skilfully adapted to the character of the ruling power, and to that of the French nation. They declared that their religion commanded them to acknowledge the supremacy of the law enacted by sovereigns in all civil and political affairs. If their religious code, or its interpretation,

¹ The President of the Sanhedrin's first deputation was Abraham Furtado, of Bordeaux ; the imperial commissioners, MM. Molé, Portalis the younger, and Pasquier. The deputation met July 26, 1800. The Sanhedrin met Feb. 8, 1807.

contained any civil or political regulations inconsistent with the Code of France, they would be overruled, as it was the primary duty to acknowledge and to obey the law of the sovereign. They further declared that France was their country, all Frenchmen their brothers. "This glorious title, so exalting to us in our own estimation, is the true guaranty for our steadfast endeavors to deserve it. Our relations to Christians are the same as to Jews; the only distinction is, that each should be permitted to worship the Supreme Being in his own way." As the special answers tend to elucidate the opinions of the more enlightened Jews, they are subjoined, with as much conciseness as possible, though I suspect that they are not universally recognized as the authoritative sentence of the nation.¹ I. Polygamy is forbidden, according to a decree of the Synod of Worms, in 1030. II. Divorce is allowed; but in this respect the Jews recognize the authority of the civil law of the land in which they live. III. Inter-marriages with Christians are not forbidden, though difficulties arise from the different forms of marriage. IV. The Jews of France recognize in the fullest sense the French people as their brethren. V. The relation of the Jew to the Frenchman is the same as of Jew to Jew. The only distinction is in their religion. VI. The Jews acknowledged France as their country when

¹ See the curious scene described by the elder Disraeli (*Genius of Judaism*) p. 74 — the dispute between the free-thinker and the orthodox Jew whether the Law should be called the Law of God or the Law of Moses. Mr. Disraeli's conclusion is somewhat magniloquent: "It is not surprising that the Parisian Sanhedrin was not only a mockery but a failure of the mocker. Even despotism shrinks into the weakness of infancy when Heaven itself seems to place an impassable barrier to its design; and it encounters minds inscrutable as the laws which govern them." With due respect, I do not see the failure. Napoleon wished to conciliate the Jews (for their religious opinions he cared not a jot); the Jews obtained what they wanted, the right of citizenship.

oppressed, — how much more must they when admitted to civil rights ! VII. The election of the Rabbins is neither defined nor uniform. It usually rests with the heads of each family in the community. VIII. The Rabbins have no judicial power ; the Sanhedrin is the only legal tribunal. The Jews of France and Italy being subject to the equal laws of the land, whatever power they might otherwise exercise is annulled. IX. The election and powers of the Rabbins rest solely on usage. X. All business is permitted to the Jews. The Talmud enjoins that every Jew be taught some trade. XI., XII. The Mosaic institute forbids unlawful interest ; but this was the law of an agricultural people. The Talmud allows legal interest to be taken from brethren and strangers ; it forbids usury.

There was a preparatory assemblage of Jewish Deputies selected from the different provinces in proportion to the Jewish population in each : A. Furtado of Bordeaux was President of that assembly. In 1807 the Sanhedrin was formally assembled, according to a plan then proposed for the regular organization of the Jews throughout the empire. Every 2000 Jews were to form a synagogue and a consistory, of one head and two inferior Rabbins, with three householders of the town where the consistory was held. The consistory chose twenty-five Notables, above thirty years old, for their council. Bankrupts and usurers were excluded ; the consistory was to watch over the conduct of the Rabbins ; the central consistory of Paris was to be a Supreme Tribunal, with the power of appointing or deposing the Rabbins ; the Rabbins were to publish the decrees of the Sanhedrin, to preach obedience to the laws, to urge their people to enter into the military service ; to pray in the synagogues for the Imperial

House! The Sanhedrin, assembled in this manner, generally ratified the scheme of the Deputies. The Imperial edict confirmed the whole system of organization, though the triumph of the Jews was in some degree damped by an ordinance, aimed chiefly at those of the Rhenish provinces. It interdicted the Jews from lending money to minors without consent of their guardians, to wives without consent of their husbands, to soldiers without consent of their officers. It annulled all bills for which "value received" could not be proved. All Jews engaged in commerce were obliged to take out a patent, all strangers to invest some property in land and agriculture. The general effect of these measures was shown in a return made in 1808. It reported that there were 80,000 Jews in the dominion of France, 1232 landed proprietors, not reckoning the owners of houses, 797 military, 2360 artisans, 250 manufacturers.

The extension of the French kingdoms and the erection of tributary kingdoms were highly beneficial to the Jews; in Italy, in Holland, in the kingdom of Westphalia, the old barbarous restrictions fell away, and the Jew became a citizen with all the rights and duties of the order.

The laws of France relating to the Jews have remained unaltered, excepting that the Law of the Restoration, which enacted that the teachers of Christianity alone should be salaried by the State, was modified at the accession of Louis Philippe. Since that period the Rabbins have received a stipend from the State. In Italy, excepting in the Tuscan dominions, they have become again subject to the ancient regulations. In Germany, some hostility is yet lurking in the popular feeling, not so much from religious ani-

mosity, as from commercial jealousy, in the great trading towns, Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, and particularly Frankfort, where they are still liable to an oppressive tax for the right of residence. Nor did the ancient nobility behold, without sentiments of natural indignation, their proud patrimonial estates falling, during the great political changes, into the hands of the more prosperous Israelites. Nevertheless, the condition of the Jews, both political and intellectual, has been rapidly improving. Before the fall of Napoleon, besides many of the smaller states, the Grand-Duke of Baden in 1809, the King of Prussia in 1812, the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin in 1812, the King of Bavaria in 1813, issued ordinances, admitting the Jews to civil rights, exempting them from particular imposts, and opening to them all trades and professions. The act for the federative constitution of Germany, passed at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, pledges the Diet to turn its attention to the amelioration of the civil state of the Jews throughout the Empire. The King of Prussia had, before this, given security that he would nobly redeem his pledge; he had long paid great attention to the encouragement of education among the Jews, and in his rapidly improving dominions the Israelites are said to be by no means the last in the career of advancement. Nor has his benevolence been wasted on an ungrateful race; they are reported to be attached, with patriotic zeal, to their native land; many Jews are stated to have fallen in the Prussian ranks at Waterloo. During the year 1828, while the States of Würtemberg were discussing a Bill for the extension of civil rights to the Jews, the populace of Stuttgart surrounded the Hall of Assembly with fierce outcries, "Down with the Jews! Down with the friends of the Jews!" The

States maintained their dignity, and, unmoved, proceeded to the ratification of the obnoxious edict.

Russia, it has been said, if we take the low estimate, which I am altogether disinclined to do, of four millions for the whole Jewish population in the world, contains half the descendants of Abraham. In the earlier period of her empire, dating that empire from Peter the Great, before her wider southern conquests and the Polish annexations, she still maintained her stern inhospitality. In Muscovy Proper, by law, no Jew could reside within the frontiers. Under Peter the Great a few stole in unobserved and unmolested. They were expelled by an Ukase of the Empress Elizabeth, A. C. 1795, for a crime unpardonable by a Russian autocrat. They had, by letters of change, secured the property of certain exiles to Siberia and foreign countries; and invested, out of Russia, the savings of foreigners employed in the Russian service. In later years, the policy of the Russian Government seems to have been to endeavor to overthrow the Rabbinical authority, and to relieve the crowded Polish provinces by transferring the Jews to less densely peopled parts of their dominions, where, it was hoped, they might be induced or compelled to become an agricultural race. An Ukase of the Emperor Alexander, in 1803-'4, prohibited the practice of small trades to the Jews of Poland, and proposed to transport numbers of them to agricultural settlements. He transferred, likewise, the management of the revenue of the communities, from the Rabbins, who were accused of malversation, to the Elders. A decree of the Emperor Nicholas appears to be aimed partly at the Rabbins, who are to be immediately excluded by the police from any town they may enter, and at the petty traffickers, who are entirely prohibited in the Russian dominions;

though the higher order of merchants, such as bill-brokers and contractors, are admitted, on receiving an express permission from the government: artisans and handicraftsmen are encouraged, though they are subject to rigorous police regulations, and must be attached to some guild or fraternity. They cannot move without a passport. The important Ukase of 1835 is the charter, we must not say of their liberties, but limits the oppression to which the Jews were formerly liable, and gives them a defined state and position in the Russian empire.

It only remains to give the best estimate I can obtain of the number of the Jews now dispersed throughout the four quarters of the world. Such statements must of necessity be extremely loose and imperfect. Even in Europe it would be difficult to approximate closely to the truth; how much more so in Africa and Asia, where our conclusions depend on no statistic returns, and where the habits of the people are probably less stationary!

It is usually calculated that there exist between four and five millions¹ of this people, descended in a direct line from, and maintaining the same laws with, their forefathers, who, above 3000 years ago, retreated from Egypt under the guidance of their inspired lawgiver.²

In Africa we know little more of their numbers than that they are found along the whole coast, from Morocco to Egypt; they travel with the caravans into the

¹ Monsieur Rénan (*Langues Sémitiques*, p. 43) sets down the Jews scattered over the whole world at four millions. Bédarride (himself a Jew) gives six or seven millions (Preface, p. v). I am assured, on good authority, that there cannot be less than three millions in Europe. I should think this a low statement.

² I have made inquiries in many quarters, among some of our best informed Jews, yet have been able to obtain very few satisfactory results. It does not appear that they themselves keep any regular statistics: the only certain statements are from the official population returns in some of the kingdoms of Europe.

interior; nor is there probably a region undiscovered by Christian enterprise which has not been visited by the Jewish trafficker. In Morocco they are said to be held in low estimation, and to be treated with great indignity by the Moors. That empire has about 540,000.¹

In Egypt, 150 families alone inhabit that great city, Alexandria, which has so often flowed with torrents of Jewish blood, and where, in the splendid days of the Macedonian city, their still-recruited wealth excited the rapacious jealousy of the hostile populace or oppressive government.²

In Cairo, the number of Jews is stated at 2000, including, it appears, sixty Karaïte families.

The Felashas, or Jewish tribe named by Bruce, inhabit the borders of Abyssinia; and it is probable that in that singular kingdom many Jews either dwell or make their periodical visits.³

¹ Ersch und Grüber, p. 234. Compare also this page on their occupation and condition.

² In the Weimar Statement, quoted in my first edition, the Jews of Africa stand as follows:—Morocco and Fez, 300,000; Tunis, 130,000; Algiers, 30,000; Gabes or Habesh, 20,000; Tripoli, 12,000; Egypt, 12,000. Total, 504,000.

³ The Felashas have been recently visited by a pious missionary, M. Stern. See his account, his simpler account, reprinted from the *Jewish Intelligencer* by the London Missionary Society (for in his later volume, "Wanderings among the Felashas in Abyssinia," he has been unfortunately seized with the ambition of fine writing). His earlier account contains some curious particulars, but is silent on many points on which we should most desire knowledge. According to M. Stern, the Felashas are miserably priest-ridden; and among the priests were a number of Jewish monks, less like to the Essenes and Therapeutæ of old, than to the Faquirs of India, and to the most fanatic Christian ascetics of the East. The fulfilment of the Levitical Law, of which they were proud, seemed to be their highest notion of religion. They boasted that they had Moses and David; but, if I understand right, their Scriptures were in the Ethiopic language and character. They had no Hebrew writings. Of their numbers M. Stern appears to have formed no estimate. On that subject, as on many others

In Asia the Jews are still found in considerable numbers on the verge of the continent ; in China they are now found in one city alone, and possess only one synagogue.¹ On the coast of Malabar, in Cochin, two distinct races, called black and white Jews, were visited by Dr. Buchanan.² The traditions of the latter averred that they had found their way to that region after the fall of Jerusalem ; but the date they assigned for their migration singularly coincided with that of a persecution in Persia, about A. C. 508, from whence, most likely, they found their way to India. The origin of the black Jews is more obscure : it is not impossible that they may have been converts made by the more civilized whites, or, more probably, are descendants of black slaves. The Malabar Jews were about one thousand ; they possessed a copy of the Old Testament. Many are found in other parts of the East Indies.

In Bokhara reside two thousand families of Jews ; in Balkh, 150.

In Persia they have deeply partaken of the desolation which has fallen on the fair provinces of that land ; their numbers were variously stated to Mr. Wolff at 2974 and 3590 families. Their chief communities are at Shiraz and Ispahan, Kashaan and Yazd. They are subject to the heaviest exactions, and to the capricious despotism of the governors. "I have travelled far,"

of interest, his expressions are vague and unsatisfactory. See *Account of a Missionary Visit to the Felashas*, London, 1861 ; *Wanderings among the Felashas of Abyssinia*, by the Rev. H. A. Stern, London, 1862.

¹ "Kai-fung, the capital of the latter province [Hoo-nan], and famous to Europeans by being the city in which the small and only tribe of Jews in China have their synagogue and carry out their religious observances." Brine, *The Taeping Rebellion in China* (London, 1862), p. 184.

² Buchanan's *Researches*. I was promised further information on this subject, but it never reached me.

said a Jew to Mr. Wolff; "the Jews are everywhere princes, in comparison with those in the land of Persia. Heavy is our captivity, heavy is our burden, heavy is our slavery; anxiously we wait for redemption."

In Mesopotamia and Assyria, the ancient seats of the Babylonian Jews are still occupied by 5270 families, exclusive of those in Bagdad and Bassora. The latter are described as a fine race, both in form and intellect; in the provinces they are broken in mind and body by the heavy exactions of the pashas, and by long ages of sluggish ignorance. At Bagdad the ancient title of Prince of the Captivity, so long, according to the accounts of the Jews, entirely suppressed, was borne by an ancient Jew named Isaac. He paid dear for his honor; he was suddenly summoned to Constantinople and imprisoned.

At Damascus there are seven synagogues and four colleges.

In Arabia, whether not entirely expelled by Mohammed, or having returned to their ancient dwellings in later periods, the Beni-Khaibar still retain their Jewish descent and faith. In Yemen reside 2658 families, — 18,000 souls.

In Palestine, of late years, the Israelites have greatly increased; it is said, but I am inclined to doubt the numbers, that 10,000 inhabit Safet and Jerusalem. They are partly Karaïtes; some very pathetic hymns of this interesting Israelitish race have been published in the Journals of Mr. Wolff, which must have a singularly affecting sound when heard from children of Israel, bewailing, upon the very ruins of Jerusalem, the fallen city, and the suffering people.¹

¹ The accuracy of the following statement of the Jewish population of

In the Turkish dominions, not including the Barbary States, the Israelites are calculated at 800,000.¹ In Asia Minor they are numerous, in general unenlightened, rapacious, warred on, and at war with mankind.

In Constantinople they are described as the most fierce and fanatical race which inhabit the city; hated by and hating the Greeks with the unmitigated animosity of ages, they lend themselves to every atrocity for which the government may demand unrelenting executioners. They were employed in the barbarous murder and maltreatment of the body of the Patriarch; on the other hand, the old rumors of their crucifying Christian children are still revived: the body of a youth was found pierced with many wounds; the murder was, with one voice, charged upon the Jews. Their numbers are stated at 40,000.

Palestine and Syria may be relied on:—Jerusalem, 5700; Safed, 2100; Tiberias, 1514; Hebron, 400; Jaffa, 400; Saida, 150; St. Jean d'Acre, 120; Kharfa, 100; Schafamer, 60; Peykin, 50; Nablous, 40; Ramah, 5. Total, 10,689.

Damascus, 5000; Beyrout, 180; Deir el Kamar, 100; Charbera, 100; Tripolis, 40. Total, 5420. Syria and Palestine, 16,059.

From "The Jews in the East," by Dr. Frankl (translated by J. R. Beaton), vol. ii. p. 20.

Dr. Frankl, himself a Jew, and a very liberal one, was employed by a devout lady of Vienna to found an educational institution for the Jews of Jerusalem. He gives a most deplorable account of their state. They are divided into sects, and sects of sects, hating each other with unmitigated cordiality. The chief divisions are the Sephardim (the Spanish), the Ashkonasim, the Khasin (Germans and Poles). All the munificent charities founded by Mr. Cohen, Sir M. Montefiore, the Rothschilds, except one hospital, have sunk into decay, and utter uselessness. The poor and indolent Jews, the dregs of the people, are drained from Europe, Asia, and indeed from all parts, to live in Judæa upon the alms of the most wealthy and most bountiful people in the world. This is a kind of Poor-law fund paid by the rich and flourishing houses of the race, with all the evil effects of a Poor-law, and none of its benefits. For these lavish donations are intercepted and swallowed up by the Rabbins and Priests, who live in idleness and luxury, while the poor starve in idleness and misery.

¹ This number I should think overrated.

At Adrianople reside eight hundred families, with thirteen synagogues.

In Salonichi, 30,000 possess thirty synagogues;¹ and in this city, the ancient Thessalonica, the most learned of the Eastern Rabbins are reported to teach in their schools, with great diligence, the old Talmudic learning.

In the Crimea the Karaïtes still possess their wild and picturesque mountain-fortress, so beautifully described by Dr. Clarke, with its cemetery reposing under its ancient and peaceful grove, and retain the simple manners of an industrious and blameless people, who are proverbial elsewhere, as in this settlement, for their honesty. Their numbers amount to about 1200.²

In the Russian Asiatic dominions, about Caucasus and in Georgia, their numbers are considerable. In Georgia some of them are serfs attached to the soil; some, among the wild tribes about Caucasus, are bold and marauding horsemen, like their Tartar compatriots.

But the ancient kingdom of Poland, with the adjacent provinces of Moravia, Moldavia, and Wallachia, is still the great seat of the modern Jewish population.³ Three millions have been stated to exist in these regions; but no doubt this is a great exaggeration. In Poland they still to a great extent form the intermediate class between the haughty nobles and the miser-

¹ Luzzate, according to Cassel, reckons 80,000 in Adrianople and Salonichi. Ersch und Grüber, p. 200. The other towns which they inhabit are recorded in the same page.

² Among the most interesting passages in Dr. Wolff's Journal is the account of his intercourse with the Karaïtes in the Crimea. Read their two simple and striking hymns (iii. p. 148), inferior, however, to those of the Karaïtes in Jerusalem, i. 263.

³ See the account of the Polish Jews, Jost, ix. 167.

able agricultural villains of that kingdom. The rapid increase of their population, beyond all possible maintenance by trade, embarrasses the government. They cannot ascend or descend; they may not become possessors, they are averse to becoming cultivators of the soil; they swarm in all the towns. In some districts, as in Volhynia, they were described by Bishop James as a fine race, with the lively, expressive eye of the Jew, and forms, though not robust, active and well-proportioned. Of late years much attention, under the sanction of the government, has been paid to their education, and a great institution established for this purpose at Warsaw. The last accounts in Ersch und Grüber for the year 1838 gave for Poland 453,646 (36,390 in Warsaw); for the whole Russian dominions altogether, 1,507,995 souls.¹ A later statement, which I owe to the kindness of Mr. Alderman Salomons, gives for Russia 1,250,000; for Austria 1,049,871; Poland, 600,000.²

The number of Jews in the Austrian dominions is estimated, not including Poland, at 650,000; in Prussia 242,000; in the rest of Germany, by conjecture, 108,000. The Emperor of Austria afforded to Europe, some years ago, the novel sight of a Jew created a Baron, and invested with a patent of nobility.

In Denmark and Sweden the Jews are in considerable numbers; those resident in Copenhagen were stated, in 1819, at 1491. They enjoy freedom of trade and the protection of the government. In Sweden, King Charles John gave a free constitution to the Jews in the four cities which they chiefly inhabited, — Stock-

¹ Ersch und Grüber, p. 139.

² It would seem, as far as I can conjecture, that the Polish Jews are not comprehended in the Russian, but are in the Austrian, calculations.

holm, Gothenburg, Norköping, and Carlscrona, — but the States would not accept it. The king, however, obliged to yield in some points, maintained his authority.¹ They are not permitted to enter into Norway. A law of Christian VIII. in Denmark was in like manner rejected by the States; but the Jews are protected by the government.

The kingdom of Belgium contains by the last census only 1843. In Holland the best authenticated returns state the numbers at no less than about 65,000.

In France the Israelites were reckoned in 1829 at about 40,000 or 50,000. By the last accounts, they are thought to be underrated at 100,000. Many Jews have attained to the highest political dignities: M. Crémieux was a member of the Provisional Government; M. Fould is now the finance minister, as in the older days of France and of Spain, to the Emperor Louis Napoleon.

In Spain, the iron edict of Ferdinand and Isabella still excludes the Israelite. At the extremity of the land, in Gibraltar, 3000 or 4000 are found under the equitable protection of Great Britain. Yet there are Jews, or reputed Jews, in the highest ranks and offices.

In Portugal they have been tolerated since the time of King John VI., who remunerated their services, in introducing large cargoes of corn during a famine, by the recognition of their right to inhabit Lisbon.²

¹ Ersch und Grüber, p. 140.

² Europe: — In Russia and Poland, 658,809; Austria, 453,524; European Turkey, 321,000; States of the German Confederation, 138,000; Prussia, 134,000; Netherlands, 80,000; France, 60,000; Italy, 36,000; Great Britain, 12,000; Cracow, 7300; Ionian Isles, 7000; Denmark, 6000; Switzerland, 1970; Sweden, 450. Total number of Jews in Europe, 1,916,053; or a proportion of an 113th part of the population, calculated at 227 millions. — *Weimar Statment.* (I retain this note from the older edition.)

In Italy their numbers are considerable.¹ It is said that many took refuge in Tuscany from what was the sterner government of Sardinia; where, under the French dominion, among a Jewish population of 5543, there were 182 landed proprietors, 402 children attended the public schools: 7000 is given as their number in the Austrian territories in Italy.

In Great Britain the number of Jews was variously stated at from 12,000 to 25,000.² They may now fairly be reckoned at 30,000 in England; but this is uncertain, as no accurate register is kept. In 1829 I wrote thus: "They are entitled to every privilege of British subjects, except certain corporate offices and seats in Parliament, from which they are excluded by the Act which requires an oath to be taken on the faith of a Christian. They cannot vote for Members of Parliament, at least might be disqualified from so doing by the form of the Oath of Abjuration; and they are excluded from the higher branches of the learned professions by the same cause, and probably by restrictions on education; from the lower chiefly by popular opinion and their own habits. In the city of London they are prevented by municipal regulations from taking out their freedom, — a restriction which subjects them to great occasional embarrassment and vexation, as no one can legally follow a retail trade, without having previously gone through this ceremony."

¹ I was informed, in 1829, on the authority of a very intelligent Italian, that the number of Jews in Italy is greatly underrated. Some suppose that they amount to near 100,000. In the Austrian dominions they are extremely numerous. In the district of Mantua alone, under the former kingdom of Italy, they were reckoned at 5000. In Parma and Modena, 7000. In Venice, Tuscany, and the Papal States, they abound.

² Since the first edition of this work, their number has been stated in Parliament at near 30,000.

Since that time (1829) all the high offices of the city of London have been filled by Jews. A Jew, Mr. Salomons, has been Lord Mayor: it may be said that few have maintained the office with greater dignity, liberality, or popularity. The act of the city of London in electing a Jew, Baron Rothschild, as one of its Members of Parliament, eventually broke down the one remaining barrier which insulated the Jews from the other subjects of the realm. Notwithstanding the opposition of several years, during which the House of Lords steadfastly adhered to the principle of exclusion, the Bill in their favor at length passed; and the oath, the great obstacle, was modified so as to admit conscientious Jews to the Legislature. There are now four Jewish Members of Parliament.

Perhaps the most remarkable fact in the history of modern Judaism is the extension of the Jews in the United States of America. Writing in 1829, I stated, on the best authority then attainable, their numbers at 6000. They are now reckoned at 75,000. In New York alone there are thirteen large synagogues. The few in the former dominions of Spain and Portugal are descendants of those who, under the assumed name of Christians, fled from the Inquisition. In Surinam, a prosperous community is settled under the protection of the Dutch; they were originally established at Cayenne; there are some in Jamaica. There are now considerable numbers in our Australian colonies. A late account mentions Jews in the new colony of Vancouver's Island.

Such, according to the best authorities to which we have access, is the number and distribution of the

children of Israel ; they are still found in every quarter of the world, under every climate, in every region, under every form of government, wearing the indelible national stamp on their features, united by the close moral affinity of habits and feelings, and, at least the mass of the community, treasuring in their hearts the same reliance on their national privileges, the same trust in the promises of their God, the same conscientious attachment to the institutions of their fathers.

History, which is the record of the Past, has now discharged its office ; it presumes not to raise the mysterious veil which the Almighty has spread over the Future. The destinies of this wonderful people, as of all mankind, are in the hands of the All-wise Ruler of the Universe : His decrees will be accomplished ; his truth, his goodness, and his wisdom vindicated. This, however, we may venture to assert, that true religion will advance with the dissemination of knowledge. I cannot but think that the doom of the Talmud, with that of much of our mediæval legend, is pronounced. The more enlightened the Jew becomes, the less credible will it appear that the Universal Father intended an exclusive religion, confined to one family among the race of man, to be permanent, — the more evident that the faith which embraces the whole human race within the sphere of its benevolence, is alone adapted to a more advanced and civilized age. On the other hand, Christianity, to work any change on the hereditary religious pride of the Jew, on his inflexible confidence in his inalienable privileges, must put off the hostile and repulsive aspect which it has too long worn ; it must show itself as the faith of reason, of universal peace and good-will to man, and thus, unanswerably,

prove its descent from the All-wise and All-merciful Father.¹

¹ I find from Dr. Frankl's book that there is an opinion widely spread among the more enlightened Jews, that Christianity was the publication of true religion among the Gentiles, and therefore but an expanded Judaism. This notion probably confines true religion to the belief in the Divine Unity, and in the universal principles of morality. But of the peculiar doctrines of Christianity it takes no note. It may perhaps be admitted as groundwork for a treaty of amity and mutual respect, but not as a complete and lasting harmony of the two religions.

BOOK XXX.

Survey of Influence of the Jews on Philosophy, Poetry, History, &c.

THE History of the Jews will be fitly closed by a brief and rapid view of the services (the intellectual services, exclusive of those connected with the industry and commerce of the world) rendered to mankind by this remarkable race during the ages which they have passed through, alone, unmingled with the other families of mankind, — services either direct and manifest, or through remoter influences more difficult to trace in their effects on the knowledge, civilization, and humanity of the world.

The religious obligations of mankind to the Jews it is impossible to appreciate in all their fulness. Up to a certain time they are the sole designated conservators of the great primary truths of religion, the Unity of the Godhead, and that Godhead an ever-present, overruling Providence, present not only as the One Power which originated and the One Force which sustains with conscious goodness and wisdom the whole universe, but also, in some mysterious way, as the Supreme Will, exercising its dominion over the (inexplicably but unquestionably) free will of man. The Jews are the religious parents, in a certain sense, both of Christianity and Mohammedanism. Mohammedanism, it has been justly said, is but a republication of Judaism, with all its stern Monotheism hardened into a rigid Predestinarianism, and with the Lawgiver and the Prophets centred,

and as it were condensed, in Mohammed and his successors. To the Christian the Jews are the appointed conservators, not only of their sublime Monotheism, but guardians of the oracles of that One God, — oracles predictive of a nobler, purer, more comprehensive faith, significant of the Christ to come, — oracles which they have, fatally for themselves, interpreted in a more narrow and unspiritual sense. Their sacred Scriptures, therefore, in what we believe to be their true scope, became the common property of mankind, at least of Christianized mankind, subordinate to, or rather preparatory for, the Christian New Testament.

But the Hebrew sacred books, as interpreted by the Jews, withdrew with the Jews into their total isolation from the rest of mankind. The language itself kept them in almost complete seclusion. Before Jerome, very few of the Christian writers — still fewer after Jerome — had any knowledge of Hebrew. The Greek Version of the LXX. was in general the Old Testament of the early Christian Church. But around the Hebrew Books, as has appeared, had grown up a mass of tradition, according to the common view and according to the teaching of the Jewish schools coeval with, and of equal authority with the Law itself. The study of this tradition, and its adaptation to the sacred books, furnished full scope for the restless ingenuity, and occupation for the indefatigable activity, of the Jewish mind. An authorized interpretation fenced round the original Law. Even the Masora, the insertion of the vowel points and of the other grammatical signs, as well as the Targums or commentaries on the sacred writings, was part of this system of interpretation. By degrees arose the Mischna; upon the Mischna was accumulated the Gemara; the Jerusalem

and the Babylonian Talmud comprehended the vast stores of Jewish erudition. And the Mishna and the Talmud were to the Jew what the Roman law was to the lawyers, the canons of Councils, the decrees of Popes, the whole authorized theology of the Church, to the clergy of Christendom.¹

But to the world at large, to the Pagan and Christian world, or to the half-Pagan and half-Christian world of Alexandria, all this Rabbinical theology was utterly unknown and unapproachable. Neither Gentile nor Christian student found his way into the schools of Tiberias, Nahardea, Sura, or Pumbeditha. Even the Syrian Christians, speaking a cognate dialect, seem to have stood altogether aloof from the Jews and their seats of learning. The estrangement, of course, had been gradual. The Judaizing Christians of the earlier ages had kept up some communication between the synagogue and the rapidly Christianizing world, at least in usages and tone of thought. The ceremonial law was among them but slowly abrogated; and those who had been bred in obedience to the ceremonial law would not renounce at once all allegiance, and break off all intercourse with the authorized interpreters of the Law. The Judaizing Christians split up, it appears, into countless sects, of which it is difficult, and has taxed the ingenuity of the most profound Christian scholars of our day, to trace the shadowy differences. Some of the Gnostic sects blended Judaism with Chris-

¹ I omit all notice of the countless Jewish commentators on the Old Testament, valuable as many of them are.

Nothing can be more uninteresting — if I may judge by myself, so uninteresting — as a long barren list of authors, and of their works. The bibliography, therefore, of Jewish literature I would leave to Wolff, Bartolucci, De Rossi; to the Spanish writers, De Castro and other expounders of Rabbinical learning. (For the writers on geography, see the elaborate Essay of Dr. Zunz in the Supplement to Asher's Benjamin of Tudela.)

tianity, and their Judaism betrays their lingering intimacy with the teaching of the Jewish schools. In some regions, in parts of Arabia and of Africa, the divorce between Judaism and Christianity was less complete. Jewish apocryphal books,¹ entirely lost in Asia, have been recovered in the dialect of Abyssinia. At a later period, Hebrew tradition (no doubt through the Arabian Jews) found its way, to a remarkable extent, into the Koran.²

In general, however, Rabbinical literature, excepting in the few indistinct glimpses obtained by Jerome, was for a long period a sealed volume to the Christian mind. And all this vast literature to the Jew himself was fatal to freedom and originality of thought, to science properly so called, to all invention, to all bold inquiry. It was theological, if with some of the deep devotion and some of the sublimity of theology, with its fetters riveted even more closely than any system belonging to a less insulated people, a people more in contact with the rest of mankind, more inevitably swept forward by the stream of progress, could ever be. Within its circle man might move with some freedom; without that circle he dared not venture a single step. He was the galley-slave of the most rigid orthodoxy. No Church authority, no Articles of the narrowest sect have been more jealous, more imperious, more vigilant, than the perpetual dictatorship of the Rabbins. The sacerdotalism of the Middle Ages was not more tyrannous and intolerant than were the schools of Jewish learning. They had their anathemas, their excommunications, of course, more awful, more terrible, to the member of a small community than the

¹ The Book of Enoch, the *Ascensio Isaïæ*.

² Geiger, Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthum genommen?

ban of Pope or Council; at times they claimed, and even exercised, the right of capital punishment over the obstinate heretic. Within its sphere the Rabbinical lore is infinitely copious and various; its Scholasticism is as acute and subtle, as much delighting in its peculiar subtlety as that of Bradwardine or Duns Scotus; its casuistry is as ingenious, as wiredrawn, as perplexing, and as perilously tampering with morals, as that of Suarez or Del Soto. Not that there were any determinate creeds or articles of belief.¹ These were of a later period, such as the articles drawn up by Maimonides. But it was the awful and unlimited and admitted authority of the Rabbins which, notwithstanding certain differences which at times arrayed master against master, school against school, held the Jews of all countries in passive, and, if it may be said, eager, unstruggling submission. Of the purity of each man's faith, the Rabbins, the authoritative expounders of the Law, the guardians of the hallowed traditions, were the supreme, irrefragable judges.

Yet even under the most revered and time-hallowed tyranny, under the severest and most watchful sacerdotal despotism, the uncontrollable human mind will strive to make a way to its emancipation. In Judaism it was not by impugning (excepting in the case of the Karaïtes) or lowering this uncontested authority, that it strove for freedom. The philosophic Cabala aspired to be a more sublime and transcendental Rabbinism.

¹ Delitzsch may be right in his statement: — "Die Juden haben seit ihrer Zerstreuung nie Synagogale von der Nation bestätigte und angenommene Bekenntnisschriften gehabt. . . . Die Talmude haben deshalb gar keine dogmatische Einheit; selbst die gesetzwissenschaftlichen Resultate sind individuell und provisorisch gültig, die Synagoge hat ihnen nie durch eine Sanction das Ansehen anerkannter, allgemeingültiger Decretalen gegeben." Yet the Rabbinical system was sternly and severely orthodox, impatient of heretical teaching. — Zur Geschichte der Jüdischen Poesie, Vorrede, p. 9.

It was a mystery not exclusive of, but above their more common mysteries ; a secret more profound than their profoundest secrets. It claimed the same guaranty of antiquity, of revelation, of tradition ; it was the true, occult, to few intelligible, sense of the sacred writings and of the sayings of the most renowned Wise Men ; the inward interpretation of the genuine interpretation of the Law and the Prophets. Men went on ; they advanced, they rose from the most full and perfect study of the Talmuds to the higher doctrines, to the more divine contemplations of the Cabala. And the Zohar was the Book of the Cabala which soared almost above the comprehension of the wisest.

The mysterious Cabala appears at length to have disclosed its secrets to the general reader. The Dissertation of M. Ad. Franck of Paris,¹ comprehensive, yet not too minute, profound, yet perfectly clear, has determined, on grounds to which (if I may do so without presumption) I subscribe in almost every respect, its age, its origin, its doctrines, and its influence. In its traditional, no doubt unwritten form, the Cabala, at least *a* Cabala, ascends to a very early date, the Captivity ; in its proper and more mature form, it belongs to the first century, and reaches down to the end of the seventh century of our era. The “Sepher Yetzira,” the Book of Creation,² which boasts itself to be derived from Moses, from Abraham, if not from Adam, or even aspires higher, belongs to the earlier period ; the Zohar, the Light, to the later. The remote origin of the Cabala belongs to that period when the Jewish mind, during the Captivity, became so deeply impregnated

¹ La Kabbale, ou la Philosophie religieuse des Hébreux, par Ad. Franck, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres, &c., Paris, 1843.

² Pp 362, 369.

with Oriental notions, those of the Persian or Zoroastrian religion. Some of the first principles of the Cabala, as well as many of the tenets, still more of the superstitions of the Talmud,¹ coincide so exactly with the Zendavesta (the Zendavesta not only as expounded by Anquetil du Perron and Klenker, but by the higher authority of Bournouf, in his Commentary on the Yaçna) as to leave no doubt of their kindred and affiliation. They found their first Western home in Palestine after the return from the Captivity. Some of their doctrines, or doctrines closely analogous, found their way to Alexandria, and may be traced in the Translation of the LXX. (as well as in the Book of Ecclesiasticus and the Targums of Onkelos) and in Philo. With Philo they were crossed, blended, and modified by the Greek philosophy, especially Platonism, which in a later period expanded into the mystic school of Porphyry, Proclus, and Plotinus. This Alexandrian system could not have been their source. The Cabala is essentially Jewish in thought, in language, in its utter aversion to, or rather ignorance of, Greek philosophers and Greek philosophy.

But while it is undoubtedly Zoroastrian in many of its primary conceptions, and still more in its wild imaginations, in what may be called its mythology, yet in its unalterable Monotheism it is strictly and rigidly Mosaic. It repudiates altogether the Dualism, into

¹ Franck shows that this secret doctrine, the history of the Creation, and the Mercaba (the Chariot), are mentioned in the Mishna and Gemara, and, therefore, are older. R. Akiba and Simon ben Jochai were their first compilers: "Les partisans enthousiastes de la Kabbale la font descendre du ciel, apportée par les anges, pour enseigner au premier homme, après sa débâissance, les moyens de reconquérir sa noblesse et sa félicité premières." According to others, Moses received it from God on Mount Sinai, and intrusted it to the seventy elders. Franck, p. 51.

which the Persian Monotheism seems, even with Zoroaster himself, to have degenerated. There is an absolute Unity in its Pantheism, for Pantheism it undoubtedly is, open and undisguised, as all mysticism either is by nature or has an irresistible tendency to become, — as the Pantheism of India, Brahminical and Buddhist, as the Pantheism of Spinoza, even of Hegel. The base of the Cabalistic system is absolute Unity : a God who is at once the cause, the substance, and the form of all that is or all that can be. The Ensoph,¹ the One Infinite, the Mystery of Mysteries, Light of Lights,² remains above in its solitary, unapproachable majesty. Below this, but far below, is the common Emanation System of the East. First comes the Word, the Creator, and the Demiurgos, as it were the Godhead in action or development. The impersonated attributes of God, at once metaphysical and abstract conceptions, become real beings, the Sephiroth, the Æons of Gnosticism, of which Cabalism was to a great degree the parent. (Some of the most famous Gnostics were Jews ; Simon Magus was Jew or Samaritan.) The ten Sephiroth are the manifestation of God, the triple Trinity, in concentric circles around the central Godhead. Then follows the primal and archetypal Man, the Man Above to be carefully distinguished from the Man Below ; the conflict of Good and Evil, of Spirit and Matter, of Light and Darkness ; the pre-existence of human souls, their imprisonment in matter, their reunion with God by faith and love. There

¹ The Ensoph, p. 183.

² "Ainsi Dieu est à la fois, dans le sens le plus élevé, et la matière et la forme de l'univers. Il n'est pas seulement cette matière et cette forme ; mais rien n'existe, ni ne peut exister, en dehors de lui ; sa substance est au fond de tous les êtres, et tous portent l'emprunte, tous sont les symboles de son intelligence." p. 160.

are beautiful images illustrative of this, and of the tender remonstrances of the souls of men against being submitted to this gross trial; the death, the release, of the just, is the kiss of love.¹ Among the Cabalists there is the universal sacred horror of anthropomorphism, from which sometimes, in their coarser moods, they take refuge in monstrous allegories. Infinity is represented by immensity, the Incomprehensible by heaping upon each other inconceivable masses of numbers, of times, and of distances (as in the Indian poets) by which at last the Immaterial is materialized. The Ancient of Ancients has a face of the length of 370 times 10,000 worlds. The light of the head illuminates 400,000 worlds. Every day issue from his brain 400,000 worlds, the inheritance of the just in the life to come.² Nothing indeed is absolutely bad, nothing eternally accursed; the great fallen archangel himself will resume his former nature, the venomous beast lose his venom.³ Yet it is remarkable, and especially Jewish, that there does not seem to have been that deep sense of the malignity of matter which prevailed in kindred systems. Marriage, the lawful union of the sexes, was not in itself an evil, a necessary but still fatal contamination, as it was held even by Philo, and by some of the early Christian Fathers, and by Monachism Oriental as well as Christian. Marriage was acquiesced in by the Cabala as in the natural order of things, with no aversion or proscription. The Cabalists, as has been said, anticipated or coincided with

¹ Pp. 178 (a remarkable passage) and 182.

² Franck, p. 171; see the whole strange passage.

³ P. 217. The whole of this passage is very curious. There has been a succession of worlds. Before they were created, all things appeared in the sight of God. See, too, about the Dæmons as inferior to men: — ‘The souls of the just are above the angels.’ p. 223.

Origen in the final restoration of Şatan, or rather Sam-ael (the great Evil Spirit) himself.¹ On the whole, the notion of man in the Cabala is of singular elevation : not only the primal and celestial man, the Adam Caedmon, who as the image of God comprehends within himself the Sephiroth, the Divine attributes, but the man of the lower sphere. Man was the consummation and perfection of Creation, and therefore not formed till the sixth day. He is inferior to the angels ; the Dæmons seem to be but other names for his passions, pride, avarice, cruelty. Thus, throughout, the Cabala differs from its parent the Zendavesta. The impersonated beings of the Zendavesta are metaphysical entities in the Cabala. Zoroastrianism is a mythology ; the Cabala approaches to a philosophy. In the Cabala, too, are some singular premature gleams of scientific knowledge. The Cabala, as well as the Talmud, dares to assert the earth to be spherical and rotatory,² and the existence of antipodes ; there is even an approach to the Copernican system. This, too, about the time when, according to the Christian Fathers Lactantius and Augustine, such opinions bordered close on damnable heresy. Of the human brain, its triple division, and peculiar integuments, and thirty-two nerves which ramify through the whole body, the Cabala had a clear and distinct apprehension.³ And

¹ P. 217.

² “ Dans le livre de Chamnouna le Vieux, on apprend, par des explications étendues, que la terre tourne sur elle-même en forme de cercle ; que les uns sont en haut, les autres en bas ; que toutes les créatures changent d'aspect suivant l'air de chaque lieu, en gardant pourtant la même position ; qu'il y a telle contrée de la terre qui est éclairée tandis que les autres sont dans les ténèbres ; ceux-ci ont le jour, quand pour ceux-là il fait nuit ; et il y a des pays où il fait constamment jour, ou au moins la nuit ne dure que quelques instants.” p. 102 ; compare 187.

³ “ Dans l'intérieur du crâne, le cerveau se partage en trois parties, dont

this exalted view of man, even when immersed in the material world, supports the theory of Franck, that the Cabala belongs to the end of the seventh century, when the Jews were yet in some independence and prosperity; not to the thirteenth (as Tholuck and others have argued, confuted, as I think, by Franck), when they were in their lowest state of depression, trampled on by the rest of mankind.

Such was the high speculative Cabala; but, like the neo-Platonic philosophy, the Cabala degenerated into a theurgic system of magic and wonder-working. Not only was the Bible one vast allegory, in which the literal sense was cast scornfully aside, and a wild, arbitrary meaning attached to every history and every doctrine, but at the same time there was a superstitious reverence of the letter; the numbers of the letters, 10, 7, 12, 32, every single letter, the collocation of every letter, the transposition, the substitution, had a special, even a supernatural power. The traditional Fathers of the Cabala, R. Akiba and Simon ben Jochai, had wrought miracles with the letters of the Scripture;¹ and later there was no kind of vulgar conjuring trick that was not performed by the Adepts,² till Cabalism sank into contempt and suspicion. Though studied with fond perseverance and patient industry, as something above and beyond genuine Talmudical learning,

chacune occupe une place distincte. Il est en outre recouvert d'un voile très mince, puis d'un autre voile plus dur. Au moyen de trente-deux canaux, ces trois parties du cerveau se répandent dans tout le corps en se dirigeant par deux côtés: c'est ainsi qu'elles embrassent le corps sur tous les points et se répandent dans toutes ses parties." It is suggested that the legal practice of dissecting animals to separate the clean from the unclean, must have led to some study of anatomy. p. 138.

¹ See, on the worship of the letters, Franck, p. 69. The Cabalists had an alphabet of their own. p. 76.

² On the powers of letters, pp. 79, 145, 154.

yet the ordinary Talmudists looked on the Cabalists with not ungrounded jealousy, as tampering with forbidden things, as aspiring to knowledge of unrevealed mysteries, and practising unlawful arts. The Cabalistic pretensions to enchantments, amulets, charms, justified to the more sober, if not the proscription, the discouragement of these, in their essence lofty, in their practice vulgar and degrading studies.

But the influence of the Cabala was not confined to the Jewish mind ; some of the strange, powerful intellects of the Middle Ages, when the borders of science and wonder-working were utterly confounded, were tempted at once by the abstruseness, the magnificent pretensions, and the mysticism of the Cabala, to penetrate into its secrets and appropriate its powers and virtues. From Raymond Lully to Van Helmont, the Adepts boasted, perhaps too boldly, their familiarity with the Jewish Cabala. How far they were really indebted to it, it is perhaps impossible to determine.

The Cabala is purely Jewish ; it may be said to represent the Oriental or Asiatic part of the Jewish mind. But the European philosophy of the Jews assumed a more European cast. It is impossible, I apprehend, to separate and distinguish between the Jewish and Arabian influences which created what is usually called the Arabian philosophy of Spain. The earliest, by some thought the greatest, of this school, who passed under the name of Avicbron, turns out to be, under this disguised appellation, Salomon ben Ghebirol of Malaga, the famous Jewish hymnologist.¹ Of this philosophy, the Judæo-Arabic of Spain, the value and the originality are now called in question. Its immense mass rivals that of Christian scholasticism. Is it more

¹ This discovery is due to M. Munk. (See Ernest Rénan, *Averroes*, p. 100.)

than the opinions of the Greeks, passing through the Jewish and Arabian minds?—more than in a great part Aristotelism in other forms and in other language?—the Eternity of matter, on which the Eternity of thought or intelligence is eternally operating,—the Eternal Thought, which swallows up and absorbs, and so is one with, all active intelligence, and of which, whether individual or that of collective humanity, human intelligence is a part or an efflux? This philosophy also would issue in a kind of Pantheism; or, if the Divine be coördinate with the same all-absorbing one Matter, in a Dualism.

But if the Jews were the primary authors, they were likewise the conservators, of the Arabian philosophy; through them these tenets were no doubt propagated into the Christian schools. Considerable parts of the works of the Arabian writers are to be read only in Hebrew translations.

The doctrines of Averroes and his followers, contained in their Commentaries on Aristotle, were translated by the Spanish Jews who took refuge, after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, in Languedoc; the family of the Tibbon at Lunel, Solomon ben Job at Beziers, Calonymus ben Meir at Arles, Judah ben Meschullam at Marseilles. Besides these were Judah ben Solomon Cohen of Toledo, who flourished under the protection of the Emperor Frederick II.; and another Provençal Jew, settled at Naples, Jacob ben Abba Mari, who enjoyed the patronage of the same enlightened monarch.

“None,” writes a distinguished Orientalist of our day, M. Ernest Rénan, “were in earnest about the Arabian philosophy but the Jews.”¹ He acknowledges

¹ Ernest Rénan, Averroes, pp. 176, 186, *et seq.*

at the same time that the first impulse to that philosophy came from the Oriental Jewish school of Sura, that of Saadi.

The time is perhaps approaching in which at least some award may be made of the share of the Jews in that philosophy to study which the Adelards,¹ the Gerberts, visited the schools of Toledo and Cordova, and from which, in the days of Frederick II., Jews certainly assisted in restoring the genuine Aristotle to the knowledge of the West. It may be impossible to discriminate between the converging and harmonizing thought of Jew and Arabian, or their common debt to the Greek philosophy, which they joined in disguising and passing off on themselves as their own. Hebrew writings are not necessarily the produce of Hebrew thought, nor Arabic of Arabian. No one will ever perhaps thread completely the bewildering labyrinth; perhaps it may not at last be worth the labor.² But no one is more likely to succeed than M. Munk; and, as a descendant of the race of Israel, M. Munk, we may be assured, will render full justice to his ancestors.

The old Hebrew poetry, that of the Bible, by its transcendent excellence, dooms to obscurity all later Hebrew verse. With a religious people, and through their religion alone the Jews persevere in being a

¹ For Adelard see Sprenger's Preface to his Life of Mohammed.

² "Les Juifs remplissaient dans ces relations un rôle essentiel, et dont on n'a pas tenu assez de compte dans l'histoire de la civilisation. Leur activité commerciale, leur facilité à apprendre les langues en faisaient les intermédiaires naturels entre les Chrétiens et les Mussulmans. . . . Le peuple seul les avait en antipathie. Quant aux hommes désireux de s'instruire, ils n'éprouvaient aucun scrupule à s'en faire en philosophie les disciples de maîtres appartenant à d'autres religions. La science était quelque chose de neutre et commun à tous." Rénan 202. See also the following paragraph.

people, their poetry must be, and almost always has been, essentially religious. But every avenue to the heart and soul of the Jew is preoccupied by hymns, by odes, by Gnostic verse, which have cloven to the universal heart and soul of man to a depth, and with a tenacity, never surpassed or equalled. Every emotion, every thought, almost every occurrence in the somewhat narrow sphere of Jewish life, has already found its expression in words so inimitable, in music so harmonious, that all other words must seem pale and feeble. What can be the choral hymns of the Synagogue compared with those which resounded in the courts of the first, or even of the second, Temple? What lyric language can refuse to borrow its tone from, and therefore but faintly echo, the devotional Psalms of David, and of those who followed him? What Odes on all the awful events of human or national life can approach those of the Prophets? The sorrows of centuries can hardly wring from Jewish hearts any lamentations approaching to those of Jeremiah. According to the historian of later Jewish poetry, the three treasure-houses of Jewish song are, their History, their Law, and their Legends.¹ But their older History is in itself such poetry that it can only be expanded into a comparatively flat and lifeless paraphrase. If by the Law be meant their Gnostic poetry, the Proverbs, and the first-fruits of their poetic wisdom, subsequent to the Sacred Books, the Book of Ecclesiasticus, will hardly be rivalled by the wisdom and ingenuity of the later Rabbinical school. Even the Legend, from which the Arabic writers, the Koran itself, have drawn so abundantly, in its most creative and imaginative form is

¹ Delitzsch. *Zur Geschichte der Jüdischen Poesie*, von Franz Delitzsch. Leipzig, 1836. I believe that the continuation of this work, promised by the author, has not appeared.

found in the Targums.¹ Their wild and fantastic apocalyptic writings are full of poetry, extravagant, it is true, but still rich in invention, in bold and striking imagery, and with a luxuriant and lavish symbolism.²

Nevertheless, Hebrew poetry boasts a succession of writings as copious as that of most modern nations. The lineage of their poets, if occasionally interrupted, has gone on, singing the songs of Zion in strange lands, but in strains audible only to the Jewish ear. It is acknowledged, indeed, that the whole Mischna is hard and arid prose;³ that what is poetical occasionally in the Talmuds is without poetic form or language; that the age of the Gaonim, nearly five hundred years, from A. C. 540 to 997, was barren, uncreative, without invention or fancy.⁴ But then began, it is said, in Spain the golden age, from 940 to 1040.⁵ It was succeeded by a silver age, 1090 to 1190. At a later period winter fell on the poetic Jewish mind.⁶ Yet there is no form which the poetry of modern European nations has taken which Hebrew poetry has not attempted to domiciliate. It had its Troubadours, with their amorous conceits.

¹ "Die ganze Sagenwelt der späteren Moslemen, der Araber, Perser, und Türken, soweit sie nur die alttestamentliche Geschichte berührt, findet sich ein Jahrtausend früher schon in den Jüdischen Targumen weit einfacher, reiner und würdiger abgezeichnet; die Geschichte wird in ihnen zur reizendsten, lehrreichendsten Poesie; diese Poesie ist aber nicht Einkleidung, Dichtung, Phantasma des Schreibers, sondern die alte und volksthümliche, venerable Sage, deren Redactoren die Targumisten sind: die Targumen sind Exegese, Geschichte, altsynagogales Bekenntniss, und bei dem allen poetisch in ihrem Inhalt, poetisch in ihrer Form." Delitzsch, p. 27.

² Read Hilgenfeld, *Die Jüdische Apokalypik*, and many passages in Ewald's *History*, especially his account of the apocryphal Esdras.

³ Delitzsch, p. 120. He says, indeed, "In den Talmuden ist uns eine grosse Vergangenheit des Jüdischen Volkslebens nicht in der Copie einer blossen Relation, sondern wie in einer Mumie erhalten, ihr eignes Fleisch und Bein: der Dichter löse die künstlichen Specereien ab, deren Hülle sie so lange vor der Zerstörung sicherte, und stelle uns das Leben wieder lebendig dar." p. 121.

⁴ Delitzsch, p. 29.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 35.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 42.

It had its epic poems, its Mosaides, its Zionides,¹ even its drama,² the form of poetry, notwithstanding the early attempt of the Judæo-Alexandrian Ezekiel to mould the wonders of their early history into a Greek tragedy, the most irreconcilable with their older models. A late poet in Italy has even ventured on a harlequinade for the joyous festival of the Purim.³ The Jewish poets either borrowed rhyme from the Arabian poets, as is most probable, or, as some with national partisanship aver, imparted it to them.⁴ They have their Dantes,⁵ but it is not writing in triple rhymes, nor attempting to unfold the mysteries of the unseen world, which can make a Dante; they have their sonnets, but sonnets make not a Petrarch; they have even, they confess it with shame, their Aretin.⁶ Their poetry is that of all countries in which they dwell, Spain, Italy,⁷ Germany, Holland, Poland, even Russia.⁸ But, after all, these are still foreign lands. There is something deeply pathetic in a sentence of the historian of Hebrew poetry, — “The pure poetry of Nature cannot be the national poetry of the Jews, for down to this time the

¹ The Zionide. Delitzsch, p. 162.

² The earliest Jewish dramas were written in Holland in the seventeenth century. p. 77.

³ The Harlequinade, by Rappoport, p. 119.

⁴ “Selbst in der Mischna und Gemara findet sich nichts von Metrum und Reim, sondern diese sind *erst den Arabern entlehnt* und dann von den Lichtern in der Provence, Catalonien, Arragon und Castilien ausgebildet worden.” Delitzsch, p. 5. Compare p. 132, and, on rhyme, p. 137.

⁵ The Hebrew Dante was Mose de Rieti (p. 54). Compare pp. 72, 73.

⁶ Delitzsch, p. 523. This Hebrew Aretin was Imanuel Romi ben Salomo, of the March of Ancona, author of *The Divan*.

⁷ On the different character of the older Italian and the Spanish Hebrew poetry, see Delitzsch, p. 43: “Die Spanische Poesie mahlt mit dem Pinsel Rafaels; die Italienische bildet mit dem Meissel Michel Angelos”!! The world ought not to be deprived even of a faint copy of the works of such masters.

⁸ Jewish Poets in Russian Poland, p. 83.

Jewish people has been a nationality without a native country, and neither the luxuriant nature of the Barbaresque lands, nor the vine-clad shores of the Rhine, can make up to them for Judæa. A naturalized Jew cannot be a national poet.”¹ I presume not to judge of these hidden treasures, secluded in their own libraries, and veiled in their own peculiar language. But it is remarkable that even in translations, however it might be that translation could hardly transfuse poems, retaining much of an indelible Oriental cast, with full justice into European tongues, so far as I know, hardly any of these boasted treasures have been communicated to the general ear of Europe; and those which have been communicated have fallen dead on the ear. I have never read any piece of modern Hebrew poetry in any translation in which I have not felt that I had heard it before: its images, its thoughts, its passion, its very cadence, is that on which I have dwelt in the Bible.

- I cannot but apprehend, too, that all this poetry labors under another fatal cause of inferiority. It is an immutable law that no great poet has ever been inspired but in his native tongue. Now, Hebrew, though no doubt fully comprehended, and fluently spoken, it may be, by the instructed or educated Jew, is after all a foreign or a dead language. It is not his vernacular; not the language of ordinary every-day life; not the language in which the man, if we may so say, speaks, thinks; not the language of his emotions, his passions. It is what the Latin was to the clergy, and to the few educated men of the Middle Ages; and as European poetry was only born with the young European languages, as Dante would never have been Dante had

¹ Delitzsch, p. 123.

he fulfilled his original fatal scheme of writing the Divine Comedy in Latin; as Petrarch, after laboring for years on the unread, unreadable Africa, fortunately condescended to the vulgar tongue in his Sonnets, so, however the Hebrew poets may learn to move with some ease in the fetters of their ancient language, they are still fetters. No one perhaps can derive more pleasure than myself (through education, familiarity with Greek and Latin through Eton and academic studies and practice) from writers of modern Latin verse, the Italians, some of the French Jesuits, the Poles, our own Milton, Cowley, Gray, R. Smith, still I feel, every one feels, that the whole is admirably ingenious, but no more; the play of fancy, the feeling, the passion, all is artificial. They neither rouse, nor melt, nor transport us out of ourselves. So I suspect it is, I believe that it must be, with most of the later Hebrew poetry. It is the Synagocal poetry in which I conceive rests all its true strength and beauty. The legitimate son of such a parent could not so altogether forget its rich inheritance as to fall into absolute poverty. The heirlooms could not but retain some of their original splendor, though but reflected splendor.

The historian indeed admits that the Synagocal hymns (in which, as the devotional outpourings of souls in whom devotion must have been their one consolation, the very life-blood of their miserable being, and therefore all the emotional part at least of their poetry must have found vent) are but an echo of those in the Bible;¹ still that echo may be of deep solemnity — its

¹ This Delitzsch asserts broadly of the older Synagocal poetry, the Liturgic, which was "Reminiscenz und gleichen das Echo der Bibel." The new school aspired to be neither the echo of the Bible nor of the Talmud; yet "Sie will aus der Bibel als der reinsten, idealsten Darstellung des Hebraismus, sich bloß den Sprachschatz aneignen, ihn aber dann selbständig

dying wail of exquisite tenderness. A late writer, unrivalled, I believe, among his compatriots for the vast range of his knowledge, — knowledge which he pours forth with such overflowing copiousness and minute particularity as to overload and weary the most patient reader, — has taken upon him the office of doing justice to the Synagoga! poetry of the Middle Ages.¹ Its continuous history, its various forms, its use in the public services, its measures, its rhythm, the construction of its verse, are followed out into the utmost detail; but what is more valuable, and more likely to obtain it a fair hearing, is that he has rendered some of its best passages into that flexible German, which Goethe and Rückert have shown can accommodate itself with such ease and harmony with Oriental thought, imagery, and melody. I will not attribute to Dr. Zunz the unrivalled skill and facility of these great poets; — Zunz indeed complains that of one passage no European language can render the thunderstrokes of the continuous rhymes, that the lightning of its beauty is quenched in the dull auxiliaries and pronouns. I venture, however, on a few lines: —

“ Him sings the voice of every living creature,
 Echoes from above, from underneath his glory;
 ‘ One God,’ shouts forth the Earth, and ‘ Holy One,’ the Heavens;
 From the waters songs are sounding to the Mighty in the Highest:
 Majesty from the abyss, hymns come chanting from the stars;
 Speech is from the day, and music from the night;
 His name the fire proclaims,
 And melodies are floating o’er the forest, —
 The beasts proclaim God’s overpowering greatness.”

The work of Zunz will try, but we think will reward, handhaben.” But if all the power of the language is Biblical, it would be very difficult to rise much above imitation.

¹ Die Synagoga! Poesie des Mittelalters, von Dr. Zunz, Berlin, 1855.

the patience of the curious reader. Still, in the long line of Jewish Hymnology, transferred into German verse or rhythm, there is a wearisome sameness, and a constant reminiscence of the Biblical language, spun out into enfeebling length, and prolonged with perpetual iteration. There are, however, fine thoughts, bold expressions; and the constant allusions to the sufferings of the people, and their lofty and undying trust in the faithfulness and promises of their God, are not without tenderness and sublimity. They may be but variations on the unapproachable music of Job and the Psalms, but these variations are full of sweetness and grandeur, almost of genius and originality.

The true poetry of the Jews was secluded in the isolation of their own language. But on their expulsion from Spain, the Sephardim bore with them to different countries, to Italy,¹ to France, to Holland, to Greece, and Constantinople, the noble language which was hereafter to be made illustrious by Cervantes and Calderon. So entirely were they Spaniards, that parts of their religious services were in Spanish.² Among the earliest typographical works was a Spanish translation of the Old Testament, issued by Abraham Usque at Ferrara,³ and frequently reprinted, in a more correct form, in the Low Countries. They had Spanish poets, too, in many countries. In Spain, before the Expulsion, the Hebrew-Spanish poets had been almost exclusively converts.⁴ They had had their Troubadour poets in

¹ Qualir the Sardinian is the first great name in the Mediæval Synagoga poetry. Delitzsch, p. 51.

² Amador de los Rios, ii. c. 5.

³ On the Bible of Ferrara, Amador de los Rios, p. 432. Ten years before the publication of the Bible at Ferrara, Francesco Frellon published at Lyons a poem in Spanish, Retratos o tablas de las Historias del Testamento Viejo. See for extracts from this poem, *ibid.* pp. 437, 442.

⁴ For the Judæo-Arabic Chronicle of the Cid, see Delitzsch, p. 65.

Catalonia. The Rabbi Abner, Santo de Carrcon, the famous Paul, Bishop of Burgos, Hieronymo di Santa Fé, find their place in the history of Spanish poetry.¹ The Sephardim with singular fidelity adhered in foreign lands to that which had become the native tongue. This can hardly indeed be said of Moses Pinto Delgado. He had embraced the Gospel in Spain, but fell back to his old religion. He fled from the searching eye of the Inquisition and found refuge in France. There he published his Poem of Esther,² the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and the Poem of Ruth the Moabitess.³ The Jews likewise printed books in Spanish at Constantinople and Salonichi, as well as at Venice and Amsterdam, of a much higher order than the poems of Delgado, such as the translation of the Psalms by David Abenatar Melo. This remarkable man had been baptized. Either from some suspicion of his sincerity, or, to crush out of him the betrayal of some of his kindred, he was committed to the prison of the Inquisition. There he lived for some years, and was released (no crime being proved against him) in 1611. He found refuge in Germany; at least the rare volume of his Psalms was printed at Frankfort in 1626. This translation, if I may judge from extracts, is one of the finest in any European language, and shows that the lingering Orientalism in the Spanish language is singularly adapted for the bold and lofty imagery of the Hebrew poetry. It is of strange interest, too, to find a Jew, a prisoner escaped from the Inquisition, uttering his own sorrows and thanksgiving in the words of the Psalmist. These verses are inserted into the Thirtieth Psalm: —

¹ Amador de los Rios, ch. v.

² See, for the extracts from Esther, which have much sweetness and tenderness, Amador de los Rios, ch. iii.

³ Extracts are given at length in Amador de los Rios, p. 469, &c.

“Nel Infierno metido
De la Inquisicion dura,
Entre fieros leones de alvedrio,
De allí me has redimido
Dando a mis males cura,
Solo porque me viste arrepentido.”

(Doomed in the depths to dwell
Of the Inquisition's Hell,
At those fierce lions' hard arbitrement,
Thou hast redeemed me,
Healed all my misery,
For thou didst see how deeply I repent.)

Michael Silveyra was the author of one of those long and wearisome epic poems which encumber the literature of Spain, “The Conquest of Jerusalem by the Maccabees,” a poem written in rivalry of Tasso, but in the inflated style of Gongora, which, nevertheless, found admirers in Spain. Michael Silveyra was a converted Jew, who adhered faithfully to his new religion, and escaped the jealousy of the Holy Office. Not so a man of more versatile genius, Enriquez de Paz, better known under the name of Antonio Enriquez Gomez.¹ Son of a Portuguese Jew, captain, and enrolled in the Order of St. Michael, accused, not without justice, of Judaism by the inexorable Inquisition, he fled from his country, A. C. 1636, wandered over many parts of Europe, and settled in the centre of Judaism, Amsterdam; he was burned in effigy at Seville in 1660. During all this time he was pouring forth Spanish verse without ceasing; an epic poem on Samson, lyrics in profusion, a satirical poem called the “Age of Pythagoras,” and many dramas. These dramas were acted

¹ See, on Gomez, Amador de los Rios, c. vii. and viii., and Ticknor, iii. 67. According to the Spanish writer, his lyrics are not without grace and beauty, and there is something of the fine old chivalrous extravagance of the Spanish drama in some of the plays of the Jewish exile.

at Madrid. By a strange anomaly, the people of Madrid were listening, not without applause, to the verses of a man under the proscription of the Holy Office, known no doubt to be an avowed Jew. Nor was Enriquez de Paz the last of the exiled race who in foreign countries perpetuated the language of their native land, and gave to Spanish poetry an European fame in regions into which, without their aid, it would hardly have penetrated.

I may sum up in one word : — to be poets, in Europe and in our days, the Jews must cease to be Jews ; whether retaining their creed or not, they must abandon their language. One, who I fear abandoned much more of his Judaism than his language, Heinrich Heine, may prove how deep a vein of true poetry can spring from such sources. The one German whose short lyrics can be read after Goethe's, may show what Jewish poets can become, if they will, I would that I could in his case say, Christianize (though I believe that Heine's last hours were far different from his earlier ones), at all events fully and entirely Europeanize themselves. Jews may be English, German, Spanish, Italian, French poets, — they will hardly be Hebrew poets.

History, of all departments of letters, might appear, at first sight, that for which, as the Jews possessed special advantages, so they might seem specially designated. Dwelling in the seclusion of their own communities, yet those communities spread over the face of the earth, and maintaining more or less intimate and frequent intercourse with all nations ; many of them merchants, travellers, with every opportunity of observation ; excepting when they were immediate objects of persecution, unimpassioned and above the ordinary interests of men ; for centuries they surveyed the world,

and yet were not of the world. They saw the mightiest revolutions among the Gentiles, which they could look on with impartial indifference ; empires rising and falling, kingdoms established and passing away ; migrations from east to west, from north to south ; powers temporal and spiritual, in the ascendant, in their supremacy, and in their decline ; revolutions as complete in human thought, in human laws, in human manners, as in their rule and in their politics. Like the Wandering Jew of the legend, the nation might be the calm witness of the revolutions of ages — the chronicler of all the untold vicissitudes. But of History, in its highest sense, Jewish literature is absolutely barren. The historical faculty seems to have been altogether wanting. As if, either in their pride or their misery, they had obstinately or desperately closed their eyes to all but the narrow concerns of their own race, they have left us no trustworthy record even of their own interworking into the frame of society, their influence, their commerce, their relations to the rest of mankind. Still more, of their degradation and their sufferings they have preserved but broken and fragmentary notices, hardly to be dignified with the name of History.¹ There are traditions of their Babylonian Principality, of the rise and fall of their schools in Palestine, and in the East ; but of their influence in the great struggle between Mohammedanism and Christianity, when they stood between the decaying civilization of the East and the dawning civilization of the Arabian

¹ "A thousand years had been suffered to elapse without the appearance of a single historian ; but when the Rabbins saw that the antiquity, that is the authenticity, of their traditions became doubtful, and was disputed by the anti-traditionists, they attempted to demonstrate their antiquity by a meagre catalogue of generations, always opening with the year of the Creation, by which they pretended they had preserved an unbroken line of tradition." Disraeli, *Genius of Judaism*, p. 9.

dynasties at Damascus and Bagdad, there is nothing which can even compare with a Monkish Chronicler, far less with the works of a Froissart, a Comines, a Villani.

Even in their early narratives, of their fall in the war of Titus, of the insurrection under Bar-cochab, history is so overgrown with legend, truth is so moulded up with fiction or with allegory, that we wonder less at their want, in later times, of grave and sober annals. Of their own historian Josephus they either knew little, or chose to know little.¹ His vernacular History, which he wrote, by his own account, in the language of his people, doubtless the Aramaic Hebrew of the day, seems soon to have perished. The Greek they could not, or would not, read. Of Justus, the rival and adversary of Josephus, they seem equally ignorant.²

But the place of Josephus was usurped by one of the most audacious of romancers, who wrote under the name of Joseph ben Gorion, and is known in later times as Josippon. It is inconceivable that this strange rhapsody should be accepted as genuine history, as it was even by some of the most learned of the Jews. No Mediæval Chronicle ever indulged in such bold latitude of anachronism. The author asserts himself to have been born during the Empire of Julius Cæsar, whom he had seen ; by his own account he must have lived about two hundred years. From King Tsepho the Arabian, son of Eliphaz, the contemporary of Joseph in Egypt, general and son-in-law of Agnias

¹ See Gagnier's Preface, pp. xxviii, xxix: —

"Nam quod ad Josephum Græcum adtint, illum non in magno habere solent pretio, imo ei nullam habent fidem, et tanquam in Historicum mendacem et adulatorem adversus illum acriter invehuntur: Suum vero Josephum quasi hominem veracem et pene divinum summis laudibus ad sidera evehunt, extollunt, et predicant."

² Gagnier, p. xxii.

King of Carthage, he leaps to Daniel, from Daniel to Alexander the Great; whose history is related after the mediæval poem or romance. Romulus and David are contemporaries and allies. Hannibal, on his way to Italy, subdues the Goths in Spain and all Germany. To complete all, he describes the election and coronation of a Roman Emperor (Vespasian?), which he himself witnesses. The Emperor was chosen by the seven electors; he scatters golden florins among the mob. He is received in Rome by the Patron, the Father of all the Prefects, evidently the Pope, who gives him the sceptre, the ring (made of the bone of a dead man), and the chalice on which is the golden apple, sets the crown on his head, and cries "Long live our Lord the Cæsar!" And all the people, Pope, electors, princes, shout "Amen!"

The history of the calamities of the Jewish nation by Solomon ben Virga,¹ a Spanish Jew, a physician, is trustworthy as to the events concerning which he may have received immediate traditions, and those which occurred in his own time. All above and beyond is clouded with fable. The whole is desultory and unequal; some passages, as the histories of many persecutions in different parts of Europe, are disappointingly brief and without particulars, while the disputation with Thomas di Santa Fé runs out into disproportioned prolixity, though not without its interest. The close of this History is perhaps the most remarkable. It is a bold attempt by an apologue, which assumes the form of history, to place the Jews under the protection of

¹ This work was translated into Latin by Gentius (Amsterdam, 1690). In the dedication to the Consuls, Senate, and people of Hamburg, is related the Apologue of Abraham and the Fire-worshipper quoted by Franklin, who probably took it from Jeremy Taylor.

the Pope. After their expulsion from Spain, ambassadors from the King of Spain appear before the Supreme Pontiff, urging him to exterminate them from his dominions. The wise and gentle Pope betrays great reluctance to comply with this request, and bears a kind of unwilling testimony to the piety and virtue of the Jews. He himself moves the somewhat perilous question of the image-worship of the Christians, as resembling that of the Egyptians, which the Jews were taught to abominate. The Pope's scruples relieved on that head, the enemies of the Jews revert to the old calumnies. A Jew is accused of having stolen a silver image, and melted it in scorn of the Christians. He is hanged for the offence. The Pope issues Bulls commanding that all the Jewish infants should be immediately baptized; that those of the adults alone who embraced Christianity should escape; the rest must perish by the sword. That very night the bishop, or cardinal, their most bitter persecutor, falls dead from his chair. The Pope, deeming this a sign from heaven in favor of the Jews, suspends the execution of his orders. On the following night the other bishop, or cardinal, gives a splendid banquet to all the magnates, the bishops, and ambassadors, who had come to Rome to demand the banishment of the Jews. That night Rome is shaken with an earthquake more terrible than was ever before known. But it does no harm to any of the private or sacred edifices of the city; only the palace where this banquet was held falls on the cruel guests, and crushes them all to death. The Pope acknowledges that Heaven has thus declared the Jews guiltless of the sacrilege: "I am almost induced to believe that the crucifixion of Christ by the Jews is a calumny, falsely charged upon them from hatred of

their race." The Bulls are rescinded, and from that time the Jews have been held in the utmost honor by that benignant Pope.

Unquestionably the most valuable historic work of the Jews which has been made accessible to the European reader is the *Chronicle*, often cited in these pages, of Rabbi Joseph ben Joshua ben Meir.¹ But this is the work of a late writer, subsequent to the Reformation, and therefore obtaining his knowledge chiefly from the remote and troubled stream of tradition. Its Biblical style, wisely retained by the translator, gives an attractive character to the *Chronicle*, and the author has thrown aside much of the fable and wild imagination which render almost worthless all other Rabbinical histories.²

As in poetry, so it would seem in history, a man must cease to be a Jew to take a place in the goodly catalogue of the annalists of the world. Had Neander remained a Jew, would he have aspired to the rank which he now so justly holds as the historian not of the events only, but of the intimate spirit of Christianity? I would gladly hail a Jewish Neander; but even Jost

¹ Translated for the Oriental Fund, by C. H. F. Bialloblotsky, Lond., 1835.

² The translator of this work has observed, in accordance with the views expressed above: "An extensive mercantile correspondence, and frequent wanderings and pilgrimages, afforded to the Jew many opportunities of acquiring information during centuries in which the greater part of the nations professing Christianity remained in comparative ignorance. Jews were, during the Middle Ages, admitted into the secrets of European and Asiatic Cabinets, and consulted on questions of political importance. The interests of their nation were then, much more than at present, interwoven with those of almost every people, both barbarous and civilized; and while self-interest quickened the perceptive faculties of the children of Israel to the observation of passing events, their natural bias was also so essentially different from that of the nations among whom they sojourned, that the misconceptions and misstatements of their historical writers could hardly ever coincide with those of any contemporary party, either political or religious."

(and I am too deeply obliged to Jost not to do him ample justice) will hardly fill that place which no Christian, perhaps, has a right to occupy, — not even Ewald in the earlier scenes of Jewish History, certainly not Basnage in the later, least of all one like myself, who began too early, and have been called off too much by other studies, fully to appropriate or worthily to execute this work of universal, of perpetual interest to mankind.¹

¹ To one of the fine arts alone, the enchanting science of music, the Jews have made vast contributions; but even in music the son of Mendelssohn had passed over to Christianity before he achieved his immortal fame.

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